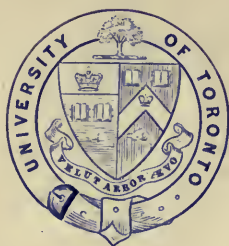
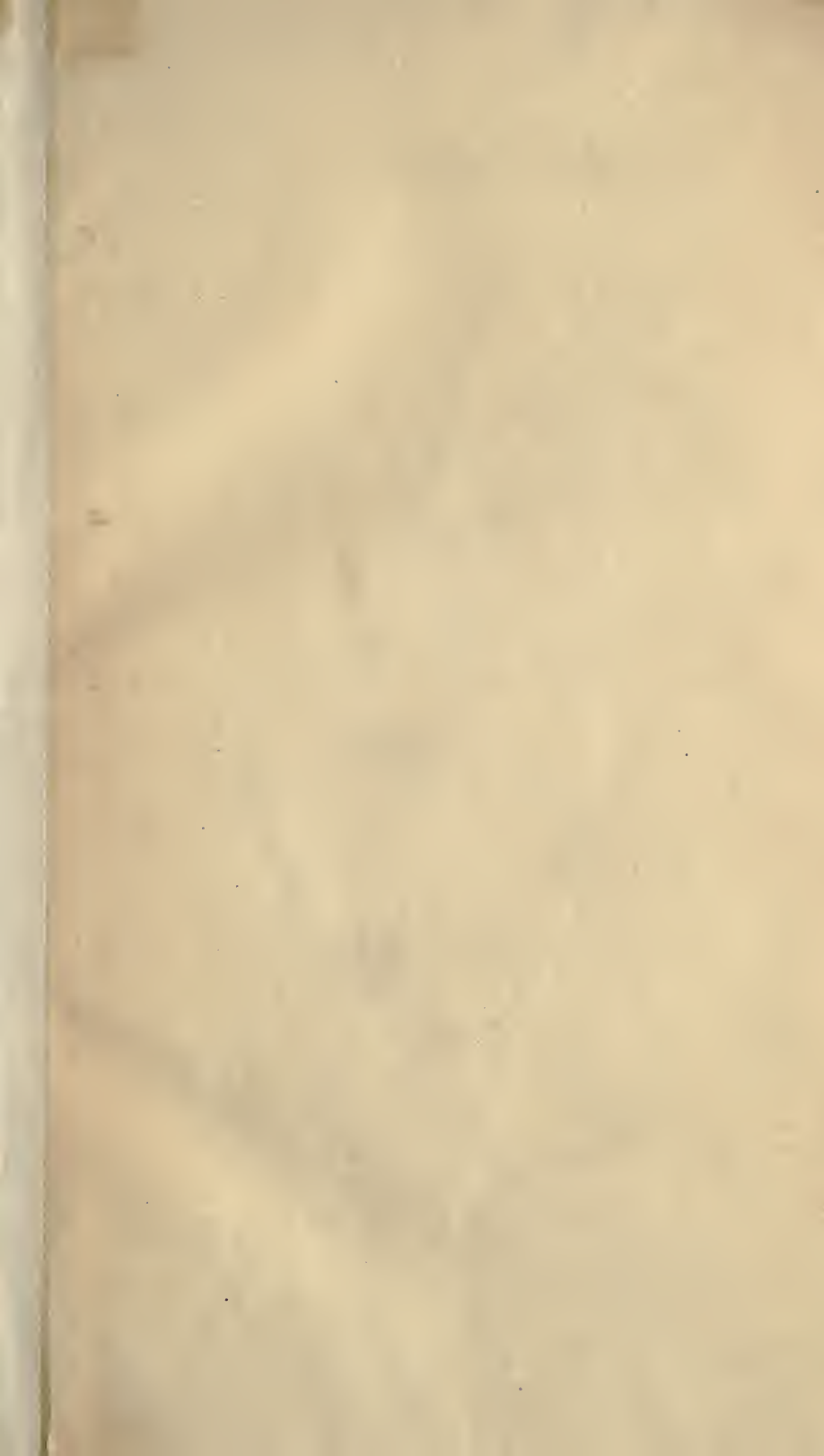


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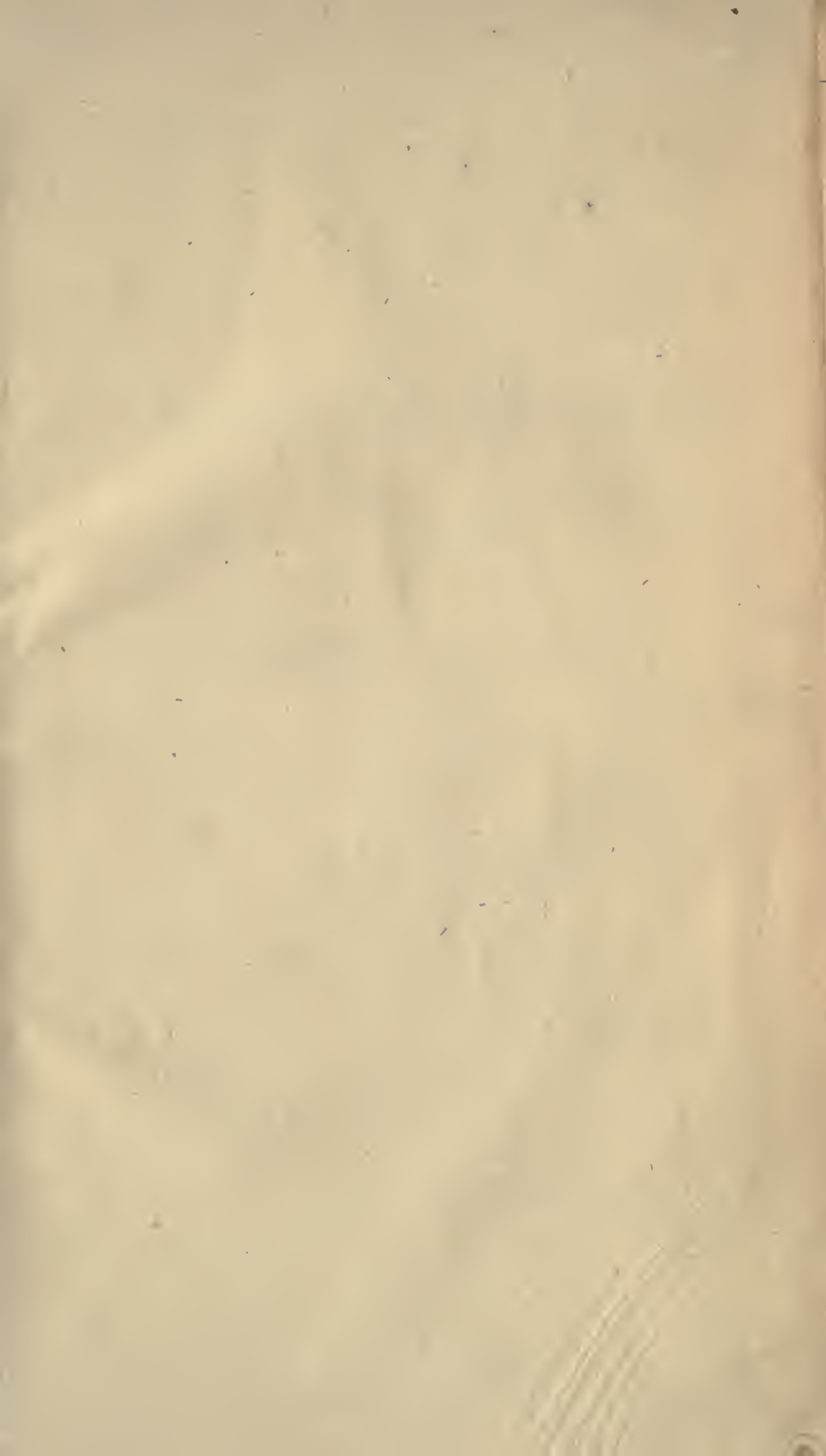


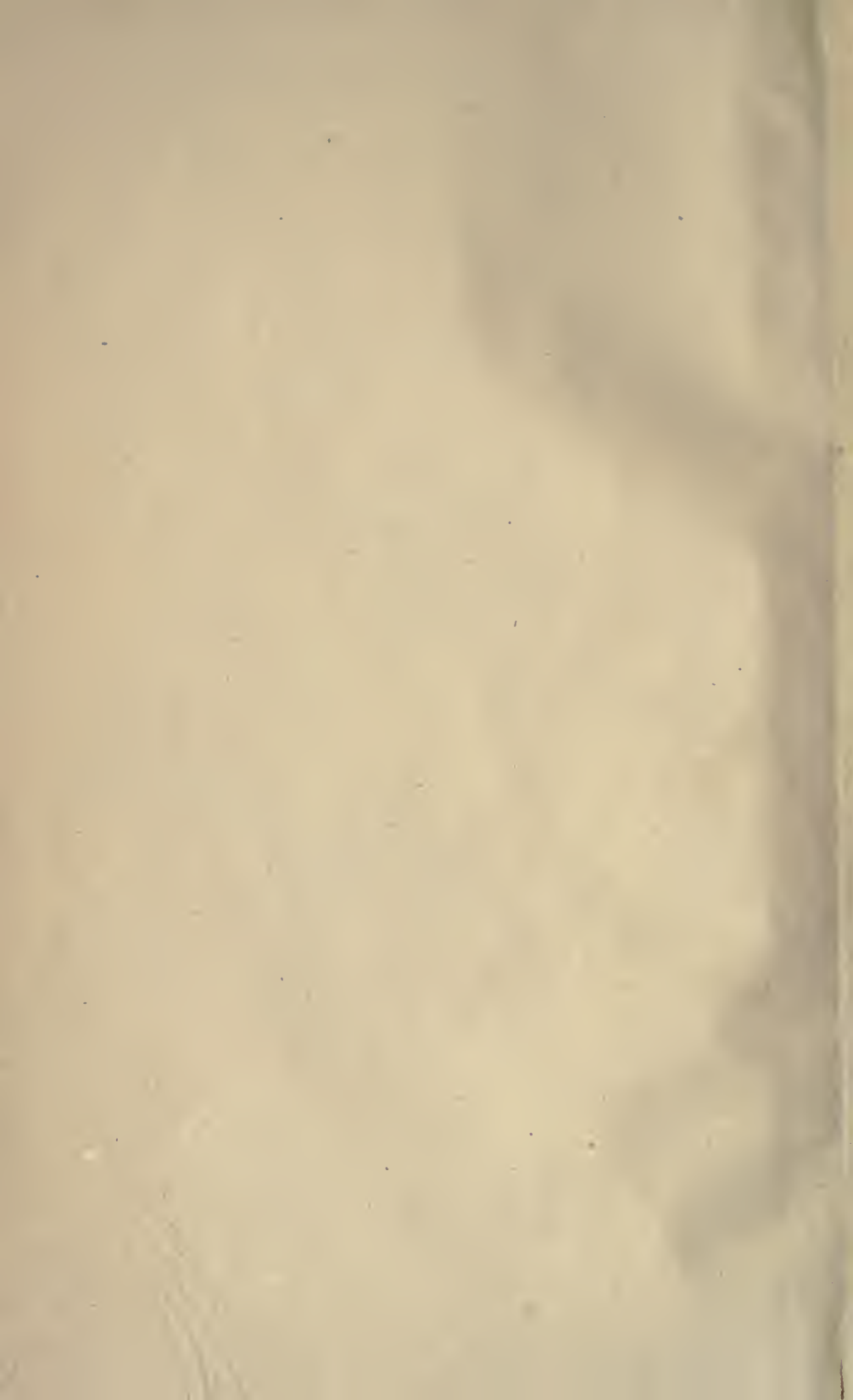
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THE

LIFE OF LUTHER,

GATHERED

FROM HIS OWN WRITINGS.

Jules BY
M. MICHELET,

MEMBER OF THE INSTITUTE,
AUTHOR OF "PRIESTS, WOMEN, AND FAMILIES,"
"HISTORY OF FRANCE," &c. &c.

TRANSLATED BY
G. H. SMITH, F.G.S.

LONDON:
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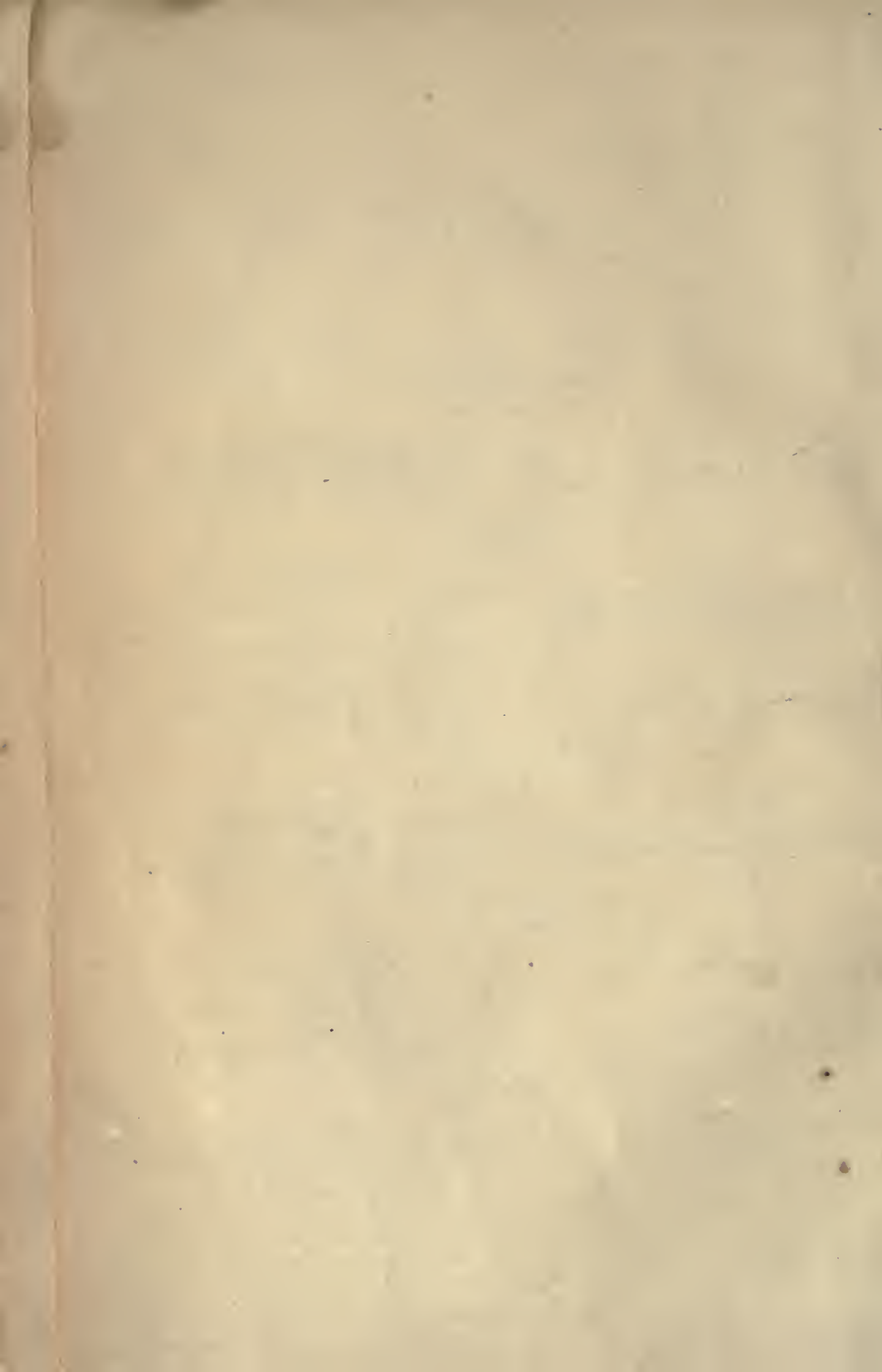
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INTRODUCTION.

THE following work is neither the life of Luther turned into an historical romance, nor a history of the establishment of Lutheranism, but a biography, consisting of a series of transcripts from Luther's own revelations. With the exception of the events of the earlier years of his life, when Luther could not have been the penman, the transcriber has seldom had occasion to hold the pen himself. His task has been limited to selecting, arranging, and fixing the chronology of detached passages. Throughout the work Luther is his own spokesman—Luther's life is told by Luther himself. Who could be so daring as to interpolate his own expressions into the language of such a man! Our business is to listen to, not interrupt him: a rule we have observed as strictly as was possible.

This work, which was not published till 1835, was almost entirely written during the years 1828 and 1829. The translator of the *Scienza Nuova** felt at that period a lively consciousness of the necessity of tracing from theories to their application, of studying the general in the individual, history in biography, humanity in one man; and this a man who had been in the highest rank of mankind, an individual who had been both an entity and an idea; a perfect man, too—a man both of thought and action; a man, in fine, whose whole life was known, and that in the greatest detail—a man, whose every act and word had been remarked and registered.

If Luther has not written his own memoirs, he has, at the least, supplied admirable materials for the task†. His correspondence is scarcely less voluminous than Voltaire's; and there is not one of his dogmatic or polemical works into which he has not introduced some unintentional detail which the biographer may turn to advantage. All his words, too, were greedily garnered by his disciples; good, bad, insignificant, nothing escaped them. Whatever dropped from Luther in his most familiar converse, at his fire-side, in his garden, at table, after supper, his most trifling remark to his wife or his children, his most trivial reflection, went straightway into their note-books. A man so closely watched and followed must have been constantly letting fall words which he would have wished to recall. Lutherans have subsequently had occasion to regret their indiscreet records, and would willingly have erased this line, that page; but *Quod scriptum est, scriptum est* (What is written is written).

In these records, then, we have Luther's veritable confessions—careless, unconnected, involuntary, and, therefore, the more veritable confessions. Assuredly, Rousseau's are less ingenuous; St. Augustin's less full, less diversified.

Had Luther himself written every word of this biography, it would take its rank between the two works just alluded to. It presents at once the two sides, which they give separately. In St. Augustin's, passion, nature, and human individuality, are only shown, in order to be immolated at the shrine of divine grace. The saint's confessions are the history of a crisis undergone by the soul, of a regeneration, of a *vita nuova* (a new life); he would have blushed at making us more intimately acquainted with that worldly life on which he had turned his back. The reverse is the case with Rousseau. Grace is out of the question; nature reigns with undivided, all-triumphant, and undisguised sway; so much so, as at times to excite disgust. Luther presents, not grace and nature in equilibrium, but in their most agonising strife. Many other men have suffered the struggles of sensibility, the excruciating temptations of doubt. Pascal clearly endured them all, but stifled them, and died of the effort. Luther conceals nothing: he could not contain himself. He suffers us to see and to sound the deep plague-sore inherent in our nature, and is, perhaps, the only man in whose moral structure we can find a pleasure in studying this fearful anatomy.

Hitherto, all that has been shown of Luther is his battle with Rome. We give his whole life, his struggles, doubts, temptations, consolations; a picture in which the man engrosses us as much as, and more than, the partisan. We show this violent and terrible reformer of the North not only in his eagle's nest at Wartbourg, or braving the emperor and the empire in the diet at Worms, but in his house at Wittenberg, in the midst of his grave friends, of his children, who cluster round his table, walking with them in his garden, by the border of the small pond, in that melancholy cloister which became a family

* M. Michelet alludes to his version of Vico's great work.

† For Luther's German works I have followed the Wittenberg edition, in 12 vols. fol. 1539—1559; for his Latin, the Wittenberg edition, in 7 vols. fol. 1545—1558, and, occasionally, that of Jena, in 4 vols. fol. 1600—1612; for the "Tischreden," the Frankfort edition, in fol. 1568. As for the extracts from Luther's letters, their dates are so carefully given in the text, that the reader has only to turn to De Wette's excellent edition (5 vols. 8vo., Berlin, 1825), to lay hands upon them at once. I have availed myself of some other works besides Luther's,—of Eckert's, Seckendorff's, Marcineke's, &c.

residence; here we hear him dreaming aloud, and finding in all surrounding objects, the flowers, the fruit, the bird that flits by, food for grave and pious thoughts.

But the sympathy which may be inspired by Luther's amiable and powerful personal character must not influence our judgment with regard to the doctrine he taught or the consequences which naturally flow from it. This man, who made so energetic a use of liberty, revived the Augustinian theory of the annihilation of liberty, and has immolated free-will to grace, man to God, morality to a sort of providential fatality.

The friends of liberty in our days are fond of citing the fatalist, Luther. At first, this strikes one as strange. But Luther fancied that he saw himself in John Huss and in the Vaudois, champions of free-will. The fact is, that these speculative doctrines, however opposed they may seem, take their rise in one and the same principle of action—the sovereignty of individual reason; in other words, in resistance to the traditional principle, to authority.

Therefore, it is not incorrect to say that Luther has been the restorer of liberty in modern times. If he denied it in theory, he established it in practice. If he did not create, he at least courageously affixed his signature to that great revolution, which rendered the right of examination lawful in Europe. And if we exercise in all its plenitude at this day this first and highest privilege of human intelligence, it is to him we are mostly indebted for it; nor can we think, speak, or write, without being made conscious at every step of the immense benefit of this intellectual enfranchisement. To whom do I owe the power of publishing what I am even now inditing, except to the liberator of modern thought?

This debt paid to Luther, we do not fear to confess that our strongest sympathies do not lie this way. The reader must not expect to find here the examination of the causes which rendered the victory of Protestantism inevitable. We shall not display, after the example of so many others, the wounds of a Church in which we were born, and which is dear to us. Poor, aged mother of the modern world, denied and beaten by her son, it is not I, of a surety, who would wish to wound her afresh. Elsewhere, we shall take occasion to express how much more judicious, fruitful, and complete, if it be not more logical, the catholic doctrine appears to us than that of any of the sects which have risen up against her. It is her weakness, but her greatness likewise, to have excluded nothing of man's invention, and to have sought to satisfy at one and the same time the contradictory principles of the human mind. It was this, and this only, which afforded those who reduced man to such or such a given principle the means of their easy triumph over her. The universal, in whatever sense it be understood, is weak against the special. *Heresy* means *choice*, a speciality,—speciality of opinion, speciality of country. Wickliff and John Huss were ardent patriots; the Saxon Luther was the Arminius of modern Germany. The Church, universal in time, space, and doctrine, was inferior to each of her opponents, inasmuch as she possessed but one common means. She had to struggle for the unity of the world with the opposing forces of the world; inasmuch as the larger number were with her, she was encumbered with the lukewarm and timid; in her political capacity she had to encounter all worldly temptations; the centre of religious belief, she was inundated with numberless local beliefs, against which she could hardly maintain her unity and perpetuity. She appeared to the world, even what the world and time had made her, and tricked out in the motley robe of history. Having undergone and embraced the whole cycle of humanity, she had contracted its littleness and contradictions. The small heretical communions, rendered zealous by danger and by freedom, isolated, and therefore the purer and more sheltered from temptations, misapprehended the cosmopolitan Church, and compared themselves to her with pride. The pious and profound mystic of the Rhine and of the Low Countries, the rustic and simple Vaudois, pure as the herb of his own Alps, could easily accuse of adultery and prostitution her who had received and adopted every thing. Each rivulet may say to the ocean:—"I descend from my mountains, I know no other water than my own; thou art the receiver of the impurities of the whole world."—"Yes; but I am the Ocean."

All this might be said, and ought to be developed; and no work would stand in greater need of an introduction than one dedicated to such a discussion. To know how Luther was compelled to do and to suffer that which he himself calls *the extremest of miseries*; to comprehend this great and unhappy man, who sent the human mind on its wanderings at the very moment that he conceived he had consigned it to slumber on the pillow of grace; to appreciate the powerlessness of his attempt to ally God and man, it would be necessary to be cognizant of the most important attempts of the kind, made both before and after his day, by the mystics and rationalists; in other words, to sketch the whole history of the Christian religion. At some future time, perhaps, I may be tempted to give such an introduction.

Why, then, put off this too? Why begin so many things, and always stop before you complete? If the answer be thought of consequence, I willingly give it.

Midway in Roman History, I encountered Christianity in its infancy. Midway in the History of France, I encountered it aged and bowed down; here, I have met it again. Whithersoever I go, it is before me; it bars my road and hinders me from passing.

Touch Christianity! it is only they who know it not, who would not hesitate.... For me, I call to mind the nights when I nursed a sick mother. She suffered from remaining in the same position, and would ask to be moved, to be helped to turn in her bed—the filial hands would not hesitate; how move her aching limbs!.....

Many are the years that these ideas have beset me; and, in this season of storms, they ever constitute the torment and the dreams of my solitude. Nor am I in any haste to conclude this internal converse, which is sweet to myself at the least, and which should make me a better man, or to part as yet from these my old and cherished meditations.

THE LIFE OF LUTHER.

BOOK THE FIRST.

A.D. 1483—1521.

CHAPTER I.

A.D. 1483—1517.

BIRTH, EDUCATION OF LUTHER.—HIS ORDINATION, TEMPTATIONS, AND JOURNEY TO ROME.

"In the many conversations I have had with Melanchthon, I have told him my whole life from beginning to end. I am a peasant's son, and my father, grandfather, and great-grandfather were all common peasants. My father went to Mansfeld, and got employment in the mines there; and there I was born. That I should ever take my bachelor of arts and doctor's degree, &c., seemed not to be in the stars. How I must have surprised folks by turning monk; and then, again, by changing the brown cap for another! By so doing, I occasioned real grief and trouble to my father. Afterwards I went to loggers with the pope, married a runaway nun, and had a family. Who foresaw this in the stars! Who could have told my career beforehand?"

John Luther, the father of the celebrated Martin Luther, was of Möra or Mörke, a small village of Saxony, near Eisenach. His mother was the daughter of a lawyer of the last named town; or, according to a tradition, which strikes me as the preferable one of the two, of Neustadt in Franconia. A modern writer states, but without giving any authority for the anecdote, that John Luther, having had the misfortune to kill a peasant who was herding his cattle in a meadow, was forced to fly to Eisleben, and afterwards to the valley of Mansfeld. His wife, who was in the family-way, accompanied him; and, on reaching Eisleben, she was brought to bed of Martin Luther. The father, a poor miner, had great difficulty in supporting his family, and, as will presently be seen, his children were sometimes obliged to have recourse to charity. Yet, instead of making them help him with their labour, he chose that they should go to school. John Luther seems to have been a simple and single-hearted man, and a sincere believer. When his pastor was administering consolation to him on his death-bed: "He must be a cold-blooded man," was his remark, "who does not believe what you are telling me." His

wife did not survive him a year (A.D. 1531). They were at this time in the enjoyment of a small property, for which they were no doubt indebted to their son. John Luther left at his death a house, two iron furnaces, and about a thousand thalers in ready money. The arms of Luther's father, for peasants assumed arms in imitation of the armorial bearings of the nobles, were a hammer, no more. Luther was not ashamed of his parents. He has consecrated their names by inserting them in the formulary of his marriage service: "*Wilt thou, Hans (John), take Grethe (Margaret) to thy wedded wife,*" &c.

"It is my pious duty," he says in a letter to Melanchthon, informing him of his father's death, "to mourn him of whom it was the will of the Father of Mercy that I should be born, him by whose labour and sweat God has supported and made me what I am, worm though I be. Assuredly I rejoice that he lived unto this day, to see the light of truth. Blessed be the counsels and decrees of God for ever! Amen!"

Martin Luther, or Luder, or Lothar (for so he sometimes signs himself), was born at Eisleben, on the 10th of November, 1483, at eleven in the evening. Sent at an early age to school at Eisenach (A.D. 1489), he sang in the streets for a livelihood, as was a common practice of that time with poor German students. We are made acquainted with this circumstance by himself:—"Let no one speak contemptuously before me of the poor 'companions,' who go about singing and crying at every door. *Panem propter Deum!* (bread for God's sake!) You know that the Psalm says—'Princes and kings have sung.' I, myself, have been a poor mendicant, and have received bread at the doors of houses, particularly in Eisenach, my beloved city!" He at length met with a more certain livelihood, as well as an asylum, in the house of dame Ursula, wife or widow of John Schweickard, who took pity on the poor wandering child; and he was enabled by this charitable woman to study four years at Eisenach. In 1501, he entered the university of Erfurt, where he was supported by his father. In one of his works, Luther mentions his benefactress in terms of tenderest emotion, and for her sake valued the sex all his life. After essaying theology, he was persuaded by his friends, to devote himself

to the study of the law, which, in that day, was the path to all lucrative offices in both church and state; but he never seemed to have been attached to it. He preferred general literature, and especially music, which was his passion, and which he cultivated all his life, and taught his children. He does not hesitate to own his opinion that, next to theology, music is the first of the arts:—"Music is the art of the prophets; the only one which, like theology, can calm the troubles of the soul, and put the devil to flight." He touched the lute, played on the flute. Perhaps he would have succeeded in other arts. He was the friend of the great painter, Lucas Cranach. He was, it seems, skilful with his hands, and acquired the art of turning. His predilection for music and literature, and the constant reading of the poets, with which he diversified his study of logic and of law, were far from foreshadowing the serious part which he was destined to play in the history of religion; and it is presumable, from various traditional anecdotes, that, notwithstanding his application to his studies, he led the life of the German students of the day, and participated in their noisy habits, their gaiety in the midst of indigence, their union of a warlike exterior with sweetness of soul and a peaceful spirit, and of all the parade of a disorderly life with purity of morals. Certainly, if any one had met Martin Luther, travelling on foot from Erfurth to Mansfeld, in the third week of Lent, in the year 1503, with his sword and hunting-knife at his side, and constantly hurting himself with these weapons of his, he would never have thought that the awkward student would in a short time overthrow the dominion of the catholic church throughout half of Europe.

In 1505, the young man's life was accidentally turned into quite a new channel. A friend of his was struck dead by lightning at his side. He uttered a cry; and that cry was a vow to St. Anne to turn monk. The danger over, he made no attempt to elude a vow into which he had been surprised by terror, he solicited no dispensation; he regarded the stroke which he conceived himself to have narrowly escaped, as a menace and command from Heaven, and only deferred the fulfilment of the obligation he had undertaken for a fortnight. On the 17th of July, 1505, after having spent the evening pleasantly in a musical party, with his friends, he entered the same night the cloister of the Augustins, at Erfurth, taking with him only his Plantus and his Virgil. The next day, he wrote to various parties bidding them farewell, informed his father of the step he had taken, and remained secluded a whole month. He was conscious how much he still clung to the world; and feared to face his father's respected countenance, his commands, and his prayers. In fact, it took two years to persuade John Luther to allow him his way, and to consent to be present at his ordination. A day on which the miner could quit his work was fixed for the ceremony; and he came to Erfurth, accompanied by many of his friends, when he bestowed on the son he was losing twenty florins, the amount of his savings.

It must not be supposed that the new priest was impelled by any particular fervour to contract so serious an engagement. We have seen the baggage of mundane literature which he brought with him into the cloister. Let us hear his own

confession of the frame of mind with which he entered: "When I said my first mass at Erfurth, I was all but dead, for I was without faith. My only thought was, that I was most acceptable. I had no idea that I was a sinner. The first mass was an event much looked to, and a considerable sum of money was always collected. The *horæ canonicæ* were borne in with torches. The dear young lord, as the peasants called their new priest, had then to dance with his mother, if she were still alive, whilst the bystanders wept for joy; if dead, he put her, as the phrase runs, under the communion-cup, and saved her from purgatory."

Luther having obtained his wish, having become priest and monk, all being consummated and the door closed, there then began, I do not say regrets, but misgivings, doubts, the temptations of the flesh, the pernicious subtleties of the spirit. We of the present day can have but a faint idea of the rude gymnastics of the solitary mind. Our passions are regulated; we stifle them in their birth. How can we, plunged in the enervating dissipation of a thousand businesses, studies, and easy enjoyments, and blunted by precocious satiety both of the senses and the mind, picture to ourselves the spiritual conflicts entered into by the man of the middle age? the painful mysteries of an abstinent and phantastic life; the fearful fights which have taken place, noiselessly and unrecorded, betwixt the wall and the sombre casement of the monk's poor cell? An archbishop of Mentz was accustomed to say: "The human heart is like the stones of a mill; if you put corn between them they grind it and make it into flour; but if you put noue, they keep turning till they grind themselves away." . . . "When I was a monk," says Luther, "I often wrote to Dr. Staupitz. I once wrote to him, '*Oh! my sins! my sins! my sins!*' to which he replied, 'You desire to be without sin, and yet are free from all real sin. Christ was the pardon for sin.'" . . . "I frequently confessed to Dr. Staupitz, not about trifles such as women are in the habit of doing, but about thoughts which go to the root of the matter. He answered me, like all other confessors, 'I don't understand you.' At last he came to me as I was sitting at table, and said, 'Are you so sad, then, *frater Martine?*' 'Ah!' replied I, 'yes I am.' 'You are not aware,' he said, 'that temptation of the kind is good and necessary for you, but only for you.' He simply meant that I was learned, and, without such temptations, would become proud and haughty; but I afterwards knew that it was the Holy Ghost that was speaking to me."

Elsewhere, Luther describes how those temptations had reduced him to such a condition that he did not eat, drink, or sleep for a fortnight. "Ah! were St. Paul now living, how should I wish to hear from himself what kind of temptation it was by which he was tried. It was not the sting of the flesh; it was not the good Tecla, as the Papists dream. Oh! no; that were not a sin to rack his conscience. It was something exceeding the despair caused by sins; it was rather the temptation alluded to by the Psalmist, when he exclaims, 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?' As if he meant to say, 'Thou art my enemy without a cause,' or the cry of Job: 'I am, nevertheless, just and innocent.' I feel certain that the book of Job is a true history, out of which a poem was subsequently made. . . . Jerome and the other fathers

did not undergo such temptations. They suffered but puerile ones, those of the flesh, which, however, have their own pangs too. Augustin and Ambrose had theirs; they trembled before the sword; but this is nothing in comparison with the angel of Satan, *who buffets with the fists*. . . . If my life endure a little longer I will write a book on temptations, without undergoing which one can neither comprehend Holy Scripture nor know the love and fear of God.”—“ . . . I was ill in the infirmary. The cruellest temptations exhausted and racked my frame, so that I had scarcely power to draw a breath. None gave me comfort. Those to whom I complained answered, ‘We know nothing of this.’ Then I said to myself: ‘Am I alone to be so depressed in mind?’ . . . Oh! what horrible spectres and faces danced around me! . . . But, for these ten years, God, by his dear angels, has given me the comfort of fighting and writing (in his cause?).”

Long after this, the year before his death, he explains the nature of these fearful temptations:—“From the time that I attended the schools, I had felt, when studying St. Paul’s Epistles, the most intolerable anxiety to know the intent of St. Paul’s Epistle to the Romans. I stuck at one phrase—*Justitia Dei revelatur in illo* (for therein is the righteousness of God revealed). I hated that word, *Justitia Dei* (the righteousness of God), because I had learnt to understand it, with the schoolmen, of that active justice, through which God is just, and punishes the unjust and sinners. Leading the life of a blameless monk, yet disturbed by the sinner’s uneasy conscience, and unable to feel certain of justification before God, I could not love, rather, I must confess it, I hated this just God, the avenger of sin. I waxed wroth, and murmured loudly within myself, if I did not blaspheme—‘What,’ I said, ‘is it not enough that unhappy sinners, already eternally lost through original sin, are overwhelmed with innumerable woes by the law of the decalogue, but must God heap suffering upon suffering, and menace us in the Gospel itself with his justice and his wrath?’ . . . I was hurried out of myself on this wise by the uneasiness of my conscience, and kept constantly recurring to and sifting the same passage, with a burning desire to penetrate St. Paul’s meaning.

“As I meditated day and night upon the words: ‘For therein is the righteousness of God revealed from faith to faith: as it is written, The just shall live by faith,’ God at length took pity upon me. I perceived that the righteousness of God is that by which the just man, through God’s goodness, lives, that is to say, *faith*; and that the meaning of the passage is—the Gospel reveals the righteousness of God, a passive righteousness, through which the God of mercy justifies us by faith. On this I felt as if I were born again, and seemed to be entering through the opening portals of Paradise. . . . Some time afterwards I read St. Augustin’s work, *Of the Letter and the Spirit*, and found, contrary to my expectation, that he also understands by the righteousness of God, that which God imputes to us by justifying us; a coincidence which afforded me gratification, although the subject is imperfectly stated in the work, and this father does not explain himself fully or clearly on the doctrine of imputation. . . .”

In order to confirm Luther in the doctrine

of grace, there wanted but his visiting the country in which grace had become extinct, that is, Italy. We need not describe the Italy of the Borgias. There indisputably existed at this period a characteristic of which history has seldom or never presented another instance; a reasoning and scientific perversity, a magnificent ostentation of crime; to sum up the whole in one word, the priest-atheist, king in his own belief of the world. This belonged to the age; but what belonged to the country, and what cannot change, is the unconquerable paganism which has ever existed in Italy; where, despite every effort, nature is pagan, and art follows nature, a glorious comedy, tricked out by Raphael, and sung by Ariosto. The men of the North could but faintly appreciate all that there is of grave, lofty, and divine in Italian art, discerning in it only sensuality and carnal temptations; their best defence against which was to close their eyes and pass on quickly, cursing as they passed. Nor were they less shocked by Italy’s austerer part, policy and jurisprudence. The Germanic nations have ever instinctively rejected and cursed the Roman law. Tacitus describes how on the defeat of Varus, the Germans took their revenge on the juridical forms to which he had endeavoured to subject them: having nailed the head of a Roman lawyer to a tree, one of these barbarians ran his tongue through with a bodkin, exclaiming, “Hiss, viper! hiss, now!” This hatred of the legists, perpetuated throughout the Middle Age, was, as it will be seen, warmly participated in by Luther; as, indeed, might have been expected. The legist and the theologian are the two poles—the one believes in liberty, the other in grace; the one in man, the other in God. Italy has always entertained the first of these beliefs; and the Italian reformer, Savonarola, who preceded Luther, only proposed a change in works and manners, and not in faith.

Behold Luther in Italy. The hour that one first descends from the Alps into this glorious land is one of joy, of vast hopes; and, indisputably, Luther hoped to confirm his faith in the holy city, and lay his doubts on the tombs of the holy apostles. Nor was he without a sense of the attraction of ancient, of classic Rome; that sanctuary of the learning which he had so ardently cultivated in his poor Wittenberg. His first experience of the country is being lodged in a monastery, built of marble, at Milan; and so as he proceeds from convent to convent, he finds it like changing from palace to palace. In all, alike, the way of living is lavish and sumptuous. The candid German was somewhat surprised at the magnificence in which humility arrayed herself, at the regal splendour that accompanied penitence; and he once ventured to tell the Italian monks that it would be better not to eat meat of a Friday; an observation which nearly cost him his life, for he narrowly escaped an ambush they laid for him. He continues his journey, sad and undecided, on foot, across the burning plains of Lombardy. By the time he reaches Padua he is fairly ill; but he persists, and enters Bologna a dying man. The poor traveller’s head has been overcome by the blaze of the Italian sun, by the strange sights he has seen, the strangeness of manners and of sentiments. He took to his bed at Bologna, the stronghold of the Roman law and the legists, in

the firm expectation of speedy death ; strengthening himself by whispering in the words of the prophet and the apostle, "The just man lives by faith." In one of his conversations he displays with much simplicity the horror felt of Italy by the worthy Germans : "The Italians require no more to take away your life than that you should look into a glass; and can deprive you of all your senses by secret poisons. The very air is deadly in Italy. They close the windows with the greatest care at night, and stop up all the crevices." Luther asserts that both he and the brother who accompanied him fell ill through having slept with the windows open ; but two pomegranates that they eat, with God's grace, saved their lives. He resumed his journey, passed through Florence only, and at last entered Rome. He alighted at the convent of his order, near the *Porta del Popolo*. "As soon as I arrived I fell on my knees, raised my hands to heaven, and exclaimed, 'Hail, holy Rome, sanctified by holy martyrs, and the blood which they have shed here !' " . . . In his enthusiasm, he says he hastened to every sacred spot, saw all, believed all. But he soon discovered that he was the only believer. Christianity seemed to be forgotten in this capital of the Christian world. The pope was no longer the scandalous Alexander VI., but the choleric and warlike Julius II. ; and this father of the faithful breathed only blood and desolation. His great artist, Michael Angelo, represented him hurling his benediction at Bologna, like a Jupiter hurling thunder ; and Julius had just given him an order for a tomb to be as large as a temple. 'Twas the monument, of which the Moses, amongst other statues, has come down to us.

The sole thought of the pope, and of Rome, at this period, was war with the French. Had Luther undertaken to speak of grace and the powerlessness of works to this strange priest, who besieged towns in person, and who but a short time before would not enter Mirandola except through the breach, he would have met with a patient listener ! His cardinals, so many officers serving their apprenticeships to war, were politicians, diplomatists, or else men of letters, learned men sprung from the ranks of the people, who only read Cicero, and would have feared to compromise their Latinity by opening the Bible. When speaking of the pope, they styled him *high pontiff* ; a canonized saint was, in their language, *relatus inter deos* (translated to Olympus) ; and if they did happen to let fall an allusion to God's grace, it was in the phrase, *Deorum immortalium beneficiis* (by the kind aid of the immortal Gods). Did our German take refuge in churches, he had not even the consolation of hearing a good mass. The Roman priest would hurry through the divine sacrifice so quickly, that when Luther was no further than the Gospels, the minister who performed service was dismissing the congregation with the words, "*Ite, missa est*," (Ye may go, service is over.) These Italian priests would often presume to show off the freethinker, and, when consecrating the host, to exclaim "*Panis es, et panis manebis*." (Bread thou art, and bread thou shalt remain.) To veil one's head and fly was the only resource left. Luther quitted Rome at the end of a fortnight, bearing with him, into Germany, the condemnation of Italy, and of the Church. In his rapid and saddening visit, the Saxon had seen

enough to enable him to condemn, too little to allow him to comprehend. And, beyond a doubt, for a mind preoccupied with the moral side of Christianity, to have discovered any religion in that world of art, law, and policy, which constituted Italy, would have required a singular effort of philosophy. "I would not," he somewhere says, "I would not have missed seeing Rome for a hundred thousand florins" (which words he repeats three times). I should ever have been uneasy, lest I might have done injustice to the pope."

CHAPTER II.

A. D. 1517 — 1521.

LUTHER ATTACKS THE INDULGENCES.—HE BURNS THE PAPAL BULL.—ERASMUS, HUTTEN, FRANZ VON SICKINGEN.—LUTHER APPEARS AT THE DIET OF WORMS.—HE IS CARRIED OFF.

THE papacy was far from suspecting her danger. Ever since the thirteenth century, she had been clamoured against and railed at ; until the world appeared to her to have been lulled to sleep by the monotonous wranglings of the schools. There seemed nothing strikingly new left to be said : every one had talked himself out of breath. Wickliff, John Huss, Jerome of Prague, persecuted, condemned, and burnt, had, nevertheless, had time to make full clearance of their minds. The doctors of the most Catholic University of Paris, the Pierre d'Aillys, the Clemengises, even the mild Gerson himself, had had, respectively, their blow at the papacy. Patient and tenacious, she lasted, however, and made shift to live on ; and so the fifteenth century slipped away. The councils of Constance and Bâle produced greater noise than result. The popes let them go on talking, managed to get the Pragmatic acts revoked, quietly re-established their dominion in Europe, and founded a great sovereignty in Italy. Julius II. conquered for the church ; Leo X. for his family. The latter, young, worldly-minded, fond of literature, a man both of pleasure and of business, like the rest of the Medicis, had all the passions of his age, both those of the old popes and those of his own day. He aimed at making the Medici kings ; and he himself sustained the part of the first king of Christendom. Independently of that expensive scheme of diplomacy which embraced all the states of Europe, he maintained distant scientific relations, pushed his inquiries even into the north, and made a collection of the monuments of Scandinavian history. At Rome, he built St. Peter's, a duty bequeathed him by Julius II. ; who had not sufficiently calculated his resources, for who could think of money when Michael Angelo laid such a plan before him ! Speaking of the Pantheon, he had said, "I will hang it up three hundred feet high in the air." The poor Roman state was not strong enough to contend with the magnificent genius of such artists, whose conceptions even the ancient Roman empire, the master of the world, would hardly have been able to realize. Leo X. had begun his pontificate by selling Francis I. what did not belong to him, the rights of the church of France ; and, shortly afterwards, in order to raise money, he had created thirty cardinals at once. These were trifling resources. He was not owner of the mines of

Mexico ; his mines were the ancient faith of the people, their credulous good-nature ; and he had sold the right of working them in Germany to the Dominicans, who succeeded the Austin friars in the sale of indulgences. The Dominican, Tetzel, an impudent mountebank, went about with great bustle, display, and expense, disposing of his ware in the churches, public squares, and taverns. He pocketed the proceeds, giving in the smallest return he possibly could ; a fact which the pope's legate brought home to him some time after. As the faith of purchasers waxed less, it became expedient to enhance the merit of the specific, which had been so long hawked about that the market had fallen. The fearless Tetzel had pushed rhetoric to the extremest limits of amplification. Boldly heaping pious lies on lie, he went into an enumeration of all the evils cured by this panacea, and, not contenting himself with known sins, invented crimes, devised strange, unheard-of wickednesses, of which no one had ever dreamed before ; and when he saw his auditory struck with horror, coolly added, "Well, the instant money rattles in the pope's coffers, all will be expiated !"

Luther asserts that at this time he hardly knew what indulgences were ; but when he saw a prospectus of them, proudly displaying the name and guarantee of the archbishop of Mentz, whom the pope had appointed to superintend the sale of indulgences in Germany, he was seized with indignation. A mere speculative problem would never have brought him into contact with his ecclesiastical superiors ; but this was a question of good sense and morality. As doctor of theology, and an influential professor of the university of Wittenberg which the elector had just founded, as provincial vicar of the Austin friars, and the vicar-general's substitute in the pastoral charge and visitation of Misnia and Thuringia, he, no doubt, thought himself more responsible than any one else for the safeguard of the Saxon faith. His conscience was aroused. He ran a great risk in speaking ; but, if he held his tongue, he believed his damnation certain. He began in legal form, applying to his own diocesan, the bishop of Brandenburg, to silence Tetzel. The bishop replied, that this would be to attack the power of the Church ; that he would involve himself in trouble of every kind, and that it would be wiser for him to keep quiet. On this, Luther addressed himself to the primate, archbishop of Mentz and of Magdeburg (a prince of the house of Brandenburg, a house hostile to the elector of Saxony), and sent him a list of propositions which he offered to maintain against the doctrine of indulgences. We abridge his letter, which runs to great length in the original (October 31st, 1517).

"Venerable father in God, most illustrious prince, vouchsafe to cast a favourable eye on me, who am but dust and ashes, and to receive my request with pastoral kindness. There is circulated throughout the country, in the name of your grace and lordship, the papal indulgence for the erection of the cathedral of St. Peter's at Rome. I do not so much object to the declamations of the preachers of the indulgence, as to the erroneous idea entertained of it by the poor, simple, and unlearned, who are every where openly avowing their fond imaginations on the subject. This pains me, and turns me sick. . . . They fancy that souls will be delivered from purgatory as soon as their money clinks in the

(papal) coffer. They believe the indulgence to be powerful enough to save the greatest sinner, even one (such is their blasphemy) who might have violated the holy mother of our Saviour ! . . . Great God ! these poor souls, then, are to be taught, under your authority, to death and not to life. You will incur a fearful and heavily increasing responsibility. . . . Be pleased, noble and venerable father, to read and take into consideration the following propositions, in which is shown the vanity of the indulgences which the preachers give out as a certainty."

The archbishop making no reply, Luther, who misdoubted such would be the case, on the very same day at noon (October 31st, 1517, the day before All Saints' Day) affixed his propositions to the door of the church of the castle of Wittenberg, which is still in existence.

"The following theses will be maintained at Wittenberg, before the reverend Martin Luther, moderator, &c., 1517:—

"The pope neither can nor will remit any penalty except such as he has himself imposed, or in conformity with the canons.

"The penitential canons are for the living ; they cannot impose any punishment on the soul of the dead.

"The changing of canonical punishment into the pains of purgatory is a sowing of tares : the bishops were clearly asleep when they suffered such seed to be sown.

"That power of extending relief to souls in purgatory, which the pope can exercise throughout Christendom, belongs to each bishop in his own diocese, each curate in his own parish . . . Who knows whether all the souls in purgatory would wish to be released ? is said to have been asked by St. Severinus.

"Christians should be taught, that unless they have a superfluity, they ought to keep their money for their family, and lay out nothing upon their sins.

"Christians should be taught, that when the pope grants indulgences, he does not so much seek for their money as for their earnest prayers in his behalf.

"Christians should be taught, that if the pope were made acquainted with the extortions of the indulgence-preachers, he would prefer seeing the basilica of St. Peter's reduced to ashes, to building it with the flesh, fleece, and bones of his sheep.

"The pope's wish must be, if indulgences, a small matter, are proclaimed with the ringing of a bell, with ceremonial, and solemnity, that the Gospel, so great a matter, should be preached with a hundred bells, a hundred ceremonies, a hundred solemnities.

"The true treasure of the Church is the sacrosanct Gospel of the glory and grace of God.

"One has cause to hate this treasure of the Gospel, by which the first become the last.

"One has cause to love the treasure of indulgences, by which the last become the first.

"The treasures of the Gospel are the nets by which rich men were once fished for.

"The treasures of indulgences are the nets with which men's riches are now fished for.

"To say that the cross, placed in the pope's arms, is equal to the cross of Christ, is blasphemy.

"Why does not the pope, out of his most holy

charity, empty purgatory, in which are so many souls in punishment? This would be a worthier exercise of his power than freeing souls for money (this money brings misfortune), and to put to what use? to build a church.

"What means this strange compassion of God and the pope's, who, for money's sake, change the soul of an impious person, of one of God's enemies, into a pious soul and one acceptable to the Lord?"

"Cannot the pope, whose treasures at the present moment exceed the most enormous treasures, build a single church, the basilica of St. Peter's, with his own money, rather than with that of the poor faithful?"

"What does the pope remit, what does he give those who, by perfect repentance, are entitled to plenary forgiveness?"

"Far from us all those prophets, who say to the people of Christ—'*Peace, peace,*' and do not give peace."

"Far, very far, all those prophets who say to Christ's people—'*The cross, the cross,*' and do not show the cross."

"Christians should be exhorted to follow Christ, their head, through pains, punishments, and hell itself; so that they may be certified that it is through tribulations heaven is entered, and not through security and peace, &c."

These propositions, which are all negative and polemic, found their complement in the following dogmatic theses, which were published by Luther almost simultaneously:—

"Man by his nature cannot will that God be God. He would rather himself be God, and that God was not God."

"It is false that appetite is free to choose both ways; it is not free, but captive."

"There exists in nature, before God, nothing save concupiscence."

"It is false that this concupiscence can be regulated by the virtue of hope. For hope is opposed to charity, which seeks and desires only what is of God. Hope does not come of our merits, but of our passions, which efface our merits."

"The best and only infallible preparation and disposition for the reception of grace, are the choice and predestination of God from all eternity."

"As regards man, nothing precedes grace, except indisposition to grace, or rather rebellion."

"It is false that invincible ignorance is any extenuation. Ignorance of God, of oneself, of good works, is the invincible nature of man, &c."

The publication of these theses, and the sermon in the vulgar tongue, which Luther delivered in support of them, fell like a thunderbolt upon Germany. This immolation of liberty to grace, of man to God, of the finite to the infinite, was recognized by the German people as the true national religion, the faith which Gottschalk had professed in the days of Charlemagne, in the very cradle of German Christianity, the faith of Tauler, and of all the mystics of the Low Countries. The people threw themselves wildly and greedily on the religious food, from which they had been weaned since the fourteenth century. The propositions were printed by countless thousands, devoured, circulated, hawked about. Luther was alarmed at his own success. "I am grieved," he says, "to see them printed and circulated in such numbers; 'tis not a proper way of instructing the people. I

myself still retain some doubts. I could have proved some points better, and should have omitted others, had I foreseen this." He seemed, indeed, disposed to retract everything, and to submit. "I desire to obey," he said; "I should prefer obeying to working miracles, even had I the gift of miracles." But these pacific resolutions were dissipated by Tetzel's conduct, in burning the propositions. The Wittenberg students retaliated on Tetzel's, and Luther expresses some regret at it. However, he published his *Resolutions*, in support of his first propositions. "You shall see," he writes to a friend my *Resolutiones et Responsiones* (resolutions and answers). Perhaps, you will think some passages more free than was required; but so much the more intolerable must they seem to the flatterers of Rome. I had already published them: otherwise, I would have softened them down a little."

The noise of this controversy spread beyond Germany, and reached Rome. It is said that Leo X. believed the whole to be a matter of professional jealousy, betwixt the Austin friars and Dominicans; and that he exclaimed, "More monkish rivalry! brother Luther is a man of genius!" Luther avowed his respect for the pope, and at the same time wrote two letters, one being addressed to Leo X., in which he submitted himself unreservedly to him and to his decision. "Most holy father," were his concluding words, "I cast myself at your feet, with the offer of myself, and all that is in me. Pronounce the sentence of life or death; call, recall, approve, disapprove, I acknowledge your voice to be the voice of Christ, who reigns and speaks in you. If I have deserved death, I shall not flinch from dying, for the earth and the fulness thereof are the Lord's, whose name be blessed for ever and ever! May he vouchsafe your eternal salvation! Amen!" (Day of the Blessed Trinity, 1518). The other letter was to Staupitz, the vicar-general, whom he begged to forward it to the pope. In this, Luther indicates that the doctrine he had maintained, had been taught him by Staupitz himself. "I call to mind, reverend father, that among those sweet and profitable discourses of yours, which through the grace of our Lord Jesus were the source of unspeakable consolation to us, you treated of the subject of *repentance*, and that, forthwith, moved by pity for the numerous consciences which are tortured by innumerable and insupportable prescriptions as to the true way of making confession, we welcomed your words as words from heaven, when you said, "*the only true repentance is that which has its beginning in the love of justice and of God,*" and that what is commonly stated to be the end of repentance, ought rather to be its beginning. This saying of yours sunk into me like the sharp arrow of the hunter. I felt emboldened to wrestle with the Scriptures, which teach repentance; wrestling full of charms, during which the words of Scripture were showered from all parts, and flew around hailing and applauding this saying. Aforetime, there was no harder word for me in Scripture than that one word, *repentance*; albeit, I endeavoured to dissemble before God, and express my love of obedience. Now, no word sounds so sweetly in my ear. So sweet and lovely are God's commands when we learn to read them not in books only, but in the very wounds of the sweet Saviour!"—Both those letters are dated from Heidelberg (May 30th, 1518), where the

Austin friars were then holding a provincial synod, which Luther attended to maintain his doctrines against every comer. This famous University, only two steps from the Rhine, and, consequently, on the great highroad of Germany, was indisputably the most conspicuous theatre from which the new doctrine could be declared.

Rome began to be troubled. The master of the sacred palace, the aged Dominican Sylvestro de Priorio, wrote against the Austin monk, in defence of the doctrine of St. Thomas, and drew upon himself a furious and overwhelming reply (the end of August, 1518). Luther was immediately cited to appear at Rome within sixty days. The emperor Maximilian had recommended the papal court not to precipitate matters, promising to do whatever it should order with regard to Luther; but to no purpose. His zeal was somewhat mistrusted; for certain speeches of his had travelled thither, which sounded ill in the pope's ears. "What your monk is doing, is not to be regarded with contempt," the emperor had said to Pfeffinger, the elector of Saxony's minister; "the game is about to begin with the priests. Make much of him; it may be that we may want him." More than once he had indulged in bitter complaints of priests and clerks. "This pope," he said, speaking of Leo X., "has behaved to me like a knave. I can truly say that I have never met with sincerity or good faith in any pope; but, with God's blessing, I trust this will be the last." This was threatening language; and it was also recollected that Maximilian, by way of effecting a definitive reconciliation between the empire and the holy see, had entertained the idea of making himself pope. Leo X., therefore, took good care not to make him the umpire in this quarrel, which was daily growing into fresh importance.

All Luther's hopes lay in the elector's protection. Either out of regard for his new university or personal liking for Luther, this prince had always taken him under his special protection. He had been pleased to defray the expenses of his taking his doctor's degree; and, in 1517, Luther returns thanks by letter for a present of cloth for a gown to keep him warm through the winter. Luther had little fear that the elector would be offended with him for an explosion, which laid all the blame at the door of the archbishop of Mentz and Magdeburg, a prince sprung from the house of Brandenburg, and, consequently, the enemy of that of Saxony. Finally (and this was a powerful motive to inspire him with confidence), the elector had announced that he knew no other rule of faith than the Scriptures. Luther reminded him of this in the following passage (March 27th, 1519):—"Doctor J. Staupitz, my true father in Christ, told me that, talking one day with your electoral highness of those preachers who, instead of declaring the pure word of God, preach to the people only wretched quibbles or human traditions, you observed, that Holy Scripture speaks with such majesty and fulness of evidence as to need none of these weapons of disputation, compelling one to admit, 'Never man spoke like this man. He does not teach like the Scribes and Pharisees, but as one having authority.' And on Staupitz's approving those sentiments, you said to him, 'Your hand, then; and pledge me your word that for the future you will preach this new doctrine.'" The natural com-

plement of this passage occurs in a manuscript life of the elector by Spalatin:—"With what pleasure did he not listen to sermons and read God's word, especially the Evangelists, whose beautiful and comforting sentences were ever in his mouth! But that which he continually repeated was the saying of Christ, as recorded by St. John: '*Without Me ye can do nothing*;' and he used this text to combat the doctrine of free-will, even before Erasmus of Rotterdam had dared, in various publications, to maintain this wretched liberty against God's word. Often has he said to me, how can we have free will, since Christ himself has said, '*Sine me nihil potestis facere*.' (Without me ye can do nothing.)" It would be a mistake, however, to infer from this that Staupitz and his disciple were only instruments in the elector's hands. The Reformation introduced by Luther was clearly spontaneous; and the elector, as we shall have occasion to see, was alarmed by Luther's boldness. He relished, accepted, took advantage of, the Reformation, but would never have begun it. On the 15th of February, 1518, Luther writes to his prudent friend, Spalatin, the elector's chaplain, secretary, and confidant:—"Look at the clamourers who go about reporting, to my great annoyance, that all this is the work of our most illustrious prince. To hearken to them, it is he who has been egging me on, in order to spite the archbishop of Magdeburg and of Mentz. I beg you to consider whether it be worth while to apprise the prince of this. It distresses me exceedingly that his highness should be suspected on my account. To become a cause of strife between such great princes is enough to terrify one." And he holds the same language to the elector himself, in the account he sends him of the conference of Augsburg (November). On March 21st he writes to J. Lange, subsequently archbishop of Salzburg: "Our prince has taken me and Carlstadt under his protection, and this without waiting to be entreated. He will not allow of my being dragged to Rome: this they know, and it is a thorn in their side." The inference would be, that Luther had already received positive assurance of protection from the elector. But, on the 21st of August, 1518, he writes to Spalatin in a more confidential letter: "I do not yet see how I can avoid the censures with which I am threatened, except the prince comes to my aid. And yet, I would rather endure all the censures in the world than see his highness blamed on my account. . . . The best step I can take, in the opinion of our wise and learned friends, is to ask the prince for a safe-conduct (*salvum, ut vocant, conductum per suum dominum*). I am sure he will refuse me; so that, they say, I shall have a good excuse for not appearing at Rome. Have the kindness, then, to procure me from our most illustrious prince a rescript, to the effect that he refuses to grant me a safe-conduct, and leaves me, if I venture on the journey, to my own risk and peril. You will be doing me a most important service; but it must be done quickly, for time presses, and the day appointed is at hand." Luther might have spared himself the trouble of writing this letter, since the prince, though he did not apprise him of it, was busied providing for his safety. He had managed that Luther should be examined by a legate in Germany, in the free city of Augsburg, where he himself happened to be at this very moment, no doubt to concert measures with the magistracy for the security of Luther's

person in this dangerous interview. No doubt it is to the fact of this invisible providence's watching over Luther that we must attribute the restless care of those said magistrates to preserve him from any ambush the Italians might lay for him. For his own part, in his courage and simplicity he went straight forward, without clearly knowing what the prince would, or would not, do in his favour (Sept. 2). "I have said, and I repeat, that I do not want our prince, who is innocent of the whole affair, to take the slightest step in defence of my propositions. . . . Let him secure me from violence, if he can do so without compromising his interests; if he cannot, I am ready to face all the danger."

Caetano de Vio, the legate, was certainly a judge not much to be feared. He had himself written that it was lawful to interpret Scripture without following the torrent of the fathers (*contrà torrentem SS. patrum*). This and other daring opinions had rendered him somewhat amenable to the suspicion of heresy. But, selected by the pope to compose this difference, he set about his business like a politician, and only attacked that part of Luther's doctrine which shook the political and fiscal power of the court of Rome; keeping to the practical question of the *treasure of indulgences*, without recurring to the speculative question of grace. "When I was cited to Augsburg, I obeyed the summons, but with a strong guard, and under the guarantee of Frederick, elector of Saxony, who had commended me to the authorities of Augsburg. They were exceedingly watchful over me, and warned me not to trust myself to the Italians, and to eschew all companionship with them. I did not know, they said, what a Goth was. I remained at Augsburg for three whole days without any safe-conduct from the emperor; during which interval an Italian often came to invite me to visit the cardinal, being discouraged by no refusal. 'You ought to retract,' he would say; 'you have but to utter one word, *revoco*. The cardinal will report favourably of you, and you will return with honour to your prince.'" Amongst other instances which he adduces in order to persuade him, was that of the famous Joachim de Flores, who, since he made his submission, was not heretical, although he had advanced heretical propositions.

"At the end of three days the bishop of Trent arrived, who showed the cardinal a safe-conduct from the emperor. On this I waited upon him with all humility. I sank at first on my knees, then abased myself to the ground, and so remained at his feet, nor did I rise until thrice ordered. He was exceedingly pleased, and conceived the hope that I should alter my resolution. The following day, when I positively refused to retract any thing, he asked me, 'Do you think the pope really minds Germany? Do you believe the princes will go to war in your defence? Oh, no! Where will you find a resting-place?' 'Under heaven,' was my answer. The pope subsequently lowered his tone, and wrote to the Church, and even to master Spalatin and Pfeffinger, begging them to give me up to him, and to insist on the execution of his decree. Meanwhile, my little book and my *Resolutions* went, or rather flew, in a few days, over all Europe. And so the elector of Saxony was confirmed and fortified. He would not carry the pope's orders into effect, and submitted himself to the cognizance of Scripture.

Had the cardinal conducted himself with more sense and discretion towards me, had he welcomed me when I fell at his feet, matters would never have gone so far. For at that time I had but a faint notion of the papal errors. Had the pope been silent, I would readily have held my peace. It was then the style and custom of the court of Rome for the pope to say, in knotty and obscure matters,—'By virtue of our papal powers we call in this thing to ourselves, annul it, and make it as if it had never been.' On which there only remained for both parties to weep. I wager the pope would give three cardinals to have the business still in the bag."

The following details are from a letter which Luther wrote to Spalatin (that is, to the elector), while he was at Augsburg, and the conference going on (October 14th):—"For these four days the legate has been conferring with me, or rather, against me. . . . He refuses to dispute in public, or even in private, never ceasing to repeat, 'Retract, confess your error, whether you think it one or not; the pope will have it so.' . . . At last, he prevailed upon to allow me to explain myself in writing, which I did in the presence of the baron of Feilitsch, the emperor's representative; but then the legate would have nothing to do with what I had written, and again began to call for retraction. He favoured me with a long discourse which he had ferreted out of one or other of St. Thomas's romances, and thought he had conquered me and closed my mouth. Ten different times I tried to speak, but he stopped me each time, thundering and usurping the sole right of speaking. At length, I began to raise my voice in my turn:—"If you can show me that this decree of your Clement VI. expressly states that the merits of Christ are the treasure of indulgences, I retract." God knows into what uproarious laughter they burst out at this. As for him, he snatched the book from me and turned breathlessly over the leaves (*ferrens et anhelans*) till he came to the passage where it is written that Christ, by his passion, *has acquired* the treasures, &c. I stopped him at this word *has acquired*. . . . After dinner, he sent for the reverend father Staupitz, and coaxed him over to induce me to retract, adding that I could not easily find any one better inclined to me than himself." The disputants followed a different course; reconciliation became impossible. Luther's friend feared an ambush on the part of the Italians. He quitted Augsburg, leaving an appeal to the pope, when thoroughly cognizant of the cause, and addressed a long account of the conference to the elector. We learn from the latter, that in the discussion he had supported his opinions as to the pope's authority on the council of Bâle, on the university of Paris, and on Gerson. He prays the elector not to give him up:—"May your most illustrious highness follow the dictates of your honour and conscience, and not send me to the pope. The man (Luther means the legate) has surely in his instructions no guarantee for my safety at Rome; and for him to ask your most illustrious highness to send me thither, would be asking you to give up Christian blood, to become homicide. To Rome! Why the pope himself is not in safety there. They have paper and ink enough there, and scribes and notaries without number, and can easily write word in what I have erred. It will be less expensive to proceed

against me, in my absence, by writing, than to make away with me, should I be present, by treachery."

These fears were well founded. The court of Rome was about to address itself directly to the elector of Saxony. It required Luther at any cost. Already the legate had complained bitterly to Frederic of Luther's presumption, and had besought him to send him back to Augsburg, or to banish him, if he would not sully his own glory, and that of his ancestors, by protecting this wretched monk. "I heard yesterday from Nuremberg that Charles von Miltitz is on his way with three briefs from the pope (according to an eyewitness worthy of all faith), to seize and hand me over bodily to the pontiff. But I have appealed to the forthcoming council." It was full time for him to reject the pope, since, as the legate had informed Frederic, he was already condemned at Rome. Luther, in making this fresh protest, adhered strictly to all the juridical forms. He avowed his willingness to submit to the judgment of the pope, when thoroughly cognizant of the cause; but here the pope might err, as St. Peter himself had erred. He appealed to the general council, which was superior to the pope, from all the pope's decrees against him. But he was afraid of some sudden violence; of being privily borne off from Wittenberg. "You have been misinformed," he writes to Spalatin, "I have not taken my leave of the people of Wittenberg. I have used, it is true, the following or similar terms:—'You are all aware that I am an uncertain and unsettled preacher. How often have I not left you without bidding you farewell! Should this happen again, and I not return, consider that I have bid you farewell now.'" On December 2nd, he writes, "I am advised to ask the prince to shut me up a prisoner in some castle, and to be pleased to write to the legate that he has me in a sure place, where I shall be compelled to answer." He wrote on the 19th of the preceding month, "It is beyond all doubt, the prince and the university are with me. A conversation has come to my knowledge that took place concerning me at the court of the bishop of Brandenburg. Some one observed, 'He is supported by Erasmus, Fabricius, and other learned persons.' 'The pope would care nothing for that,' replied the bishop, 'were not the university of Wittenberg and the elector, too, on his side.'" Yet Luther spent the latter part of this year (1518) in lively anxiety, and had some thoughts of leaving Germany. "To avoid drawing down any danger on your highness, I will quit your dominions, and go whithersoever God in his mercy shall conduct me, trusting, whatever may befall, in his divine will. I therefore respectfully bid farewell to your highness; and among whatever people I may take my abode, I shall remember your kindness with never-ceasing gratitude." At this moment, indeed, he might consider Saxony an insecure abode. The pope was endeavouring to win over the elector. Charles von Miltitz was commissioned to offer him the golden rose, a high distinction usually conferred by the court of Rome on kings only, as the reward of their filial piety towards the Church. This was a difficult trial for the elector; as it compelled him to come to a distinct explanation, and, perhaps, to draw down great danger upon himself. The elector's hesitation is apparent from a letter of Luther's:—"The prince was altogether against my publishing the

acts of the conference of Augsburg, but afterwards gave me permission, and they are now printed. . . . In his uneasiness about me, he would prefer my being any where else. He summoned me to Litchenberg, where I had a long conference with Spalatin on the subject, and expressed my resolve, in case the censures were fulminated, not to stay. He told me, however, not to be in such haste to start for France." This was written on the 13th of December; on the 20th, Luther's doubts were past. The elector had returned for answer, with true diplomatic reserve, that he professed himself a most obedient son of holy mother Church, and entertained a great respect for the pontifical sanctity, but required an inquiry into the matter by disinterested judges; a certain means of ensuring procrastination, since, in the interim, incidents might occur to lessen or delay the danger. To gain time was every thing. In fact, the emperor died in the following January; the interregnum commenced, and Frederic became, by Maximilian's own choice, vicar of the empire until the hour of election. Feeling himself secure, Luther addressed (March 3rd, 1519) a haughty letter to the pope, but respectfully worded:—"Most holy father, I cannot support the weight of your wrath, yet know not how to escape from the burthen. Thanks to the opposition and attacks of my enemies, my words have spread more widely than I could have hoped for, and they have sunk too deeply into men's hearts for me to retract them. In these our days, Germany flourishes in erudition, reason, and genius; and if I would honour Rome before her, I must beware of retraction, which would be only sully- ing the Roman Church still further, and exposing it to public accusation and contempt. It is they who, abusing the name of your holiness, have made their absurd preaching subserve their infamous avarice, and have sullied holy things with the abomination and reproach of Egypt, that have done the Roman Church injury and dishonour with Germany. And, as if this was not mischief enough, it is against me, who have striven to oppose those monsters, that their accusations are directed. But I call God and men to witness, most holy father, that I have never wished, and do not now desire to touch the Roman Church or your sacred authority; and that I acknowledge most explicitly that this Church rules over all, and that nothing, heavenly or earthly, is superior to it, save Jesus Christ our Lord."

From this moment, Luther had made up his mind. A month or two before, indeed, he had written, "The pope will not hear of a judge, and I will not be judged by the pope. So he will be the text, and I the gloss." In another letter he says to Spalatin (March 13), "I am in travail with St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, and am thinking of a sermon on the Passion; whilst, in addition to my ordinary lessons, I teach children of an evening, and explain the Lord's prayer to them. Along with this, I turn over the decretals for matter for my new dispute, and find Christ so altered and crucified in them, that (hark in your ear) I am not sure that the pope is not antichrist himself, or the apostle of antichrist." However far Luther might go, the pope had henceforward little chance of tearing his favourite theologian from a powerful prince, on whom a majority of the electors were conferring the empire. Miltitz changed his

tone, and stated that the pope would even yet be contented with a retraction. He met Luther as a friend, flattered him, owned that he had got the whole world with him away from the pope, stated that on his journey he could scarcely find two men out of five to defend the papacy, tried to persuade him to go and explain to the archbishop of Toledo, but could not prove that he was authorized to make this proposition, either by the pope or the archbishop. The advice was suspicious; Luther was aware that he had been burnt in effigy at Rome (*papyraceus Martinus in campo Floræ publice combustus, execratus, devotus*). He returned a cool reply to Miltitz, and apprized him that one of his envoys had inspired such suspicions, at Wittenberg, as to have narrowly escaped being thrown into the Elbe. "If, as you intimate, my refusal will compel you to come yourself, God grant you a happy journey. For my part, I am extremely busy, and have neither time nor money for such excursions. Farewell, excellent man." (May 17th.) On Miltitz's arrival in Germany, Luther had said that he would hold his tongue, provided his opponents would theirs; but they released him from keeping his word, for doctor Eck solemnly defied him to a disputation at Leipsic, and the faculties of Paris, Louvain, and Cologne, condemned his propositions. In order to make a decent appearance at Leipsic, Luther was obliged to ask the parsimonious elector, who had forgotten to clothe him for two or three years, for a dress; his letter is a curiosity: "I beseech your electoral grace to have the kindness to buy me a white cope and a black cope. I humbly ask for the white one, but your highness owes me the black, having promised it to me two or three years back; only Pfeffinger is brought to untie his purse-strings with such difficulty, that I have been forced to buy one for myself. I humbly pray your highness, who considered that the *Psalter* deserved a black cope, to deign not to think the *St. Paul* unworthy of a white one." Luther felt, by this time, so completely secure, that not content with repairing to Leipsic to plead in his own defence, he assumed the offensive at Wittenberg. "He had the effrontery," says his catholic biographer, Cochläus, "he had the effrontery, with the authority of the prince, his protector, to issue a solemn summons to the ablest inquisitors, men who would think they could swallow iron and split the rock, to a disputation, and the prince not only offered them a safe-conduct, but undertook to lodge them and pay their expenses." Meanwhile, Luther's principal opponent, doctor Eck, had repaired to Rome to solicit his condemnation. Luther was sentenced beforehand; and it now only remained for him to judge his judge, and pronounce sentence of condemnation on authority, in the sight of the people. This he did in his terrible book on the Captivity of Babylon, in which he contended that the Church was captive, and that Jesus Christ, constantly profaned in the idolatry of the mass, and lost sight of in the dogma of transubstantiation, was the pope's prisoner. With daring freedom, he explains in his preface, how he has been gradually forced on by his adversaries; "Whether willingly or not, I improve every day, pushed as I am, and kept in wind by so many masters of fence at once. Two years ago, I wrote on indulgences; but in a style which makes me deeply regret I ever published the work. At that period, I was still mar-

vellously enamoured of the papal power, and durst not fling indulgences entirely over. Besides, I saw them approved of by numbers of persons, whilst I was the only one who undertook to set this stone rolling (*hoc volvere saxum*). Since then, thanks to Sylvester, and other brothers who have defended them stoutly, I perceived that the whole was an imposture, invented by the flatterers of Rome, to dispossess men of faith and take possession of their purse. Would to God I could induce booksellers and all who have read my writings on indulgences, to burn them, and not to leave a line behind, so that they would substitute for all I have said on the subject, this one axiom—*Indulgences are bubbles devised by the sycophants of Rome!* Next Eck, Emser, and their band, proceeded to take us in hand on the question of the pope's supremacy. "T'would be ungrateful towards those learned personages not to acknowledge that the trouble to which they put themselves was not thrown away upon me. Previously, I had denied that the papacy was of divine, yet still admitted that it was of human, right; but, after hearing and reading the super-subtle subtleties on which these poor people found the rights of their idol, I came to the perfect and satisfactory understanding and conviction, that the reign of the pope is that of Babylon, and of *Nimrod, the mighty hunter*. Wherefore, I earnestly pray booksellers and readers (that nothing may be wanting to my good friends' success), to commit to the flames my writings on this subject also, and to abide by the following axiom:—*The pope is the mighty hunter, the Nimrod of the Roman episcopacy!*" At the same time, to make it clear that he was assailing the papacy, rather than the pope, he addressed a long letter, in both languages, to Leo X., in which he denied all personal feeling against him. "Though surrounded by the monsters of the age, against whom I have been these three years struggling, my thoughts ought, once at least, most honourable father, to revert to thee. The witness borne to thy renown by men of letters, and thy irreproachable life, ought to place thee beyond all attacks. I am not such a simpleton as to blame, when all the world praises thee. I have called thee a Daniel in Babylon, and have proclaimed thy innocence. Yes, dear Leo, I think of thee as of Daniel in the pit, Ezekiel among the scorpions. What canst thou, alone, against these monsters; thou, and some three or four learned and virtuous cardinals? You would all infallibly be poisoned did you dare attempt to reform such countless corruptions. . . . The doom has gone forth against the court of Rome. The measure of God's wrath has been filled up; for that court hates councils, dreads the name of reform, and fulfils the words uttered of its mother, of whom it is said, '*We would have healed Babylon, but she is not healed: forsake Babylon.*' Oh, hapless Leo, to sit on that accursed throne! I speak the truth to thee, for I desire thy good. If St. Bernard felt pity for his pope Eugenius, what must be our feelings now that corruption is three hundred years the worse? Ay, thou wouldst thank me for thy eternal salvation, were I once able to dash in pieces this dungeon, this hell in which thou art held captive."

When the bull of condemnation reached Germany, the whole people was in commotion. At Erfurth the students took it out of the booksellers' shops, tore it in pieces, and threw it into the

river with the poor pun, "A bubble (*bulle*) it is, and as a bubble so it should swim." Luther instantly published his pamphlet, *Against the Execrable Bull of Antichrist*. On December 10, 1520, he burnt it at the city gates, and on the same day wrote to Spalatin, through whom he usually communicated with the elector:—"This 10th day of December, in the year 1520, at the ninth hour of the day, were burnt at Wittenberg, at the east gate, near the holy cross, all the pope's books, the *Decree*, the *Decretals*, the *Extravagants* of Clement VI., Leo X.'s last bull, the *Angelic Sum*, Eck's *Chrysoprasus*, and some other works of Eck's and Emser's. Is not this news?" He says in the public notice which he caused to be drawn up of these proceedings, "If any one ask me why I have done this, my reply is, that it is an ancient practice to burn bad books. The apostles burnt five thousand deniers' worth of them." The tradition runs that he exclaimed on throwing the book of the *Decretals* into the flames, "Thou hast tormented the Lord's holy one, may the everlasting fire torment and consume thee!" These things were news, indeed, as Luther said. Until then, most sects and heresies had sprung up in secret, and conceived themselves fortunate if they remained unknown; but now a monk starts up who treats with the pope as equal with equal, and constitutes himself the judge of the head of the Church. The chain of tradition is broken, unity shattered, the robe without seam rent. It must not be supposed that Luther himself, with all his violence, took this last step without pain. It was uprooting from his heart by one pull the whole of the venerable past in which he had been cradled. It is true that he believed he had retained the Scriptures for his own; but then they were the Scriptures with a different interpretation from what had been put upon them for a thousand years. All this his enemies have often said; but not one of them has said it more eloquently than he himself. "No doubt," he writes to Erasmus in the opening of his sorry book, *De Sero Arbitrio* (The Will not Free), "no doubt you feel some hesitation when you see arrayed before you so numerous a succession of learned men, and the unanimous voice of so many centuries illustrated by deeply read divines, and by great martyrs, glorified by numerous miracles, as well as more recent theologians and countless academies, councils, bishops, pontiffs. On this side are found erudition, genius, numbers, greatness, loftiness, power, sanctity, miracles, and what not beside? On mine, Wickliff, Laurentius Valla, Augustin, (although you forget him), and Luther, a poor man, a mushroom of yesterday, standing alone with a few friends, without such erudition, genius, numbers, greatness, sanctity, or miracles. Take them all together, they could not cure a lame horse. . . . *Et alia quæ tu plurima fando enumerare vales* (and innumerable other things you could mention). For what are we? What the wolf said of Philomel, *Vox et præterea nihil* (a sound, no more). I own, my dear Erasmus, you are justified in hesitating before all these things; ten years since, I hesitated like you. . . . Could I suppose that this Troy, which had so long victoriously resisted so many assaults, would fall in one day? I solemnly call God to witness that I should have continued to fear, and should even

now be hesitating, had not my conscience and the truth compelled me to speak. You know that my heart is not a rock; and had it been, yet beaten by such billows and tempests, it would have been shivered to atoms when all this mass of authority was launched at my head, like a deluge ready to overwhelm me." Elsewhere he writes: ". . . Holy Scripture has taught me how perilous and fearful it is to raise one's voice in God's church, to speak in the midst of those who will be your judges, when, on the day of judgment, you shall find yourself in presence of God, under the eye of the angels, all creation seeing, listening, hanging upon the divine word. Assuredly when this thought rises to my mind, my earnest desire is for silence, and the sponge for my writings. . . . How hard, how fearful to live to render an account to God of every idle word!" On March 27, 1519, he writes, "I was alone, and hurried unprepared into this business. I admitted many essential points in the pope's favour, for was I, a poor, miserable monk, to set myself up against the majesty of the pope, before whom the kings of the earth (what do I say? earth itself, hell, and heaven) trembled? . . . How I suffered the first and second year. Ah! little do those confident spirits who since then have attacked the pope so proudly and presumptuously, know of the dejection of spirits, not feigned and assumed, but too real, or rather the despair which I went through. . . . Unable to find any light to guide me in dead or mute teachers (I mean the writings of theologians and jurists), I longed to consult the living council of the churches of God, to the end that if any godly persons could be found, illumined by the Holy Ghost, they would take compassion on me, and be pleased to give me good and safe counsel for my own welfare and that of all Christendom; but it was impossible for me to discover them. I saw only the pope, the cardinals, bishops, theologians, canonists, monks, priests; and it was from them I expected enlightenment. For I had so fed and saturated myself with their doctrine, that I was unconscious whether I were asleep or awake. . . . Had I at that time braved the pope as I now do, I should have looked for the earth instantly to open and swallow me up alive, like Korah and Abiram. . . . At the name of the church I shuddered, and offered to give way. In 1518, I told cardinal Caietano, at Augsburg, that I would thenceforward be mute; only praying him, in all humility, to impose the same silence on my adversaries, and hush their clamours. Far from meeting my wishes, he threatened to condemn every thing I had taught, if I would not retract. Now I had already published the Catechism to the edification of many souls, and was bound not to allow it to be condemned. . . . So I was driven to attempt what I considered to be the greatest of evils. . . . But it is not my object to tell my history here; but only to confess my folly, ignorance, and weakness, and to awe, by reciting

* It is curious to compare these words of Luther's with the very different passage in Rousseau's Confessions:—"Let the trumpet of the last judgment sound when it will, I will present myself with this book in my hand before the Judge of all, and will say aloud, 'Here is what I have done, what I have thought, what I was.' . . . and then let any one say, if he dare, 'I was better than that man.'"

my own sufferings, those presumptuous bawlers or scribblers, who have not borne the cross, or known the temptations of Satan. . . .”

Against the tradition of the middle age and the authority of the church, Luther sought a refuge in the Scriptures, anterior to tradition, and superior to the church herself. He translated the Psalms, and wrote his *Postils* to the Gospels and Epistles. At no other period of his life did he so approximate to mysticism. He took his stand at this time on St. John no less than on St. Paul, and seemed on the point of running through all the stages of the doctrine of love, without any misgivings of the fatal consequences which resulted thence to man's liberty and morality. There are, he lays it down in his work on Christian Liberty, two men in man—the inner man, the soul, the outward man, the body; each distinct from the other. As works proceed from the outward man, their effects cannot affect the soul: if the body frequent profane places, eat, drink, pray not with the lips, and neglect all the hypocrites do, the soul will remain unaffected. The soul is united by faith to Christ, as the wife to her husband. All is, then, in common between the two, the good as well as evil. . . . We, who believe in Christ, are all kings and pontiffs. Raised by his faith above everything, the Christian becomes, by this spiritual power, lord of all things, so that nothing can injure him, *imo omnia ei subjecta coguntur servire ad salutem* (rather, all things are subject to him and compelled to minister to his salvation). . . . If I believe, all things, good and bad, turn to my profit. This is the inestimable power and liberty of the Christian. “If you feel your heart hesitate and doubt, it is high time for you to repair to the priest, and seek absolution for your sins. You ought to prefer dying a thousand times to doubting the judgment of the priest, which is the judgment of God; and, if you can believe in this judgment, your heart ought to laugh with joy, and laud God, who, through man's intermediation, has comforted thy conscience. If you think yourself unworthy of pardon, it is because you have not yet done enough, because you are too little instructed in faith, and more than it needeth in works. It is a thousand times more important to believe piously in absolutism than to be worthy of it and make atonement. Faith renders you worthy, and constitutes the true atonement. Man who, without this, through the mere restlessness of his heart, never performs any good work, can then serve his God joyfully; and this is what is called the sweet burden of our Lord, Jesus Christ.” (Sermon on Justification, preached at Leipzig in 1519.) This dangerous doctrine was welcomed by the people and by the majority of the learned. Erasmus, the most celebrated of the latter, seems to have been the only one who perceived its consequences. Of a critical and negative cast of genius, emulating the Italian *bel esprit*, Laurentius Valla, who had written a work, *De Libero Arbitrio* (on Free-will), in the fifteenth century, he himself wrote against Luther under the same title. In 1519, he received the advances of the monk of Wittenberg coldly. Luther, who felt how necessary the support of the learned was to him, had written complimentary letters (A.D. 1518, 1519) to Reuchlin and Erasmus, which last returned a cold and highly significant answer (A.D. 1519): “I reserve all my powers to contribute to the revival of elegant literature; and it strikes me that

greater progress is to be made by politic moderation (*modestia civilis*) than by passion. It is thus that Christ has brought the world to be subject unto him, and thus that Paul abolished the Judaic law, by applying himself to the interpretation of the letter. It is better to exclaim against such as abuse the power given to priests than the priests themselves; and so, likewise, with regard to kings. Instead of bringing the schools into contempt, it would be well to win them back to healthier studies. Whenever the question is of things too deeply rooted in the mind to be eradicated by one pull, discussion and close and cogent reasoning are to be preferred to affirmations. . . . And it is essential to be on one's guard against saying or doing anything with an arrogant or rebellious air; such, in my opinion, is the course of proceeding consonant to the spirit of Christ. But I do not say this by way of teaching you what you ought to do; only to encourage you to go on as you are now doing.” Such timid precautions suited neither the man nor the hour. Enthusiasm was at its height. Nobles and people, castles and free towns, rivalled each other in zeal and enthusiasm for Luther. At Nuremberg, at Strasburg, and even at Mentz, his smallest pamphlets were emulously caught up as fast as they appeared. The sheets were hurried and smuggled into the shops, all wet from the press, and were greedily devoured by the aspiring *littérateurs* of the German Companionship, by the poetic timmen, the learned cordwainers; the good Hans-Sachs shook off his wonted vulgarity, left his shoe unfinished, wrote his best verses, his best production, and sang with hated voice the *nightingale* of Wittenberg, whose voice resounded everywhere. . . . Nothing seconded Luther more powerfully than the zeal of the printers and booksellers in behalf of the new ideas. “The works which were favourable to him,” says a contemporary, “were printed by the printers with minutest care, and often at their own expense, and large numbers of copies struck off. Many old monks, too, who had returned to a secular life, lived on Luther's works, and hawked them throughout Germany. The Catholics could only get their works printed by high pay, and even then they were printed in so slovenly a manner as to swarm with errors, so as to seem the productions of illiterate men. And if any printer, more conscientious than the rest, did them more justice, he was jeered and plagued in the market-places and at the fairs of Frankfort, for a Papist and a slave to the priests.”

Whatever the zeal of the cities, it was to the nobles that Luther had chiefly appealed, and they answered his summons with a zeal, which he himself was often obliged to moderate. In 1519, he published in Latin a *Defence of the articles condemned by the bull of Leo X.*, which he dedicated as follows, to the baron Fabian von Feilitzsch:—“It has struck me to be desirable, in future, to address you laymen, a new order of priests, and, with God's will, to make a happy beginning under the favourable auspices of your name. May the present work, then, commend me, or rather the Christian doctrine, to you and all the nobles.” He was desirous to dedicate the translation of this work to Franz von Sickingen, and another to the count of Mansfeld, but he abstained, he says, “from fear of awakening the jealousy of many others, and, in particular, that of the nobility of Franconia.” The same year he published his violent

pamphlet, *To the Christian nobility of Germany, on the amelioration of Christianity*. Four thousand copies were sold at once. The leading nobles, Luther's friends, were Sylvester von Schauenberg, Franz von Sickingen, Taubenheim, and Ulrich von Hutten. Schauenberg had confided the education of his young son to Melancthon, and had offered to assist the elector of Saxony, arms in hand, should the elector be exposed to any danger in the cause of reform. Taubenheim and others sent Luther money. "I have had a hundred pieces of gold from Taubenheim, and fifty from Schart, so that I begin to fear God's paying me here below; but I have vowed that I will not be thus gorged, but will give back all." The Margrave of Brandenburg had begged a visit from him: Sickingen and Hutten promised him their support against all and sundry. "Hutten," he writes, "addressed me a letter, in September, 1520, burning with wrath against the Roman pontiff, saying that he will fall with sword and pen on the sacerdotal tyranny. He is indignant at the pope's having attempted his life with both the dagger and the bowl, and has summoned the bishop of Mentz, in order that he may send him to Rome bound hand and foot." He goes on to say, "You see what Hutten is seeking; but I would not have violence and murder employed in the cause of the gospel, and have written to this effect." Meanwhile the emperor summoned Luther to appear at Worms before the imperial diet. Both parties, friends and enemies, were about to come into presence. "Would to God," said Hutten, "I might be present at the diet; I would set things in motion, and would very soon excite a disturbance." On the 20th of April, he writes to Luther, "What atrocities are these I hear! There is no fury comparable to the fury of these men. I plainly see we shall have to come to swords, bows, arrows, cannons. Summon up thy courage, father, laugh at these wild beasts. I see the number of thy partisans daily increasing; thou wilt not lack defenders. Numbers have come to me, saying, 'God grant he may not lose heart, that he may answer stoutly, that he may not give way to any fear!'" At the same time, Hutten sent letters in every direction to the magistrates of the towns, in order to strike a league between them and the nobles of the Rhine; in other words, to arm them against the ecclesiastical provinces*. He wrote to Pirkeimer, one of the chief magistrates at Nuremberg. "Cheer and animate your brethren; I am in hopes you will find partisans in towns which are inspired by the love of liberty. Franz von Sickingen is for us; he burns with zeal. He is saturated with Luther. I make him read his pamphlets at meal-time. He has sworn not to fail the cause of liberty; and what he has said, he will do. Preach him up to your fellow-citizens; there is no greater soul in Germany." Luther had his partisans even in the assembly of Worms. Some one avowed in full diet an agreement to defend him, sworn to by four hundred nobles, adding *Buntschuh*, *Buntschuh* (the rallying cry, as will afterwards be seen, of the insurgent peasants). The catholics were not even very sure of the emperor. Hutten writes, whilst the diet is sitting, "Cæsar, the report runs, has made up his mind to side with

the pope." The Lutherans mustered strong in the town, and among the people. Hermann Busch writes Hutten word that a priest came out of the imperial palace with two Spanish soldiers, to endeavour to make a seizure of eighty copies of the *Captivity of Babylon*, which were on sale close to the gates of the palace, but that he was quickly obliged to fly back into the palace for safety; still, in order to induce Hutten to take up arms, he goes on to describe how the Spaniards caracolled haughtily on their mules, through the principal thoroughfares of Worms, and how the intimidated multitude retire before them.

Cochlæus, the catholic biographer of Luther, describes the reformer's journey in a satiric strain:—"A conveyance was prepared for him resembling a litter, and so closed in as to shelter him from the weather. He was surrounded by learned individuals, the provost Jonas, doctor Schurff, Amsdorf the theologian, &c.; and he was received wherever he passed by crowds of people. Good cheer reigned in the hosteleries where he put up, and many a merry cup was quaffed, and even music heard. Luther himself, in order that he might become the cynosure of all eyes, played on the harp like another Orpheus, a tonsured and cowed Orpheus. And although the emperor's safe conduct set forth that he was not to preach by the way, he, nevertheless, preached at Erfurth on Low Sunday, and published his sermon." This picture of Luther does not exactly assimilate with that drawn by a contemporary shortly before the diet of Worms. "Martin is of the middle size, and so emaciated by care and study, that you might count every bone in his body. Yet he is still in the very prime of life. His voice is clear and penetrating. Powerful in doctrine, admirably read in the Scriptures, almost every verse in which he has by heart, he has acquired the Greek and Hebrew languages, in order to be enabled to compare and form a judgment on the translation of the Bible. He never has to stop, having facts and words at will (*synta ingens verborum et rerum*). His manners are agreeable and easy, untinctured by severity or pride; and he is even no enemy of the pleasures of life; being lively and good humoured in society, and seeming everywhere quite at his ease and free from any sense of alarm, despite the dreadful threats of his adversaries. So that it is difficult to believe that this man undertakes such great things without the Divine protection. Almost the only thing with which the world reproaches him is, being too bitter in retort, and shrinking from no insulting expression." We are indebted to Luther himself for an admirable account of the proceedings at the diet; an account that, generally speaking, agrees with those given by his enemies. "When the herald delivered me the summons on the Tuesday in Passion-week, and brought me a safe-conduct from the emperor and several princes, the same safe-conduct was, on the very next day, the Wednesday, violated at Worms, where I was condemned and my works burnt. This news reached me when I was at Erfurth. The sentence of condemnation was already placarded in all the towns; so that the herald himself asked me whether I was still minded to go to Worms? Although full of fears and doubts, I replied, 'I will go, though there should be there as many devils as tiles on the roofs!' Even on

* See, in the Elucidations, the Dialogue of the Robbers, written by Hutten, in the view of combining the nobles and the burgesses against the priests.

my arriving at Oppenheim, near Worms, master Bucer met me, to dissuade me from entering the city. Sglapian, the emperor's confessor, had gone to him to beg him to warn me not to enter Worms, for I was doomed to be burnt there! I should do better, he said, to stay in the neighbourhood with Franz von Sickingen, who would gladly receive me. All this was done by these poor beings to hinder me from appearing; since, had I delayed only three days, my safe-conduct would have been no longer available; they would have shut the gates, refused to listen to me, and have tyrannically condemned me. But I went forward in the simplicity of my heart, and as soon as I was within sight of the city, wrote to inform Spalatin of my arrival, and ask where I was to put up. They were all thunder-struck at my unexpected arrival; for they had expected that their stratagems and my own terror would have kept me outside the walls. Two nobles, the lord of Hirsfeld and John Schott, fetched me, by the elector of Saxony's orders, to their own lodgings. But no prince called upon me; only some counts and nobles who had a great regard for me. It was they who had laid before his imperial majesty the four hundred charges against the clergy, with a petition for the reform of clerical abuses, which, if neglected, they must, they said, take upon themselves. They all owe their deliverance to my gospel (preaching). The pope wrote to the emperor to disregard the safe-conduct, and the bishops egged him on to it; but the princes and the states would not consent, fearing the uproar that would ensue. All this greatly added to my consideration; they must have stood in greater awe of me than I of them. Indeed, the young landgrave of Hesse asked to hear me, visited me, talked with me, and said, as he took his leave, 'Dear doctor, if you are in the right, may our Lord God be your aid.' As soon as I arrived, I wrote to Sglapian, the emperor's confessor, begging him to have the goodness to come and see me, as his inclination and leisure might serve. But he declined, saying that it would be useless.

"I was summoned in due form, and appeared before the council of the imperial diet in the Guild-hall, where the emperor, the electors, and the princes were assembled*. Doctor Eck, the official of the bishop of Trèves, began, and said to me, 'Martin, you are called here to say whether you acknowledge the books on the table there to be yours?' and he pointed to them. 'I believe so,' I answered. But Doctor Jerome Schurf instantly added, 'Read over their titles.' When this was done, I said, 'Yes, these books are mine.' He then asked me, 'Will you disavow them?' I replied, 'Most gracious lord emperor, some of the writings are controversial, and in them I attack my adversaries. Others are didactic and doctrinal; and of these I neither can nor will retract an iota, for it is God's word. But, as regards my controversial writings, if I have been too violent, or have gone too far against any one, I am ready to reconsider the matter, provided I have time for reflection.' I was allowed a day and a night. The next day I was

summoned by the bishops and others who were to deal with me to make me retract. I told them, 'God's word is not mine, I cannot give it up; but in all else my desire is to be obedient and docile.' The margrave Joachim then took up the word, and said, 'Sir doctor, as far as I can understand, you will allow yourself to be counselled and advised, except on those points affecting Scripture?' 'Yes,' I answered, 'such is my wish.' They then told me that I ought to defer all to the imperial majesty; but I would not consent. They asked me if they themselves were not Christians, and able to decide on such things? To this I answered, 'Yes, provided it be without wrong or offence to the Scriptures, which I desire to uphold. I cannot give up that which is not mine.' They insisted, 'You ought to rely upon us, and believe that we shall decide rightly.' 'I am not very ready to believe that they will decide in my favour against themselves, who have but just now passed sentence of condemnation upon me, though under safe-conduct. But look what I will do: treat me as you like, and I will forego my safe-conduct and give it up to you.' On this, baron Frederick von Felitzsch, burst forth with, 'And enough, indeed, if not too much.' They then said, 'At least, give up a few articles to us.' I answered, 'In God's name, I do not desire to defend those articles which do not relate to Scripture.' Hereupon, two bishops hastened to tell the emperor that I retracted. On which, the bishop *** sent to ask me if I had consented to refer the matter to the emperor and the empire? I replied that I had never, and would never, consent to it. So, I held out alone against all. My doctor and the rest were ill-pleased at my tenacity. Some told me that if I would defer the whole to them, they would in their turn forego and cede the articles which had been condemned by the council of Constance. To all this I replied, 'Here is my body and my life.'

"Cochleus then came, and said to me, 'Martin, if you will forego your safe-conduct, I will dispute with you.' This, in my simplicity, I would have consented to, had not Doctor Jerome Schurf interposed, laughing ironically, with, 'Ay, forsooth, that's what is wanted. 'Tis not an unfair offer; who would be such a fool?' . . . So I remained under the safe-conduct. Some worthy individuals, besides, had interposed with, 'How? You would bear him off prisoner? That can't be.' Whilst this was going on, there came a doctor from the margrave of Baden, who endeavoured to move me by high-sounding words. 'I ought,' he said, 'to do and sacrifice much for the love of charity and maintenance of peace and union, and to avoid disturbance. Obedience was due to the imperial majesty as to the highest authority, and all occasion of scandal in the world ought to be sedulously avoided; consequently, I ought to retract. 'I heartily desire,' was my answer, 'in the name of charity, to obey and do everything in what is not against faith and the honour of Christ.' Then the chancellor of Trèves said to me, 'Martin, you are disobedient to the imperial majesty, wherefore you have leave to depart under the safe-conduct you possess.' I answered, 'It has been done as it has pleased the Lord. And you, in your turn, consider where you are left.' Thus, I took my departure in my simplicity, without remarking or understanding all their subtleties. Then they put into execution the cruel edict of the law, which gave every one an opportunity of taking

* There were present at the diet, besides the emperor, six electors, one archduke, two landgraves, five margraves, twenty-seven dukes, and numbers of counts, archbishops, bishops, &c.; in all, two hundred and six persons.

vengeance on his enemy, under pretence of his being addicted to the Lutheran heresy; and yet the tyrants have at last been obliged to revoke all those acts of theirs. And it befel me on this wise at Worms, where, however, I had no other support than the Holy Ghost."

Some other curious details occur in a more extended account of the conference at Worms, written immediately after it, and, perhaps, by Luther, though he is spoken of in it in the third person:—

"The day after Luther's arrival at Worms, at four o'clock in the afternoon, the master of the ceremonies of the empire, and the herald who had accompanied him from Wittenberg, came for him to his hostelry called *The German Court*, and led him to the town-hall by secret passages, to escape the crowd which lined the streets. Notwithstanding this precaution, numbers hastened to the doors of the town-hall and tried to enter with Luther, but were hindered by the guards. Many climbed to the roofs in order to see doctor Martin. When he entered the hall, many nobles came up to him one after the other, with words of encouragement: 'Be bold,' they said to him, 'speak like a man, and have no fear of those who can kill bodies, but who are powerless against souls.' 'Monk,' said the famous captain George Frundsberg, laying his hand on his shoulder, 'look to it; you are about to hazard a more perilous march than we have ever done. But if you are in the right road, God will not forsake you.' Duke John of Weimar had supplied him with the money for his journey. Luther replied both in Latin and in German to the questions put to him. He reminded the assembly at first that there were many things in his works which had met with the approbation even of his adversaries, and urged that undoubtedly it could not be this part which he was called upon to revoke. Then he went on as follows: 'The second portion of my works comprises those in which I have attacked papacy and the papists, as having by false doctrine and evil life and examples afflicted Christianity both in the things of the body and those of the soul. Now, no one can deny, &c. . . . Yet the popes have themselves taught in their Decretals that such of the pope's constitutions as may be opposed to the Gospel or the Fathers, are to be considered false and of no authority. Were I then to revoke this portion, I should only fortify the papists in their tyranny and oppression, and open doors and windows to their horrible impieties. . . . It would be said that I had recanted my charges against them at the order of his imperial majesty and the empire. God! what a disgraceful cloak I should become for their perversity and tyranny! The third and last portion of my writings is of a polemical character. And herein I confess that I have often been more rough and violent than religion and my gown warrant. I do not give myself out for a saint. It is not my life and conduct that I am discussing before you, but the doctrine of Jesus Christ. Nevertheless, I do not think that it will suit me to retract this more than the rest; since here, too, I should only be approving of the tyranny and impiety which persecute God's people. I am only a man. I can defend my doctrine only after my divine Saviour's example, who, when smote by the servant of the high priest, said to him, 'If I have spoken evil, bear witness of

the evil.' If then the Lord himself asked to be interrogated, and that by a sorry slave, how much more may I, who am but dust and ashes, and may well fall into error, ask to be allowed to justify myself with regard to my doctrine? . . . If Scripture testimony be against me, I will retract with all my heart, and will be the first to cast my books into the flames. . . . Beware lest the reign of our young and much to be praised emperor Charles (who is, with God, our present and great hope) should so have a fatal beginning, and an equally lamentable continuance and end. . . . Therefore, with all humility, I beseech your imperial majesty and your electoral and seigniorial highnesses, not to allow yourselves to be indisposed towards my doctrine, save my adversaries produce just and convincing reasons.'

"After this speech, the emperor's orator started to his feet, and said that Luther had spoken beside the question, that what had been once decided by councils, could not be again handled as doubtful; and that, consequently, all he was asked was to say simply and solely whether he retracted or not. Luther then resumed as follows: 'Since your imperial majesty and your highnesses ask me for a short and plain answer, I will give you one without teeth or horns. Except I can be convinced by Holy Scripture, or by clear and indisputable reasons from other sources (for I cannot defer to the pope only, or to councils which have so often proved fallible), I neither can nor will revoke anything. As it has been found impossible to refute the evidences that I have quoted, my conscience is a prisoner to God's word; and no one can be compelled to act against his conscience. Here I stand; I cannot act otherwise. God be my aid, Amen!' The electors and states of the empire retired to consult on this answer of Luther's; and, after long deliberation, selected the judge of the bishops' court at Trèves to refute him. 'Martin,' he said, 'you have not answered with the modesty becoming your condition. Your reply does not touch the question propounded to you. . . . What is the good of again discussing points which the Church and the councils have condemned for so many centuries? . . . If those who oppose the decrees of councils were to force the Church to convince them of their errors through the medium of books, there would be an end to all fixity and certainty in Christendom; and this is the reason his majesty asks you to answer plainly yes or no, whether you will retract.' On this, Luther besought the emperor not to allow of his being forced to retract in opposition to his conscience, and without his being convinced that he had been in error; adding that his answer was not sophistical, that the councils had often come to contradictory decisions, and that he was ready to prove it. The official briefly answered that these contradictions could not be proved; but Luther persisted, and offered to adduce his proofs. By this time it being dusk, the assembly broke up. The Spaniards mocked the man of God, and loaded him with insults on his leaving the town-hall to return to his hostelry.

"On the following day the emperor summoned the electors and states to take into consideration the drawing up of the imperial ban against Luther and his adherents; in which, however, the safe-conduct was respected.

"In the last conference the archbishop of Trèves asked Luther what he would himself advise in order to bring the matter to a conclusion. Luther replied, 'The only advice to be given is that of Gaius in the Acts of the Apostles, "If this counsel, or this work, be of men, it will come to nought; but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it."' Shortly after, the official of Trèves called on Luther at his hostelry with the imperial safe-conduct for his return. It allowed him twenty days to reach a place of safety; but enjoined him not to preach, or otherwise excite the people on his journey. He left on the next day, April 26, and was escorted by the herald of the emperor's verbal orders. When he reached Friedburg, Luther addressed a letter to the emperor, and another to the electors and states assembled at Worms. In the first, he expresses his regret at having been necessitated to disobey the emperor, adding, 'but God and God's word are above all men.' He likewise regrets his having been unable to obtain an examination of the evidences which he had drawn from Scripture, and states his readiness to present himself again before any other assembly that may be pointed out, and to submit himself to it in every thing without exception, provided God's word sustain no attain't. The letter to the electors and the states is to the same effect. To Spalatin he writes (May 14), "You cannot think how civilly the abbot of Hirsfeld received me. He sent his chancellor and his treasurer to meet us a long mile from his castle, and waited for us himself some short distance from it with a troop of cavaliers to escort us into the city. The senate received us at the gate. The abbot treated us sumptuously in his monastery, and would make me lie in his own bed. On the morning of the fifth day they forced me to preach. I pointed out to them, but without avail, that they would lose their *regales* should the imperialists treat my preaching as a breach of faith, they having enjoined me not to preach on the road; at the same time, I stated that I had never consented to tie up God's word, which was the truth. I also preached at Eisenach before a terrified clergyman

and a notary, and witnesses who entered a protest against my proceedings, alleging fear of their tyrants as their excuse. So you may perhaps hear it said at Worms that I have broken my faith, but I have not. To tie up God's word is a condition beyond my power. Indeed, they thronged on foot from Eisenach to us, and we entered the city in the evening: all our companions had left in the morning with Jerome. For me, I crossed the forest to rejoin my flesh (his parents), and had just quitted them, intending to go to Walterhausen, when, a few moments after, I was made prisoner near the fort of Altenstein. Amsdorf, no doubt, was aware that I should be seized, but he does not know where I am kept. My brother, having seen the horsemen timeously, leapt from the carriage without leave-taking, and I have been told that he reached Walterhausen on foot that evening. As for me, they took off my robe, and made me dress myself as a knight, and I have allowed my hair and beard to grow. You would have some trouble to recognize me, for it is a long time since I have been able to recognize myself. But here I am now living in Christian liberty, freed from all the tyrant's laws."

Luther was conducted to the castle of Wartburg, but did not clearly know to whom he was to attribute the mild and honourable captivity in which he was detained. Having dismissed the herald who escorted him a few leagues from Worms, his enemies have inferred that he was apprised of what was about to happen. His correspondence proves the contrary. A cry of grief, however, was raised throughout Germany. He was supposed to have perished, and pope and emperor were accused. In reality, it was the elector of Saxony, Luther's protector, who, taking alarm at the sentence launched against him, and unable either to support or abandon him, had devised this means of saving him from his own daring, and of gaining time while he strengthened his party. Hiding Luther was a sure way of raising the exaltation of Germany and its fears for the champion of the faith, to the height.

BOOK THE SECOND.

A. D. 1521—1523.

CHAPTER I.

A. D. 1521—1524.

LUTHER'S RESIDENCE IN THE CASTLE OF WARTBURG.—HE RETURNS TO WITTEMBERG WITHOUT THE ELECTOR'S AUTHORITY.—HIS WRITINGS AGAINST THE KING OF ENGLAND, AND AGAINST PRINCES IN GENERAL.

WHILST all is indignation and rage at Worms, that the daring offender should have been allowed to escape, the time is gone by, and he soars invisibly over his enemies from the heights of the castle of Wartburg. Happy and safe in his dungeon, he

can return to his flute, sing his German psalms, translate his Bible, and thunder at the devil and the pope quite at his ease. "The report gains ground," writes Luther, "that I have been made prisoner by friends sent from Franconia;" and, at another time, "I fancy it was supposed that Luther had been killed, or condemned to utter silence, in order that the public mind might relapse under that sophistical tyranny which I am so hated for having begun to undermine." However, Luther took care to let it be known that he was still alive. He writes to Spalatin, "I should not be sorry if this letter were lost by some adroit neglect on your

part, or on that of your friends, and should fall into our enemies' hands. Get the Gospel I send you copied out; my writing must not be recognized." "It had been my intention to dedicate to my host, from this my Patmos, a book on the Traditions of men, as he had asked me for information on the subject; but I was restrained through fear of thus disclosing the place of my captivity. . . . I have had great difficulty to get this letter forwarded to you, such is the fear of my present retreat's being found out." (June, 1521.) "The priests and monks who played off their pranks whilst I was at large, have become so alarmed since I have been a prisoner, that they begin to soften the preposterous tales they have propagated about me. They can no longer bear up against the pressure of the increasing crowd, and yet see no avenue by which to escape. See you not the arm of the Almighty of Jacob in all that he works, whilst we are silent and rest in patience and in prayer! Is not the saying of Moses herein verified, '*Vos tacebitis, et Dominus pugnabit pro vobis*' (The Lord shall fight for you, and ye shall hold your peace). One of those of Rome writes to a pewit* of Mentz, Luther is lost just as we could wish, but such is the excitement of the people, that I fear we shall hardly be able to escape with life, except we search for him with lighted candles, and bring him back." Luther dates his letters, *From the region of the clouds; From the region of the birds; or else, From amidst the birds singing sweetly on the branches, and lauding God day and night, with all their strength; or again, From the mountain; From the island of Patmos.* It is from this, his wilderness (*ex eremo meâ*) that he pours forth in his sad and eloquent letters the thoughts which crowd upon him in his solitude. "What art thou doing at this moment, my Philip?" he says to Melancthon; "art thou not praying for me? For my part, seated in contemplation the live-long day, I figure to myself the image of the Church, whilst the words of the eighty-ninth Psalm are ever present to me, '*Nunquid eane constituisti omnes filios hominum?*' (Wherefore hast thou made all men in vain?) God! what a horrible spectre of God's wrath is this abominable reign of the antichrist of Rome! I hate the hardness of my heart which does not dissolve in torrents of tears, mourning over the sons of my murdered people. Not one is found to rise up, take his stand on God's side, or make himself a rampart unto the house of Israel, in this last day of wrath! Oh, papal reign, worthy of the lees of ages! God have mercy upon us!" (May 12th.)

"When I revolve these horrible times of wrath, my sole desire is to find in my eyes floods of tears to bewail the desolation of souls brought on by this kingdom of sin and of perdition. The monster sits at Rome, in the midst of the Church, and gives himself out for God. Prelates flatter, sophists offer him incense, and there is nothing which the hypocrites will not do for him. Meanwhile, hell makes merry, and opens its immense jaws: Satan revels in the perdition of souls. For me, I sit the day long, drinking and doing nothing. I read the Bible in Greek and in Hebrew. I shall write something in German on the liberty of auricular

confession. I shall also continue the Psalter, and the Commentaries (*Postillas*), as soon as the materials I require are sent me from Wittenberg, among others, the *Magnificat*, which I have begun" (May 24th). This melancholy solitude was full of temptations and troubles for Luther. He writes to Melancthon, "Your letter has displeased me on two grounds: firstly, because I see that you bear your cross with impatience, give too much way to the affections, and obey the tenderness of your nature; and, secondly, because you elevate me too high, and fall into the serious error of decking me out with various excellencies, as if I were absorbed in God's cause. This high opinion of yours confounds and racks me, when I see myself insensible, hardened, sunk in idleness; O grief! seldom in prayer, and not venting one groan over God's church. What do I say! my unsubdued flesh burns me with a devouring fire. In short, I who was to have been eaten up with the spirit, am devoured by the flesh, by luxury, indolence, idleness, somnolency. Is it that God has turned away from me, because you no longer pray for me? You must take my place; you, richer in God's gifts, and more acceptable in his sight. Here is a week slipped away since I have put pen to paper, since I have prayed or studied, either vexed by fleshly cares, or by other temptations. If things do not go on better, I will to Erfurth without any attempt at concealment, for I must consult physicians or surgeons." At this time he was ill, and undergoing great pain; but he describes his malady in too simple, rather gross terms, for us to translate them. His spiritual sufferings, however, were still more acute and were deeper seated (July 13th). "When I left Worms in 1521, was seized near Eisenach, and resided in my Patmos, the castle of Wartburg, I was in an apartment far from the world, and no one could approach me save two noble youths, who brought me my meals twice a day. They had bought me a bag of nuts, which I put in a chest. In the evening, when I had gone to bed in the adjoining room and had put out the light, I thought I heard the nuts rattling against each other and clicking against my bed. I did not trouble myself about the matter; but was awaked some time afterwards by a great noise on the staircase, as if a hundred barrels were being rolled from top to bottom. Yet, I knew that the staircase was so secured by chains and an iron door, that no one could ascend. I got up to see what it was, and called out, 'Is it you?' . . . Well! so be it. . . . And I recommended myself to the Lord Christ, of whom it is written, *Omnia subiecisti pedibus ejus* (Thou hast put all things under his feet), as it is said in the eighth psalm, and returned to my bed.—Then, John von Berblib's wife came to Eisenach, suspecting me to be in the castle and wishing to see me; but the thing was impossible. They put me in another part of the castle, and the lady in the room I had occupied; and so great was the uproar she heard in the night, that she thought there were a thousand devils there."

Luther found few books at Wartburg. He set ardently about the study of Greek and Hebrew; and busied himself with replying to Latomus's book, which he describes as "so prolix, and so ill-written." He translated into German Melancthon's Apology, in reply to the Paris doctors, and

* This name, applied to one of the dignitaries of the Church, reminds one of Rabelais' marvellous birds, the *papegots*, *evegots* (pope-jays, bishop-jays), &c.

added a commentary to it. He displayed, indeed, extraordinary activity, and, from his mountain height, inundated Germany with his writings:—"I have published a small work in reply to that of Catharinus, on Antichrist, a treatise in German on Confession, an explanation of the lxvii. Psalm in German, an explanation of the song of the blessed Virgin Mary, in German, an explanation of the xxxvii. Psalm in German, and a letter of comfort to the church of Wittenberg. I have in the press a commentary in German, on the epistles and gospels for the year; I have also finished a public reprimand to the cardinal of Mentz, for the idol of indulgences which he has just set up in Halle, and an explanation of the miracle of the ten lepers—all in German. I was born for my Germans, and will serve them. I had begun from the pulpit at Wittenberg, a popular exposition of both Testaments, and had reached the xxii. chapter of Genesis in the Old, and the coming of St. John the Baptist in the New; there I was stopped" (November 1st). "I am all of a tremble, and troubled in conscience because, yielding at Worms to your advice and that of your friends, I allowed the spirit to wax weak within me, instead of showing an Elias to those idols. Let me but once again find myself in their presence, and they shall hear a far different tale" (September 9th). The allusion to the archbishop of Mentz, in the letter just quoted, deserves explanation. It is curious to note the energy exhibited by Luther in this transaction, and how he treats the powers, the cardinal archbishop, and the elector himself, as their master. Spalatin had written to beg him to suppress his *public reprimand* to the archbishop. Luther replies, "I think I never received a letter so distasteful to me as your last. Not only have I deferred answering it, but I had even made up my mind not to answer it. In the first place, I will not endure your telling me, that the prince will not allow of any writing against the people of Mentz, and of the public peace being disturbed. I would annihilate (*perdam*) you all sooner, you, the archbishop, and every living being. You say, rightly enough, that the public peace ought not to be disturbed; and you will allow God's eternal peace to be disturbed by such impious and sacrilegious works of perdition? Not so, Spalatin, not so, prince; for Christ's sheep's sake will I resist with all my strength this devouring wolf, as I have resisted others. I send you a book against him; it was all ready when I received your letter, which has not induced me to change a word in it. I must submit it, however, to Philip (Melancthon) who is to make such alterations as he may think proper. Beware of not forwarding it to Philip, or of seeking to dissuade him; the thing is settled, you will not be listened to" (November 11th).

Some days afterwards, he writes to the bishop himself—"This first and faithful exhortation which I addressed to your electoral grace, having brought upon me your jeers and ingratitude, I addressed you a second time, offering to receive your instruction and advice. What was your grace's answer?—churlish and rude, unworthy of a bishop and of a Christian. Now, though my two letters have been thrown away, I will not be disheartened, but, in obedience to the gospel, will address your grace a third warning. You have just set up again at Halle the idol which beguiles good and simple

Christians of their money and their souls, and you have thus publicly avowed that all which Tetzl did was done in concert with the archbishop of Mentz. . . . This same God still lives, doubt it not, and can still withstand a cardinal of Mentz, though the latter had four emperors on his side. It is His pleasure to break the cedars, and to lower haughty and hardened Pharaohs. I beseech your grace not to tempt this God. Did you think that Luther was dead? Believe it not. He is protected by that God, who has already humbled the pope, and is ready to begin such a game with the archbishop of Mentz, few have any idea of. . . . Given from my wilderness, the Sunday after St. Catherine's day (November 25, 1521). Your well-wisher and servant, MARTIN LUTHER."

To this, the cardinal replied humbly, and with his own hand:—"Dear Doctor, I have received your letter, dated the Sunday after St. Catherine's day, and have read it with all good-will and friendship. Still, its contents surprise me, as the matter which led you to write has been remedied long ago. Henceforward I will conduct myself, with God's aid, as it becomes a pious Christian, and ecclesiastical prince. I acknowledge that I stand in need of God's grace, and that I am a poor mortal, a sinner, and fallible, sinning and deceiving myself daily. I know that without God's grace there is no good in me, and that of myself I am but a worthless dunghill. Such is my answer to your friendly exhortation, for I entertain every desire to do you all manner of grace and good. I cheerfully bear with a fraternal and Christian reprimand, and I hope that the God of mercy will endow me with his grace and strength, so that I may live according to his will in this and all other things. Given at Halle, St. Thomas's day (December 21st, 1521). *Albertus, manu propria.*"

The archbishop's chaplain and adviser, Fabricius Capito, in an answer to Luther's letter, had found fault with his asperity, and had said that the great ought to be tenderly treated, excuses made for them, and, at times, their faults even winked at. . . Luther replies:—"You require gentleness and circumspection; I understand you. But is there any thing in common between the Christian and the hypocrite? The Christian faith is a public and sincere faith; it sees and proclaims things as they really are. . . My own opinion is, that every thing should be unmasked, that there should be no tenderness, no excuses, no shutting one's eyes to any thing, so that the truth may remain pure, visible, and open to the inspection of all. . . Jeremiah (ch. xl.) has these words: '*Cursed be he that doeth the work of the Lord deceitfully.*' It is one thing, my dear Fabricius, to laud and to extenuate vice; another, to cure it by goodness and mildness. Above all, it becometh to proclaim aloud what is just and unjust, and then, when the hearer is deeply impressed by our teaching, to welcome him and cheer him, despite the backslidings into which he may still lapse. '*Him that is weak in the faith receive ye,*' says St. Paul. . . I hope that I cannot be reproached with ever having failed in charity or patience towards the weak. . . If your cardinal had written his letter in the sincerity of his heart, O, my God, with what joy, what humility, would I not fall at his feet! How unworthy should I not esteem myself to kiss the dust beneath them! For am I aught else than dust and ordure? Let him

receive God's word, and I will be unto him as a faithful and lowly servant. . . . As regards those who persecute and condemn that word, the highest charity consists precisely in withstanding in every way their sacrilegious furies. . . . Think you to find Luther a man who will consent to shut his eyes, if he be only cajoled a little? . . . Dear Fabricius, I ought to give you a harsher answer than the present. . . . My *love* inclines me to die for you, but whoso touches my *faith* touches the apple of my eye. Laugh at or prize *love* as you like, but *faith*,—the word,—you should adore and look upon as the holy of holies: this is what we require of you. Expect all from our love; but fear, dread our faith. . . . I forbear replying to the cardinal himself, since I am at a loss how to write to him without approving or blaming his sincerity or his hypocrisy: he must hear what Luther thinks through you. . . . From my wilderness, St. Antony's day" (January 17th, 1522).

The preface which he prefixed to his explanation of the miracle of the lepers, and which he addressed to several of his friends, may be quoted here:—"Poor brother that I am! Here have I again lighted a great fire; have again bitten a good hole in the pocket of the papists; have attacked confession! What is now to be done with me? Where will they find sulphur, bitumen, iron, and wood enough to reduce this pestilent heretic to ashes. It will be necessary at the least to take the windows out of the churches, in order that the holy priests may find room for their preachings on the Gospel; *id est*, for their reproaches and furious vociferations against Luther. What else will they preach to the poor people? Each must preach what he can and what he knows. . . . 'Kill, kill, they call out, kill this heresiarch, who seeks to overthrow the whole ecclesiastical polity, who seeks to fire all Christendom.' I hope that I may be found worthy of their proceeding to this extreme, and that they will heap upon me the measure of their fathers. But it is not yet time; my hour is not yet come; I must first exasperate still more this race of vipers, so as to deserve to find death at their hands." . . . Being hindered from plunging into the mellay, he exhorts Melancthon from the depths of his retirement: "Though I should perish it would be no loss to the Gospel, for you are now going beyond me; you are the Elisha who succeeds Elijah, and is invested with double grace. Be not cast down, but sing at night the hymn to the Lord which I have given to you, and I will sing it likewise, having no other thought than for the word. Let him who is in the dark, be in the dark; let him who is perishing, perish; provided they cannot complain that we have failed in our duty" (May 26th, 1521). He was next pressed to solve a question which he had himself raised, and which could not be decided by theological controversies—that relating to conventual vows. The monks, from every quarter, desired the word that was to release them from their solitary cells, and Melancthon shrunk from taking the responsibility upon himself; even Luther approaches the subject with hesitation:—"You have not yet convinced me that the priestly and monastic vow are to be regarded in the same light. I cannot but feel that the sacerdotal order, instituted by God, is free, but not the monastic; whose votaries have chosen their state and voluntarily offered themselves to God. I do not hesitate to say that such as have

not attained, or who have just arrived at marriageable age, and who have entered these cut-throat dens, need have no scruple in leaving them; but I dare not say the same for those who are advanced in years, or who have long embraced the state. However, as Paul, speaking of priests, gives a very comprehensive decision, saying that it is the devil who has interdicted their marriage, and as the voice of Paul is the voice of the Majesty of Heaven, I nothing doubt that we ought openly to abide by the same; and so, although when they took the vow they bound themselves by this prohibition of the devil's, yet, now that they know to what they have bound themselves, they may confidently unbind themselves (August 1st). For my own part, I have often dissolved, without any scruple, vows contracted before the age of twenty, and would still dissolve such, because every one must see that they have been contracted without deliberation or knowledge. But those whose vows I so dissolved had not yet changed their state or habit; as to such as have already discharged in their monasteries the functions of the sacrifice, I have as yet dared nothing. The vain beliefs of men still overshadow and perplex me" (August 6th, 1521). Sometimes, he feels more confident and speaks out plainly:—"As to monastic and priestly vows, Philip and I have conspired in right earnest to annihilate them. . . . Every day brings me such fresh proofs of the monstrosities arising from the accursed celibacy of the young of both sexes, that no words are more odious to my ears than the names of nun, monk, priest; and marriage seems to me a paradise even in the depths of poverty" (November 1st).

In his preface to his work, *De Votis Monasticis*, written in the form of a letter to his father (November 21st, 1521), Luther says: . . . "I did not turn monk voluntarily. Terrified by a sudden apparition, surrounded by death, and conceiving myself summoned by Heaven, I made an inconsiderate and forced vow. When I told you this, you answered, 'God send it be not a vision of the devil's raising!' These words, as if God had spoken by your lips, sank deeply into me; but I shut my heart, as much as I could, against you and your words. In like manner, when I subsequently objected your anger to you, you returned me an answer which struck me as no other speech has struck me, and which has remained graven on my heart. You said to me, 'Have you not also heard that you should obey your parents?' But I was obdurate in my devotional intent, and hearkened to what you said as being only of man. Still, at the bottom of my soul I could never despise these words." . . . "I remember that when I had taken my vows, my father by the flesh, who was at first highly irritated, exclaimed when he was appeased, 'Heaven grant it be not a trick of Satan's!' a saying which has struck such deep root in my heart, that I never heard any thing from his mouth which I remember more tenaciously. Methinks God spoke by his lips." (September 9th.) He advises Wenceslaus Link to allow the monks to quit their convents as they liked:—"I am certain that you will neither do nor suffer any thing to be done contrary to the Gospel, though the annihilation of all monasteries were to follow. I do not like the tumultuous rush out that I have heard of. . . . Yet I do not think

it good and convenient to call them back, although they have not acted well and suitably. You must, after the example of Cyrus, in Herodotus, allow those to leave who wish; but neither forcibly expel nor retain any one. . . .” He displayed similar tolerance when the inhabitants of Erfurth proceeded to acts of violence against the Catholic priests. At Wittenberg, Carlstadt soon fulfilled and even exceeded Luther’s instructions. “Good God!” exclaims the latter, in a letter to Spalatin, “will our Wittenberg folk make even the monks marry! For my part, they will not get me to take a wife. Be on your guard against marrying, that you may not fall into the tribulation of the flesh.” (August 6th.)

This hesitation and those precautions are clear proofs that Luther rather followed than led the movement, which was hurrying all minds out of the ancient ways. “Origen,” he writes to Spalatin, “had a separate lecture for the women; why should not Melancthon try something of the kind? He can and ought, for the people are athirst and a-hungered. I am exceedingly anxious also that Melancthon should preach somewhere, publicly, in the town, on holydays, after dinner, to supplant gaming and drinking. One would thus learn to restore liberty, and to fashion it on the model of the ancient Church. For if we have broken with all human laws and shaken off the yoke, shall we stop at Melancthon’s not being shorn and anointed, at his being married? He is veritable priest, and discharges the priest’s office; except that office be not the teaching of the word. Otherwise, no more will Christ be priest, since he sometimes teaches in the synagogues, sometimes on board ship, sometimes on the sea-shore, sometimes on the mountain: he has filled every part, in every place, at every hour, without ceasing to be himself. Melancthon, too, should read the gospel to the people in German, as he has begun to read it in Latin, in order that he may thus gradually qualify himself for a German bishop, as he has become a Latin bishop.” (September 9th.) Meanwhile, the emperor being taken up with the wars with the French king, the elector gained confidence, and allowed Luther a little more liberty:—“I have gone hunting these two days, in order to see what this *γλυκύπικρον* (sweet-bitter) sport of heroes is like. We caught two hares, and some poor wretched partridges: a fitting occupation for idle men. I theologized, however, in the midst of the nets and dogs: as much pleasure as the sight gave me, just as much was it for me a mystery of pity and of pain. What does the amusement image forth except the devil with his impious doctors as dogs; that is to say, the bishops and theologians who hunt these innocent little beasts. I was deeply sensible of the sad mystery shadowed forth in these simple and faithful animals. Take another more atrocious picture. We had saved a leveret alive. I had covered it up in the sleeve of my gown; but leaving it for a moment, the dogs found the poor thing, and broke its right leg and strangled it through the gown. It is thus that the pope and Satan rage to ruin even the souls that are saved. In short, I am sick of this sport. Methinks I should prefer piercing with darts and arrows bears, wolves, wild-boars, foxes, and the whole tribe of wicked doctors. . . . I write thus lightly to teach you courtiers, devourers of beasts, that

you will be beasts in your turn in Paradise, where Christ, the great hunter, will know how to take and encage you. ‘Tis you who are the sport while you are enjoying the sport of hunting.’ (August the 15th.) All things considered, Luther was not dissatisfied with his residence at Wartburg, where, in his liberal treatment, he recognized the elector’s hand. “The owner of this place treats me much better than I deserve.” (June 10th.) “I do not want to be a burthen to any one. But I am convinced that I live here at the expense of our prince, otherwise I would not stay an hour longer. You know that if any one’s money should be spent, it is that of princes.” (August 15th.)

At the close of November, 1521, his desire to see and exhort his disciples led him to make a short excursion to Wittenberg; but he took care that the elector should know nothing of it. “I conceal,” he writes to Spalatin, “both my journey and my return from him. For what reason? You know it well enough.”

This reason was, the alarming character assumed by the Reformation in the hands of Carlstadt, of theological demagogues, of breakers of images, Anabaptists, and others, who began to start up. “I have seen the prince of those prophets, Claus-Stork, stalking about with the air and in the attire of those soldiers whom we call *lanzknecht*; there was another, too, in a long gown, and Doctor Gerard, of Cologne. Stork seems to me carried away by a fickleness of mind, which will not allow him to depend on his own opinions. But Satan makes himself sport with these men.” (September 4th, 1522.) Still, Luther did not attach any great importance to this movement: “I quit not my retreat,” he writes, “I budge not for these prophets, for they little move me.” (January 17th, 1522.) He charged Melancthon to try them; and it was on this occasion that he addressed to him the following fine letter:—(January 13th, 1522): “If you wish to put their inspiration to the proof, ask them whether they have experienced those spiritual agonies and those divine births, those deaths and those hells. . . . If you hear only of sweet, and peaceful, and devout things (as they say), albeit they should profess to be caught up to the third heaven, sanction nothing of the kind. The sign of the Son of Man is wanting—the *βάσανος* (touchstone), the sole proof of Christians, the rule which distinguishes minds. Do you wish to know the place, the manner, and the time of divine colloquies? Listen: ‘As a lion, so will he break all my bones,’ &c. ‘Why castest thou off my soul? why hidest thou thy face from me?’ &c. ‘The sorrows of death compassed me, and the pains of hell gat hold upon me.’ The Majesty of Heaven does not speak, as they pretend, immediately, and in sight of man: nay, ‘No man shall see me and live.’ Therefore, He speaketh by the mouth of men; because we cannot all receive His word. The Virgin even was troubled at the sight of an angel. Hearken, also, to the cry of Daniel and of Jeremiah: ‘Correct me, but with judgment, not in thine anger.’” On January 17th he writes: “Take care that our prince does not stain his hands with the blood of these new prophets. You must fight with the word alone, conquer with the word alone, destroy with the word what they have raised by force and violence. . . . I condemn solely by the word: let him who believeth believe and follow; let the unbeliever continue in his unbelief and go his way. No one must be forced

unto the faith or the things of the faith, but be prevailed upon by the word. I condemn images, but by the word; not that they may be burnt, but that no trust may be put in them."

But things were taking place in Wittemberg which would not suffer Luther to remain longer in his dungeon. He set off without asking the elector's leave. A curious account of his journey is given by one of the historians of the Reformation:—

"John Kessler, a young theologian of Saint-Gall, on his way with a friend to Wittemberg to finish his studies there, fell in one evening in an inn near the gates of Jena with Luther, who wore a riding dress. They did not know him. The horseman had a little book before him, which, as they saw afterwards, was the Psalter in Hebrew. He saluted them politely, and invited them to seat themselves at his table. In the course of conversation, he inquired what was thought of Luther in Switzerland? Kessler replied, that some did not know how to land him enough, and thanked God for having sent him on earth to exalt the truth; whilst others, and especially the priests, denounced him as a heretic who was not to be spared. From something which the innkeeper said to the young travellers, they took him to be Ulrich von Hutten. Two traders came in. One of them drew from his pocket, and put on the table by him, a newly-printed work of Luther's, in sheets, and asked if they had seen it. Luther said a few words about the indifference towards serious matters manifested by the princes at that time assembled at the diet of Nuremberg. He also expressed his hopes 'that the Gospel truth would bear more fruit in succeeding generations, which should not have been poisoned by the Papal error.' One of the traders said, 'I am unskilled in these questions; but, to my mind, Luther must either be an angel from heaven or a devil from hell; at all events, I will spend the last ten florins that I have saved up in going to confess to him.' This conversation took place during supper. Luther had settled beforehand with the hosteller to pay the reckoning of the whole company. When the party broke up, Luther shook hands with the two Swiss (the traders had been called away by their business), and begged them to bear his remembrances to Doctor Jerome Schurff, their countryman, as soon as they reached Wittemberg. And when they enquired whose remembrances it was they were to bear, he replied: 'Simply tell him that he who is to come salutes him; he will be sure to understand from whom the message comes.' When the traders returned, and learnt that it was Luther with whom they had been talking, they were in despair that they had not known it sooner, that they had not shown him more respect, and had spoken so sillily before him. The following morning they were up betimes, on purpose to see him before he left, and to tender him their most humble excuses. Luther only owned to its being himself by implication."

On his road to Wittemberg he wrote to the elector, who had forbade him to leave Wartburg: " . . . I do not hold the Gospel of men, but of Heaven, of our Lord Jesus Christ; and I might well have called myself his servant, and assumed the name of evangelist, as I intend doing henceforward. If I have sought to be examined, it is not that I doubted the goodness of my cause, but through deference and humility alone. Now, seeing that this excess of humility only depreciates the Gospel, and

that the devil, if I yield an inch of ground, seeks to take possession of the whole, my conscience compels me to act differently. It is enough that, to pleasure your electoral grace, I have spent a year in retirement. Well does the devil know that this was through no fears of mine. He saw my heart when I entered Worms. Had that town been filled with devils I would joyfully have flung myself into it. Now, duke George cannot even pass for a devil; and I leave it to your electoral grace whether it would not be offensive to the Father of all mercy, who bids us put our trust in Him, to fear the anger of this duke? Did God summon me to Leipsic, his capital, as He summons me to Wittemberg, I would thither (forgive the silly expression) though it should rain Duke Georges nine days on end, and each nine times more furious than he. . . . He takes Jesus Christ, then, for a man of straw. The Lord may bear with this for a time, but not always. No more will I conceal from your electoral grace that I have more than once besought God with tears to be pleased to enlighten the duke; and I will do so once more with all zeal, but it shall be for the last time. I also beg your grace's own prayers, and that you would order prayers to be put up, to the end that we may turn away from him, if God so please, that fearful judgment which, alas! threatens him each day more nearly. I write this to apprise you that I am on my way to Wittemberg, under higher protection than that of the elector; so that I have no intention of asking your grace's support. Nay, I even believe that I shall be a better protection to the elector than the elector to me; and did I think that I had to trust to him I should stay my steps. The sword is powerless here. God must act, without man's interference. He, in whom faith most abounds, will be the most efficacious protector; and, as I feel your grace's faith to be still weak, I can by no means recognize in you him who is to protect and save me. Your electoral grace asks me what you are to do under these circumstances, thinking you have done little hitherto? I answer, with all submission, that your grace has done only too much, and that you should do nothing. God desireth not all this uneasiness and turmoil about His cause; but that we should trust in Him alone. If your grace entertain this faith you will reap peace and security; if not, I at least will rest in faith, and shall be obliged to leave to your grace the torment with which God punishes unbelievers. Since, then, I decline complying with your grace's exhortations, you will be justified before God if I am taken or am put to death. And, before men, it is my wish your grace should act as follows:— That you be obedient to authority like a good elector, allow the emperor to rule in his states conformably with the laws of the empire, and forbear from resisting any power which shall attack my liberty or my life; for no one ought to disarm authority or resist it, save Him who has instituted it; else 'tis revolt, and against God. I only hope that they will have sense enough to discern that your electoral grace is too high in place to turn my gaoler; so that, if you leave the doors open and insist on the recognition of the safe-conduct, should they come to seize me, you will have satisfied the calls of obedience. On the contrary, if they are unreasonable enough to order your grace yourself to lay hands on me, I will so manage that you shall suffer on my account no prejudice in body, goods,

or soul. I will explain myself, if necessary, more at length another time. I forward this, for fear of your grace's being distressed at hearing of my arrival; for, as a Christian, I ought to comfort every one and harm none. If your grace had faith, you would behold the wondrous doings of God; but if you yet have it not, you have yet seen nothing. Let us love and glorify God for ever. Amen. Written at Borna, with my guide by me, Ash Wednesday, (March 5th,) 1522. Your electoral grace's most humble servant,
MARTIN LUTHER."

(March 7th.) The elector had requested Luther to explain to him his reasons for returning to Wittenberg, in a letter which might be shown to the emperor. Luther, in his letter, gives three reasons:—The urgent entreaties of the Church of Wittenberg; the confusion that had arisen in his flock; and, thirdly, the desire to hinder, as far as in him lies, the outbreaks which he considers to be imminent.

"... My second reason for returning," he writes, "is, that during my absence Satan has entered my sheepfold, and has committed ravages which I can only repair by my own presence and lively word; writing would have been useless. My conscience would not allow me to delay longer; I was bound to disregard not only your highness's favour or disfavour, but the whole world's wrath. It was my flock, the flock entrusted to me by God, my children in Christ Jesus; I could not hesitate a moment. I am bound to suffer death for them, and would cheerfully lay down my life, with God's grace, even as it is asked by Jesus Christ (St. John x. 11). Could my pen have remedied the mischief, wherefore should I have come? Why not, if my presence were unnecessary, have made up my mind to quit Wittenberg for ever?" ... In the same month, soon after his return to Wittenberg, Luther writes to his friend Hartmuth von Kronberg. "... Satan, who is ever busy amongst the children of God, as Job says (i. 6, 7), has just done us all, and me in particular, a grievous mischief. Not all my enemies, however near they have often been to me, have ever struck me such a blow as I have sustained at the hands of my friends. I am forced to own that the smoke from this fire offends alike my eyes and heart. 'Tis by attacking him on this side,' Satan has said to himself, 'that I can prostrate Luther's courage, and overcome his stubborn mind. This time he will not escape me.' ... Perhaps God designs to punish me by this stroke for having repressed the spirit within me at Worms, and spoken too gently to the tyrants. The pagans, it is true, have since then accused me of having shown pride. They know not what faith is. I yielded to the entreaties of my good friends, who would not have me appear too unpunished; but I have often repented of this deference and humility. ... I myself no longer know Luther, and wish not to know him. What I preach comes not from him, but from Jesus Christ. Let the devil fly away with Luther if he can, I care not, so long as he leaves Jesus Christ reigning in all hearts."

About the middle of this year, Luther broke out with the greatest violence against princes. A great number of princes and bishops (amongst the rest, duke George), had just prohibited the translation which he was then publishing of the Bible; and

the price was returned to such as had purchased it. Luther boldly took up the gauntlet so thrown down:—"We have reaped the first fruits of victory, and have triumphed over the papal tyranny, which had weighed down kings and princes; how much easier will it not be to bring the princes themselves to their senses! ... I greatly fear troubles arising, if they continue to hearken to that silly-pated duke George, which will bring ruin on princes and magistrates, over all Germany; and, at the same time, involve the clergy in a similar fate. Such is my view of the aspect of affairs. The people are agitated in all directions, and on the look-out. They will, they can no longer suffer themselves to be oppressed. This is the Lord's doing. He shuts the eyes of the princes to these menacing symptoms, and will bring the whole to a consummation, by their blindness and their violence. Methinks I see Germany swimming in blood! I tell them that the sword of civil war is hanging suspended over their heads. They are doing their utmost to ruin Luther, and Luther does his utmost to save them. Destruction is yawning, not for Luther, but for them; and they draw nigh of themselves, instead of shrinking back. I believe the Spirit now speaks in me; and that if the decree of wrath goes forth in heaven, and neither prayer nor wisdom can avail, we shall obtain that our Josiah sleep in peace, and the world be left to itself in its Babylon.—Although hourly exposed to death, in the midst of my enemies, and without any human aid, I have yet never so despised anything in my life as these stupid threats of prince George's and his fellows. The Spirit, doubt it not, will master duke George and his comrades in folly. I have written all this to you fasting, and at a very early hour, with my heart filled with pious confidence. My Christ lives and reigns; and I shall live and reign" (March 19th).

About the same time, Henry VIII. published the work which he had got his chaplain Edward Lee to write, and in which he announced himself the champion of the church.

"This work betrays royal ignorance, but a violence and mendacity as well, which are wholly Lee's" (July 22nd). Luther's reply came out the following year, and exceeded in violence even all that might have been expected from his writings against the pope. Never had any private man, before him, addressed a monarch in such contemptuous and audacious terms:—

"To the words of fathers, men, angels, devils, I oppose, not ancient usage, or a multitude of men, but the word alone of the Eternal Majesty—the Gospel which they themselves are forced to recognize. On this, I take my stand; this is my glory, my triumph; and from this, I mock popes, Thomists, Henricists, sophists, and all the gates of hell. I care little about the words of men, whatever their sanctity, and as little for tradition and deceitful usage. God's word is above all. If I have the Divine Majesty with me, what signifies all the rest, even if a thousand Austin friars, a thousand Cyprians, a thousand of Henry's churches, were to rise up against me? God cannot err, or be deceived; Augustin and Cyprian, as well as all the elect, can err, and have erred. The mass conquered, we have, I opine, conquered the popedom. The mass was as it were the rock on which the popedom, with its monasteries, episcopacies, colleges, altars, ministers, and doctrines, on which, in fine, its whole

paunch was founded. All this will topple down along with the abomination of their sacrilegious mass. In Christ's cause I have trodden under foot the idol of the Roman abomination, which had seated itself in God's place, and had become mistress of kings, and of the world. Who then is this Henry, this new Thomist, this disciple of the monster, that I should respect his blasphemies and his violence! He is the defender of the Church; yes, of his own church, which he exalts so high, of the whore who lives in purple, drunken with debauch, of that mother of fornications. My leader is Christ; and with one and the same blow, I will dash in pieces this Church, and its defenders, who are but one. My doctrines, I feel convinced, are of heaven. I have triumphed with them over him who has more strength and craft in his little finger than all popes, kings, and doctors, put together. My doctrines will remain, and the pope will fall, notwithstanding all the gates of hell, and all the powers of the air, the earth, and the sea. They have defied me to war; well, they shall have war. They have despised the peace I offered them; peace shall no more be theirs. God will see which of the two will first have enough of it, the pope or Luther. Thrice have I appeared before them. I entered Worms, well aware that Caesar was to violate the public faith in my person. Luther, the fugitive, the trembling, came to cast himself within the teeth of Behemoth. . . . But they, these terrible giants, has one single one of them presented himself for these three years at Wittenberg! And yet they might have come in all safety, under the Emperor's guarantee. The cowards! Do they dare yet to hope for triumph! They thought that my flight would enable them to retrieve their shameful ignominy. It is now known by all the world; it is known that they have not had the courage to face Luther alone" (A. D. 1523).

He was still more violent in the treatise which he published in German on the Secular Power: "Princes are of the world, and the world is alien from God; so that they live according to the world, and against God's law. Be not surprised then by their furious raging against the Gospel, for they cannot but follow the laws of their own nature. You must know, that from the beginning of the world, a wise prince has been rare; still more, an honest and upright prince. They are generally great fools, or wicked castaways (*maxime futuri, pessimi nebulones super terram*). And so the worst is always to be expected from them, and scarcely ever good; especially when the salvation of souls is concerned. They serve God as lictors and executioners, when he desires to chastise the wicked. Our God is a powerful King, and must have noble, illustrious, rich executioners and lictors, such as they, and wills them to have riches and honours in abundance, and to be feared of all. It is his divine pleasure that we style his executioners merciful lords, that we prostrate ourselves at their feet, that we be their most humble subjects. But these very executioners do not push the trick so far, as to desire to become good pastors. If a prince be wise, upright, a Christian, it is a great miracle, a precious sign of divine favour; for, commonly, it happens as with the Jews, to whom God said, 'I will give thee a king in my anger, and take him away in my wrath' (*Dabo tibi regem in furore meo, et auferam in in-*

dignatione meâ). And look at our Christian princes who protect the faith, and devour the Turk. . . . Good people, trust not to them. In their great wisdom, they are about to do something; they are about to break their necks, and precipitate nations into disasters and misery. . . . Now I will make the blind to see, in order that they may understand those four words in Psalm cvii. *Effundit contemptum super principes* (He poureth contempt on princes). I swear to you by God himself, that if you wait for men to come and shout in your ears these four words, you are lost, even though each of you were as powerful as the Turk; and then it will avail you nothing to swell yourselves out and grind your teeth. . . . Already there are very few princes who are not treated as fools and knaves; for the plain reason that they show themselves such, and the people begin to use their understanding. . . . Good masters and lords, govern with moderation and justice, for your people will not long endure your tyranny; they neither can, nor will. This world is no more the world of former days, in which you went hunting down men like wild beasts." Luther remarks with regard to two severe rescripts of the emperor's against him: "I exhort every good Christian to pray with me for these blind princes, whom God has no doubt sent us in his wrath, and not to follow them against the Turks. The Turk is ten times more able and more religious than our princes. How can these wretches, who tempt and blaspheme God so horribly, succeed against him? Does not that poor and wretched creature, who is not for one moment sure of his life, does not our emperor impudently boast that he is the true and sovereign defender of the Christian faith? Holy Scripture says that the Christian faith is a rock, against which the devil, and death, and every power shall be broken; that it is a divine power, and that this divine power can be protected from death by a child, whom the slightest touch would throw down. O God! how mad is this world! Here is the king of England, who, in his turn, styles himself, *Defender of the Faith!* Even the Hungarians boast of being the protectors of God, and sing in their litanies, '*Ut nos defensores tuos exaudire digneris*' (Vouchsafe to hear us, thy defenders). . . . Why are not there princes to protect Jesus Christ as well, and others to defend the Holy Ghost? On this fashion, the Holy Trinity and the faith would, I conclude, at last be fitly guarded!" . . . (A.D. 1523.)

Daring like this alarmed the elector. Luther could hardly reassure him:—"I call to mind, my dear Spalatin, what I wrote from Born to the elector, and would to God that, warned by such evident signs from God's own hand, you would but have faith. Have I not escaped these two years from every attempt? Is not the elector not only safe, but has he not for this year past seen the rage of the princes abated? It is not hard for Christ to protect Christ in this cause of mine; which the elector espoused, induced by God alone. Could I devise any means of separating him from this cause, without casting shame on the Gospel, I should not grudge even my life. Nay, I had made sure that before a year was over, they would drag me to the stake; and in this was my hope of his deliverance. Since, however, we cannot comprehend or divine

God's designs, we shall ever be perfectly safe if we say—*"Thy will be done!"* And I have no doubt but that the prince will be secure from all attack, so long as he does not publicly espouse and approve our cause. Why is he forced to partake our disgrace? God only knows; although it is quite certain that this is not to his hurt or danger, but, on the contrary, to the great benefit of his salvation" (October 12th, 1523).

What constituted Luther's safety, was the apparent immunity of a general revolutionary movement. The lower classes grumbled. The petty nobility, more impatient, took the initiative. The rich ecclesiastical principalities lay exposed as a prey; and it seemed as if their pillage would be the signal for civil war. The catholics themselves protested by legal means, against the abuses which Luther had pointed out in the church. In March, 1523, the diet of Nuremberg suspended the execution of the imperial edict against Luther, and drew up against the clergy the *Centum Græamina* (The Hundred Grievances). Already the most zealous of the princes of the Rhine, Franz von Sickingen, had begun the contest between the petty barons and princes, by attacking the Palatine. "Matters," exclaimed Luther, "are come to a grievous pass. Certain signs indicate approaching revolution; and I am convinced Germany is threatened either with a most cruel war or its last day" (January 16th, 1523).

CHAPTER II.

BEGINNINGS OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH.—ATTEMPTS AT ORGANISATION, &c.

THE most active and laborious period of Luther's life, was that succeeding his return to Wittenberg. He was constrained to go on with the Reformation, to advance each day on the road he had opened, to surmount new obstacles, and yet, from time to time, to stop in this work of destruction to reconstruct and rebuild as well as he might. His life loses the unity it presented at Worms, and in the castle of Wartburg. Hurried from his poetic solitude into a vortex of the meanest realities, and cast as a prey to the world, 'tis to him that all the enemies of Rome will apply. All flock to him, and besiege his door—princes, doctors, or burghesses. He has to reply to Bohemians, to Italians, to Swiss, to all Europe. Fugitives arrive from every quarter. Indisputably, the most embarrassing of these are the nuns who, having fled from their convents, and having been rejected by their families, apply for an asylum to Luther. This man, thirty-six years of age, finds himself obliged to receive these women and maidens, and be to them a father. A poor monk, his own situation a necessitous one (see, above, c. iv), he labours to get some small help for them from the parsimonious elector, who is allowing himself to die of hunger. To sink into these straits, after his triumph at Worms, was enough to calm the reformer's exaltation.

The answers he returns to the multitude that come to consult him, are impressed with a liberality of spirit which, afterwards, we shall see him occasionally lose sight of; when, raised to be the head of an established church, he shall himself experience the necessity of staying the movement which he had impressed on religious thought.

First comes the pastor of Zwickau, Hausmann, calling on Luther to determine the limits of evangelical liberty. He answers:—"We grant full liberty with regard to the communion in both kinds; but to such as approach becomingly and with fear. In all the rest, let us observe the usual ritual, let each follow his own lights, and each interrogate his own conscience, how to answer to the Gospel." The Moravian brethren come next, the Vaudois of Moravia, (March 26th, 1522). "The sacrament itself," writes Luther to them, "is not so indispensable as to render faith and charity superfluous. It is madness to be meddling with these poor matters, to the neglect of the precious concerns of salvation. Where faith and charity are, there can be no sin either in adoring or not adoring. On the contrary, where faith and charity are not, there cannot but be one enduring sin. If these wranglers will not say concomitance, let them say otherwise, and give over disputing, since they agree fundamentally. Faith, charity does not adore (it is the worship of saints that is alluded to), because it knows that adoration is not commanded, and that there is no sin in not adoring. So does it pass at liberty through the midst of these people, and reconciles them all, by leaving each to enjoy his own opinion. It forbids wrangling with and condemning one another, for it hates sects and schisms. I would resolve the question of the adoration of God in the saints, by saying, that it is altogether indifferent, and open to individual choice or rejection." He expressed himself in regard to this latter subject with singular haughtiness: "To my own marvel, my opinion of the worship of saints is so called for by the whole world, that I feel forced to publish it. I had rather the question were suffered to rest, for the one reason that it is unnecessary" (May 29th, 1522). "As to the exhibition of relics, I think they have already been exhibited over and over again, throughout the whole world. With respect to purgatory; it seems to me a very doubtful matter. It is probable that, with the exception of a small number, all the dead sleep in a state of insensibility. I do not suppose purgatory to be a determinate spot, as imagined by the sophists. To believe them, all those who are neither in heaven nor in hell, are in purgatory. Who dare affirm this? The souls of the dead may sleep between heaven, earth, hell, purgatory, and all things, as it happens with the living, in profound sleep. . . . I take this to be the pain which is called the foretaste of hell; and from which Christ, Moses, Abraham, David, Jacob, Job, Hezekiah, and many others, suffered such agony. And as this is like hell, and yet temporary, whether it take place in the body or out of the body, it is purgatory to me." (January 13th, 1522.)

In Luther's hands, confession loses the character it had assumed under the Church. It is no longer that formidable tribunal which shuts and opens heaven. With him, the priest simply places his wisdom and his experience at the penitent's service; and from the sacrament which it was, confession is transformed into a ministry of comfort and good advice. "It needeth not, in confession, to recapitulate all one's sins; each can tell what he likes; we shall stone no one for this; if they confess from the bottom of their heart that they are poor sinners, we are satisfied. If a murderer said on his trial that I had given him absolution, I should

say—I know not whether he is absolved, for it is not I who confess and absolve, it is Christ. A woman at Venice killed, and flung into the water, a young gallant who had slept with her. A monk gave her absolution, and then informed against her. The woman produced in her defence the monk's absolution. The senate decided that the monk should be burnt and the woman banished the city. It was a truly wise sentence. But if I gave a notification signed with my own hand to an alarmed conscience, and it were handed to the judge, I might lawfully insist on his giving it up to me, as I did with duke George; for he who holds another's letters, without a good title to them, is a thief." As to mass, from the year 1519, he treats its external celebration as a matter of perfect indifference; writing to Spalatin, "You ask me for a model form of ceremonial for mass. I implore you not to trouble yourself about minutiae of the kind. Pray for those whom God shall inspire you to pray for, and keep your conscience free on this subject. It is not so important a matter as to require us to shackle still further by decrees and traditions the spirit of liberty: the prevailing traditions that overburthen the mass are enough, and more than enough." Towards the end of his life, in 1542, he again wrote to the same Spalatin (November 10th):—"With regard to the elevation of the host, do just as it pleases you. I wish no fetters forged on indifferent matters. This is the strain in which I write, have written, and ever shall write to all who worry me on this question." Nevertheless, he recognized the necessity of external worship:—"Albeit ceremonies are not necessary to salvation, nevertheless they make an impression on rude minds. I allude mainly to the ceremonies of the mass, which you may retain as we have here at Wittenberg." (January 11th, 1531.) "I condemn no ceremony, except such as are contrary to the Gospel. We have retained the baptism and baptism; although we administer it in the vulgar tongue. I allow of images in the temple; mass is celebrated with the usual rites and habits, with the exception of some hymns in the vulgar tongue, and of pronouncing the words of consecration in German. In short, I should not have substituted the vulgar tongue for Latin in the celebration of mass, had I not been compelled to it." (March 14th, 1528.) "You are about to organise the church of Königsberg; I pray you, in Christ's name, change as few things as possible. You have some episcopal towns near you, and must not let the ceremonies of the new Church differ much from the ancient rites. If mass in Latin be not done away with, retain it; only, introduce some hymns in German. If it be done away with, retain the ancient ceremonial and habits." (July 16th, 1528.)

The most serious change which Luther introduced into the mass, was translating it into the vulgar tongue. "Mass shall be said in German for the laity; but the daily service shall be performed in Latin, introducing, however, some German hymns." (October 28th, 1525.) "I am glad to find that mass is now celebrated in Germany, in German. But that Carlstadt should make this imperative, is going too far. He is incorrigible. Always laws, always obligations, sins of omission, or commission! But he cannot help it. I should be delighted to sing mass in German, and am busied with it; but I want it to have a true German air.

Simply to translate the Latin text, preserving the usual tone and chant, may pass; but it does not sound well, or satisfy me. The whole, text and notes, accent and gestures, ought to spring from our native tongue and voice; otherwise, it can only be imitation and mockery. . . ." "I wish, rather than promise, to furnish you with a mass in German; since I do not feel myself equal to this labour, which requires both music and brain-work. (November 12th, 1524.) "I send you the mass; I will even consent to its being sung; but I do not like to have Latin music with German words. I should wish the German chant to be adopted." (March 26th, 1525.) "I am of opinion that it would be advantageous, after the example of the prophets, and the ancient Fathers of the Church, to compose psalms in German for the people. We are looking for poets everywhere; but sith you have been gifted with considerable fluency and eloquence in the German tongue, and have cultivated these gifts, I pray you to assist me in my labour, and to essay a translation of some psalm, on the model of those I have composed. I am anxious to avoid all new words and court phrases. To be understood by the people, you require to use the simplest and commonest language, attending, however, to purity and precision; and your phrases must be as clear and as close to the text as possible." (A.D. 1524.)

It was no easy task to organize the new Church. The ancient hierarchy was broken up. The principle of the Reformation was to reinstate everything according to Scripture warrant; and to be consistent, the Church should have been restored to the democratic form it assumed during the first centuries. Luther, at first, seemed to incline to this. In his *De Ministris Ecclesiæ Instituendis*, (On the Appointment of Ministers to the Church,) addressed to the Bohemians, he writes—"What a notable invention it is of the papists, that the priest is invested with an indestructible character, which no fault he commits can deprive him of. . . The priest ought to be chosen, elected by the suffrages of the people, and then confirmed by the bishop; that is to say, after election, the senior, the most venerable of the electors, should ratify it by imposition of hands. Did Christ, the first priest under the New Testament, require the tonsure and other fooleries of episcopal ordination? Did his apostles, his disciples? . . . All Christians are priests, all may teach God's word, administer baptism, consecrate the bread and wine; for Christ has said, 'Do this in remembrance of me.' All of us Christians have the power of the keys. Christ said to his apostles, who represented the whole human race before him, 'I say unto you, that what you shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven.' But to bind and to unloose is no other thing than to preach and to apply the Gospel. To loose, is to announce that God has forgiven the sinner his errors. To bind, is to deprive of the Gospel and announce that his sins are remembered. The names which priests ought to bear, are those of ministers, deacons, bishops (overseers), dispensers. On a minister's ceasing to be faithful, he ought to be deposed; his brethren may excommunicate him, and put some other minister in his place. Preaching is the highest office in the Church. Jesus Christ and Paul preached, but did not baptize." (A. D. 1523.) He would not, as

we have already seen, restrict all churches to one uniform rule. "I do not opine that our Wittenberg rules should be imposed on all Germany." And again, "It does not seem to me safe to call a council of ourselves, in order to establish uniformity of ceremonies, a mode of proceeding fraught with evil consequences, as is proved by all the councils of the Church from the beginning. Thus, in the council of the Apostles, works and traditions received more attention than faith; and, in the succeeding councils, the faith was never brought under consideration, but always opinions and minute questions, so that the name of council has become as suspicious and distasteful to me as that of free-will. If one church does not wish to imitate another in these external matters, what need of hampering ourselves with decrees of councils, which soon become laws and nets for souls?" (November 12th, 1524.)

He, nevertheless, felt that this liberty might be extended too far, and lead the Reformation into innumerable abuses. "I have read your plan of ordination, my dear Hausmann, but think it would be better not to publish it. I have long since been repenting of what I have done; for since all, in imitation of me, have proposed their reforms, so infinite has been the increase in the variety and number of ceremonies, that we shall soon exceed the ocean of the papal ceremonial." (March 21st, 1534.) With the view of introducing some unity into the ceremonies of the new church, annual visitations were instituted, and held over all Saxony. The visitors were to inquire into the lives and doctrines of the pastors, revive the faith of the erring, and exclude from the priesthood all whose manners were not exemplary. These visitors were nominated by the elector, on the recommendation of Luther; who, as he had fixed his residence at Wittenberg, formed along with Jonas, Melancthon, and some other theologians, a sort of central committee for the direction of all ecclesiastical affairs. "The inhabitants of Winsheim have petitioned our illustrious prince, to allow you to take charge of their church; on our advice, he has refused their prayers. He allows you to return to your own country, should we judge you worthy of the ministry there (November, 1531). Signed LUTHER, JONAS, MELANCTHON."

Numerous similar notices occur amongst Luther's letters, signed by himself and many other protestant theologians.

Although Luther enjoyed no rank which placed him above the other pastors, he yet exercised a kind of supremacy and control. "Still," he writes to Amsdorf, "still fresh complaints against you and Frezhans, because you have excommunicated a barber. As yet, I would fain not decide betwixt you; but, tell me, I pray you, why this excommunication?" (July, 1532). "We can only refuse the communion. To endeavour to give to religious excommunication all the effects of political excommunication, would be to get ourselves laughed at by trying to assert a power incompatible with the present age, and which is above our strength. . . . The province of the civil magistrate should not be interfered with. . . ." (June 26th, 1533.) However, at times, excommunication seemed to him a good weapon to employ. A burgess of Wittenberg had purchased a house for thirty florins, and, after some repairs, asked four hundred for it. "If he per-

sist," says Luther, "I excommunicate him. We must revive excommunication." As he spoke of reviving the consistorial courts, Christian Bruck, the juris-consult, said to him: "The nobles and citizens fear you are about to begin with the peasants in order to end with them." "Jurist," replied Luther, "keep to your law and to what concerns the public peace." In 1538, learning that a man of Wittenberg despised God, his word, and his servants, he has him threatened by two chaplains. At a later period he excludes a nobleman, who was a usurer, from the communion table. One of the things which most troubled the reformer was the abolition of the monastic vows. About the middle of the year 1522, he published an exhortation to the four mendicant orders. In the month of March the Austin friars, in August the Carthusians, declared openly for him:—"To the lieutenants of his imperial majesty at Nuremberg. . . . God cannot ask for vows beyond human strength to fulfil. . . . Dear lords, suffer yourselves to be entreated. You know not the horrible and infamous tricks the devil plays in convents. Become not his accomplices; burden not your conscience therewith. Ah! did my most infuriate enemies know the things I hear daily from all countries, they would help me to-morrow to do away with convents. You force me to cry out louder than I like. Give way, I beseech you, before these scandals become too disgracefully notorious." (August, 1523.) "I am much pleased with the general decree of the Carthusians, allowing the monks liberty to leave and to renounce their habit, and shall publish it. The example set by so considerable an order will further our wishes and support our decisions." (August 20th, 1522.) However, he wished things to be done without noise or scandal. He writes to John Lange:—"You have not, I conclude, left your monastery without a reason; but I should have preferred your making your reasons public; not that I condemn your leaving, but that I would have our adversaries deprived of all occasion of calumny."

Vain were his exhortations to avoid all violence. The Reformation slipped away from his hands, and extended itself every day externally. At Erfurth, in the year 1521, the people had forced the houses of several priests, and he had complained of it; the following year they went further in the Low Countries. "You know, I believe, what has taken place at Antwerp, and how the women have forcibly set Henry of Zutphen at liberty. The brethren have been expelled from the convent; some are prisoners in divers places; others have been let go after denying Christ; others, again, have held out; such as are by birth citizens of the town have been cast into the house of the Beghards; all the furniture of the convent has been sold, and the church, as well as the convent, shut, and they are about to pull it down. The holy sacrament was transferred with pomp to the church of the Holy Virgin, as if it had been rescued from an heretical spot. Burgesses and women have been put to the torture and punished. Henry himself is returning by way of Bremen, where he is stopping to preach the word, at the prayers of the people, and by order of the council, in despite of the bishop. The people are animated by marvellous desire and ardour; in fine, a chapman has been set up in business here by some individuals, in order to import books from

Wittenberg. Henry, indeed, required letters of licence from you; but we could not get at you quickly enough, so we have granted them in your name, under the seal of our prior." (December 19th, 1522.) All the Austin friars of Wittenberg had left their monastery one after the other; the prior resigned its temporalities into the elector's hands, and Luther threw off the gown. On the 9th of October, 1524, he appeared in public with a robe like the one worn at the present day by preachers in Germany; and it was the elector's present. Luther's example encouraged monks and nuns to re-enter the world; and these helpless females, suddenly cast out of the cloister, and all at a loss in a world of which they knew nothing, hurried to him whose preaching had drawn them out of their conventual solitude. "Nine nuns came to me yesterday, who had escaped from their imprisonment in the convent of Nimpschen; Staupitza and two other members of Zeschau's family were of the number." (April 8th, 1523.) "I feel great pity for them, and especially for those others who are dying in crowds of this accursed and incestuous chastity. This most feeble sex is united to the male by nature, by God himself; if they are separated, it perishes. O tyrants! O cruel parents of Germany! . . . You ask my intentions with respect to them. In the first place, I shall have their parents written to to receive them; if they refuse, I shall provide for them elsewhere. Their names are as follow:—Magdalen Staupitz, Elsa von Canitz, Ave Grossin, Ave Schonfeld, and her sister Margaret Schonfeld, Laneta von Golis, Margaret Zeschau, and Catherine von Bora. They made their escape in the most surprising manner. . . . Beg some money for me from your rich courtiers, to enable me to support them for a week or fortnight, until I restore them to their parents, or to those who have promised me to take care of them." (April 10th, 1523.) "I am surprised, Spalatin, master mine, that you have sent this woman back to me, since you know my handwriting well, and give no other reason than the letter's not being signed. . . . Pray the elector to give some ten florins, and a new or old gown, or something of the kind; in short, to give to these poor souls, virgins against their will." (April 22nd, 1523.)

On April 10th, 1522, Luther writes to Leonard Koppe, a wealthy burgher of Torgau, who had aided nine nuns to escape from their convent, approving of his conduct, and exhorting him not to allow himself to be alarmed by any clamour that may be raised against him. "You have done a good work; and would to God we were able to effect a like deliverance for the numerous consciences still held in captivity. . . . God's word is now in the world, and not in convents." . . . On June 18th, 1523, he writes to comfort three young ladies whom duke Henry, son of duke George, had expelled his court for having read Luther's writings:—"Bless those who persecute you, &c. . . . Unhappily, you are only too well avenged on their injustice. You must pity these insensates, these madmen, who do not see that they are hurrying their souls to perdition by seeking to do you harm." . . . "You have already, no doubt, heard the news that the duchess of Montsberg has escaped, most miraculously, from the convent of Freyberg. She is at present in my house with two young girls, the one, Margaret Volckmarin,

daughter of a Leipsic burgher; the other, Dorothea, daughter of a burgher of Freyberg." (October 20th, 1528.) "This hapless Elizabeth von Reinsberg, expelled from the girls' school at Altenburg, has applied to me, after having petitioned the prince, who had referred her to the commissioners of the sequestered property, begging me to get you to interest yourself for her with them, &c." (March, 1533.) "That young girl of Altenburg, whose aged father and mother have been arrested in their own house, has applied to me for succour and advice. What I am to do in this business, God only knows." (July 14th, 1533.) From some expressions of Luther's we discover that his goodness was often imposed upon by these women who flocked to him, and that in many cases even they were only pretended nuns:—"What numbers of nuns have I not supported, at heavy expense. How often have I not been deceived by pretended nuns, mere harlots, whatever their noble birth (*generosas meretrices*)." (August 24th, 1535.)

Luther's notions of the propriety of suppressing religious houses were soon modified by these impositions. In an exordium addressed to the commune of Leisnick (A.D. 1523) he dissuades from their violent suppression, and recommends their being gradually extinguished by forbidding the reception of any more novices:—"As no one ought to have force put upon him in matters of faith," he goes on to say, "such as are desirous of remaining in their convents, either from their advanced age, from love of an idle life and of good cheer, or from conscientious motives, ought neither to be expelled nor illtreated. They must be left until their time come as they have before been; for the Gospel teaches us to do good even to the unworthy; and we must take into consideration that these persons embraced their vocation, blinded by the common error, and have learnt no trade by which they can support themselves. . . . The property belonging to religious houses should be employed as follows:—firstly, as I have just intimated, in supporting these monks who continue in them; next a certain sum ought to be given to those who leave (even though they should have brought nothing to the convent), to enable them to enter upon another way of life, as they quit their asylum for ever, and they may have learnt something whilst in the convent. As for those who brought property into the convent, the greater part, if not all, ought to be restored to them; the residue should be placed in a common chest for loans and gifts to the poor of the district. The wish of the founders will thus be fulfilled; since, although they suffered themselves to be seduced into parting with their property for monastic uses, still their intent was to consecrate it to the honour and worship of God. Now, there is no finer worship than Christian charity, which comes to the relief of the indigent; as Jesus Christ will bear witness on the day of judgment (Matt. ch. xxv.). . . . Yet, if any of the founder's heirs should happen to be in want, it would be equitable and conformable to charity to put them in possession of a portion of the revenues of the foundation, even all if necessary, as it could not have been the wish of their fathers to deprive their children and heirs of bread to give it to strangers. . . . You will object to me that I make the hole too large, and that on this plan but little will be left for the common chest; each, you will

say, will come and pretend that he requires so much or so much, &c. But I have already said, that this ought to be a labour of equity and of charity. Let each conscientiously examine how much he requires for his wants, how much he can give up to the chest; and then let the commune weigh the circumstances in its turn, and all will go well. And though the cupidity of some individuals may find its advantage in this mutual accommodation, this would be infinitely preferable to the pillage and disorder which we have witnessed in Bohemia. . . . I would not recommend the aged to quit their monasteries; principally, because they would only return to the world to be a burden to others, and would be at a loss to meet, cold as charity is now-a-days, with the comforts they deserve. By remaining within the monastery, they will not be chargeable to any one, or obliged to throw themselves on the care of strangers; and they will be enabled to do much for the salvation of their neighbours, which in the world they would find difficult, nay, impossible." Luther ended by encouraging a monk to remain in his monastery:—"I lived there myself some years, and should have lived longer, and even up to the present time, had my brethren and the state of the monastery allowed of my so doing." (Feb. 28th, 1528.)

Some nuns in the Low Countries wrote to doctor Martin Luther, commending themselves to his prayers: pious virgins, fearing God, who supported themselves by their own industry, and lived in harmony. The doctor was moved with great compassion for them, and says:—"Poor nuns like these must be suffered to live in their own way; and so with the *feldkloster*, founded by princes for the nobility. But the mendicant orders . . . It is from cloisters like those of which I was just now speaking, that able men may be drawn forth for the ministry of the Church, and for civil government and administration." This epoch of Luther's life was one of overpowering toil and business, in which he was no longer supported, as at first, by the excitement of the struggle and the sense of danger. To *Spalatin*:—"Deliver me, I beseech you. I am so overwhelmed by others' business, that my life is a burthen to me. . . . *Martin Luther*, courtier, not belonging to the court, and in his own despite (*Aulicus extra aulam, et incitus*)." (A.D. 1523.) "I am fully occupied, being visitor, reader, preacher, author, auditor, actor, footman, wrestler, and I know not what besides." (October 29th, 1528.) Parochial reform, uniformity of ceremonial, the drawing up of the great Catechism, answers to the new pastors, letters to the elector, whose consent was to be obtained for every innovation—here was work enough, and tedious enough; and, with all this, his enemies left him no rest. Erasmus published his formidable work *De Libero Arbitrio* (On Free Will) against him; which Luther did not make up his mind to answer until 1525. The Reformation itself seemed to turn against the reformer. His old friend, Carlstadt, had hurried on in the path in which Luther was walking; and it was to check his sudden and violent innovations, that Luther had so precipitately quitted the castle of Wartburg. It was not religious authority alone that was at stake; the civil power was about to be brought into question. Beyond Carlstadt, glimpses might be caught of Münzer; beyond the sacramentarians and icono-

clasts, there loomed in the distance the revolt of the peasants—a *Jacquerie*, a more reasonable, and more levelling, servile war than those of antiquity, and not less bloody.

CHAPTER III.

A. D. 1523 — 1525.

CARLSTADT.—MUNZER.—WAR OF THE PEASANTS.

"PRAY for me, and help me to trample under foot this Satan that has arisen at Wittemberg against the Gospel, in the name of the Gospel. We have now to combat an angel become, as he believes, an angel of light. It will be difficult to persuade Carlstadt to give way; but Christ will constrain him, if he does not yield of himself. For we are masters of life and death; we who believe in the Master of life and death." (March 12th, 1523.) "I am resolved to forbid him the pulpit, into which he has rashly intruded without any vocation, in despite of God and man." (March 19th.) "I have angered Carlstadt by annulling his ordinations, although I have not condemned his doctrine. Yet I am displeased at his busying himself with ceremonies and outward matters only, to the neglect of the true Christian doctrine; that is, of faith and charity. . . . By his foolish teaching, he induced his hearers to fancy themselves Christians on such accounts as—partaking of the communion in both kinds, renouncing confession, breaking images. . . . He has been seeking to become a new doctor, and to impose his ordinances on the people, rising on the ruin of my authority (*pressâ meâ auctoritate*)." March 30th. "This very day I took Carlstadt aside, and begged him to publish nothing against me, since (otherwise), we should be forced to come to sharps with each other. Our gentlemen swore by all most sacred, to write nothing against me." (April 21st.) . . . "We must teach the weak gently and patiently. . . . Would you, who have been a suckling yourself, cut off the breasts, and hinder others from imbibing similar nourishment? Did mothers expose and desert their children, who cannot, as soon as born, eat like men, what would have become of yourself? Dear friend, if you have sucked enough, and grown enough, let others suck and grow in their turn . . ."

Carlstadt gave up his functions as professor and archdeacon at Wittemberg, but not the emoluments, and repaired first to Orlamunde, then to Jena. "Carlstadt has established a printing-office at Jena. . . . But the elector and our academy have promised, in conformity with the imperial edict, to allow no work to be published which has not previously been examined by the commissioners. We must not allow Carlstadt and his friends to be the only persons exempt from submission to princes." (January 7th, 1524.) "As usual, Carlstadt is indefatigable. With his new presses at Jena he has published, and will publish, I am told, eighteen works." (January 14th.) "Let us leave all sadness and anxiety to be Carlstadt's portion. Let us maintain the combat, without allowing it to engross us. 'Tis God's cause, 'tis God's business: the work will be God's, the victory God's. He can fight and conquer without us. If he judge us worthy of a part in this war, we shall be devotedly ready. I write this by way of exhorting you, and, through you,

others, not to be alarmed at Satan, or to suffer your heart to be troubled. If we are unjust, must not we be overborne? If just, there is a just God who will make our justice evident as the noon-day. Perish who may, survive who may, that is no business of ours." (October 22nd, 1524.) "We shall recall Carlstadt, in the name of the university, to his duty as teacher of the word, which he owes to Wittemberg, and from a spot whither he had no call; and, if he does not return, shall accuse him to the prince." (March 14th, 1524.) Luther thought it his duty to repair to Jena; and Carlstadt, conceiving himself aggrieved by a sermon of Luther's, requested a conference; and they met in Luther's apartments in presence of numerous witnesses. After much recrimination on both sides, Carlstadt said: "Enough, doctor, go on preaching against me, I shall know what course to take." Luther: "If you have anything you long to say, write it boldly." Carlstadt: "I will; and without fearing any one." Luther: "Yes, write against me publicly." Carlstadt: "If such be your wish, I can easily satisfy it." Luther: "Do; I will give you a florin by way of throwing down the gauntlet." Carlstadt: "A florin?" Luther: "May I be a liar, if I do not." Carlstadt: "Well! I'll take up your gauntlet." On this, Luther drew a golden florin from his pocket and presented it to Carlstadt, saying, "Take it, and attack me boldly; up and be doing." Carlstadt took the florin, showed it to all present, and said: "Dear brethren, here is earnest; this is a token that I have a right to write against doctor Luther: be ye all witnesses of this." Then he put it in his purse, and gave his hand to Luther. The latter drank to his health. Carlstadt pledged him, and added, "Dear doctor, I pray you not to hinder me from printing anything I shall wish, and not to persecute me in any manner. I think of supporting myself by my plough, and you shall be enabled to judge of its produce." Luther: "Why should I wish to hinder you from writing against me? I beg you to do it, and have given you the florin precisely that you may not spare me. The more violent your attacks, the more delighted I shall be." They again gave each other their hands, and parted.

However, as the town of Orlamunde entered too warmly into Carlstadt's opinions, and had even expelled its pastor, Luther obtained an order from the elector for Carlstadt's expulsion. Carlstadt read a solemn letter of farewell, first to the men, then to the women. They had been called together by the tolling of the bell, and all wept. "Carlstadt has written to the inhabitants of Orlamunde, and has subscribed himself, *Andrew Boden-stein, expelled, without having been heard or convicted, by Martin Luther*. You see that I, who have been all but a martyr, have come to making martyrs in my turn. Egranus plays the martyr as well; and writes that he has been driven away by the papists and the Lutherans. You cannot think how widely spread Carlstadt's doctrine is on the sacrament. . .

* * * * * has returned to his senses, and asks pardon. He, too, had been forced to quit the country. I have interceded for him; but I am not sure that I shall succeed. Martin of Jena, who had also received orders to depart, has taken his farewell from the pulpit, all in tears, and imploring pardon. The only answer he got was five

florins; which sum, by begging through the town, was increased by twenty-five groschen. All this is likely to do good to preachers: it will be a trial of their vocation, and will, at the same time, teach them to preach and to conduct themselves with some fear before their eyes." (October 27th, 1524.) Carlstadt repaired to Strasburg, and thence to Bâle. His doctrines approximated closely to those of the Swiss, to (Ecolampadius's, Zuinglius's, &c. "I defer writing on the eucharist until Carlstadt has poured forth all his poison, as he promised when taking a piece of gold of me. Zwingle, and Leo, the Jew, in Switzerland, hold the same opinions as Carlstadt, so the scourge is spreading: but Christ reigns, if he fights not." (November 12th, 1524.) However, he conceived it right to reply to Carlstadt's complaint of having been driven by him from Saxony. "In the first place, I can safely say that I never mentioned Carlstadt to the elector of Saxony, for I have never spoken a word in my life to that prince, nor have ever heard him open his lips, and have even never seen him, except once at Worms, in the emperor's presence, when I was examined the second day. But it is true that I have often written to him through Spalatin, and in particular to entreat him to resist the spirit arising at Alstet*. But my solicitations were so ineffectual as to induce me to feel angry with the elector. Carlstadt then should have spared such a prince the reproaches which he has heaped upon him. . . . As to duke John Frederick, I confess that I have often pointed out to him Carlstadt's attempts and perverse ambition. . . . "There is no joking with my lord *All-the-world* (*Herr Omnes*); for which reason, God has constituted authorities: it being his will that there should be order here below."

At last, Carlstadt broke out: "I heard yesterday of Carlstadt from a friend of mine at Strasburg, which city he left for Bâle, and has at length vomited forth five books, which are to be followed by two others. I am handled as double papist, the ally of Antichrist, and what not?" (Dec. 14th.) "I hear from Bâle, that Carlstadt's supporters have been punished. . . . He has been in the town, but privily. Ecolampadius and Pellican have given in their adhesion to his doctrine." (Jan. 13th, 1525.) "Carlstadt had made up his mind to pitch his tent in Schweindorf; but the count of Henneberg has forbidden this by letters express to the town council. I should like Strauss to be treated in the same manner." (April 10th, 1525. Luther seems delighted with Carlstadt's declaring himself: "The devil was silent," he writes, "until I won him over by a florin, which, thanks to God, has been well laid out, and I don't repent of it." He straightway published various pamphlets, written with wonderful energy, *Against the Heavenly Prophets*:—"Men fear nothing, as if the devil were sleeping; whereas, he prowls around like a cruel lion. But, as long as I live, I trust there will be no danger; for whilst I live, I will do battle, hap what may." He goes on to argue, that all seek what is agreeable to reason only. So with the Arians and Pelagians. So with the papacy, it was a well-sounding proposition that grace could be advantaged by free-will. The inculcation of faith and a good conscience is more important than

* Where Münzer lived, the leader of the revolt of the peasants, spoken of further on.

the preaching of good works ; since, if works fail, whilst faith remains, there is still hope of aid. Spiritual means ought to be employed to win true Christians to a knowledge of their sins :—" But for rude men, for *my lord Every-body (Herr Omnes)*, they must be driven, corporally and rudely, to labour and do their allotted works, so that will ye, uilt ye, they may be pious outwardly, under the law and the sword, as we keep wild beasts in cages and chained. . . . The spirit of the new prophets aspires to be the highest spirit, a spirit which has eaten the Holy Ghost, feathers and all. Bible, they cry out ; yes, *bibel, bubel, babel*. Well ! Sith the evil spirit is so obstinate in his opinion, I will not give way to him any more than I have done before. I will speak of images : firstly, according to the law of Moses, and I will say, that Moses forbids only images of God. Let us then confine ourselves to praying princes to put down images, and let us pluck them out of our own hearts." Further on, Luther breaks out into ironical surprise, that the modern iconoclasts do not push their pious zeal so far, as to get rid of their money, and of all precious articles which have figures upon them. "To aid the weakness of these holy folk, and deliver them from that by which they are defiled, they should be gallants with but little in their fobs. The *heavenly voice* it seems is not strong enough to induce them to throw away everything of themselves : they need a little violence."

" . . . When I discussed the question of images at Orlamunde, with Carlstadt's disciples, and proved by the context, that in every passage they quoted from Moses, the allusion was to the idols of the pagans ; one of them, who, no doubt, fancied himself the ablest, got up and said to me—" Do thou listen ! I may be allowed to thee and thou you, if thou art a Christian." I replied, 'Speak to me as thou listest.' But I noticed that he would much more willingly still have struck me ; he was so filled with Carlstadt's spirit, that the others could not get him to be silent. 'If thou wilt not follow Moses,' he went on to say, 'thou must at least admit the Gospel ; but thou hast thrown the Gospel under the table, and it must be taken up ; no, it cannot stay there.' 'What then does the Gospel say ?' I replied. 'Jesus says in the Gospel (so he answered), I cannot say the place, but my brothers here know it well, that the bride ought to take off her shift on the wedding night. Therefore, we must take off and break all images, in order to become pure and free from the creature.' Thus he . . . What could I do with men of this sort ? At all events, it enabled me to learn that breaking images was, according to the Gospel, taking off the bride's shift on her wedding night. These words, and the speech about the Gospel's being flung under the table, he had heard from his master ; for, no doubt, Carlstadt had accused me of throwing down the Gospel, in order to imply that he was come to raise it up. This pride has been the cause of all his misfortunes, and has driven him out of the light into darkness. . . . We are glad of heart and full of courage, wrestling with melancholy, timid, dejected spirits, that fear the rustle of a leaf, though not having the fear of God, as is usual with the wicked. (Psalm xxv.) Their passion is to domineer over God, and his word, and his works. They would not be so bold were not God invisible, intangible. Were he a

visible man, present to their eyes, he would put them to flight with a straw. Whoso is inspired by God to speak, speaks freely and publicly, without giving himself any concern whether he is alone or unsupported. Thus did Jeremiah ; and I may boast of having done thus likewise". It is then beyond a doubt the devil, that apostate and homicidal spirit, who slips into the background and then excuses himself, saying, that first he had not been strong enough in the faith. No ; the Spirit of God does not make such excuses. I know thee well, my devil. . . . If you ask them (Carlstadt's partisans) how this sublime spirit is attained, they do not refer you to the Gospel, but to their dreams, to imaginary spaces : 'Lie thee listlessly down,' say they, 'as I have lain me down, and thou wilt receive it in like manner. The heavenly voice will make itself heard, and God will speak to thee face to face.' If you then persist in inquiring what this listlessness (*ennui*) is, they know as much about it as Dr. Carlstadt does of Greek and Hebrew. . . . Do you not recognize the devil in this, the enemy of divine order ? Do you see how he opens wide his mouth, crying, 'Spirit, Spirit, Spirit,' and, whilst so crying, how he destroys bridges, roads, ladders ; in a word, all means by which the Spirit can reach thee : to wit, the external order established of God in holy baptism, in signs, and in his own word ? They wish you to scale the skies and ride on the wind, and tell you neither how, nor when, nor where, nor what ; like them, you are to learn it of yourself."

"Martin Luther, an unworthy minister and evangelist at Wittenberg, to all Christians in Strasburg, loving friends in God :—I would willingly endure Carlstadt's intemperance in regard to images ; and I have, indeed, done more injury to images by my writings, than he will ever do by all his violence and fury. But what is intolerable is the exciting and instigating men to all this, as if it were their bounden duty, and that there were no other proof of Christianity than breaking images. Beyond doubt, works do not make the Christian ; these outward matters, such as images and the Sabbath, are left free in the New Testament, as well as all the other ceremonies of the law. St. Paul says, 'We know that idols are nothing in the world.' If they are nothing, wherefore shackle and torture the conscience of Christians about them ? If they are nothing, it matters not whether they are tumbled down or are left standing." He proceeds to a loftier subject, the question of the real presence ; the higher question of the Christian symbolism, of which that of images is the lower side. It was on this point, chiefly, that Luther found himself at variance with the Swiss reformers, and that Carlstadt was brought into union with them, however far removed he might be from them by the boldness of his political opinions. "I acknowledge, that if Carlstadt, or any one else, could have proved to me five years ago that the sacramental elements are

* "The spirit of these prophets has invariably chivalrously taken to flight, yet see how it glorifies itself as a magnanimous and chivalrous spirit. But I, I presented myself in Leipzig to dispute in presence of a hostile population. I presented myself at Augsburg, without safe-conduct, before my greatest enemies ; at Worms, before Cæsar and the whole empire, although well aware that the safe-conduct was trampled upon. My spirit has remained free, like a flower of the field." (A.D. 1524.)

bread and wine only, he would have done me a great service. I was then strongly tempted, and writhed, and struggled, and should have been most happy to have found a solution of the mystery. I saw clearly that I might so give papistry the most fearful blow. . . . There were two more who wrote to me on this point, and abler men than doctor Carlstadt; and who did not, like him, torture words to suit their fancy. But I am bound down, I cannot set myself free; the text is too powerful, nothing can tear it from my mind. Even now, if any one could convince by solid reasons that there is only bread and wine, there would be no need for attacking me so furiously. I am, unhappily, only too inclined to this interpretation as often as I feel my Adam within me. But what doctor Carlstadt imagines and promulgates on this subject touches me so little, that I am but the more confirmed in my opinion; and, if I had not before thought so, such idle tales found out of the Scriptures and in the clouds as it were, would be enough to convince me of the fallacy of his opinion." He had previously written in the pamphlet, *Against the Celestial Prophets*:—"Carlstadt says that he cannot reasonably conceive how the body of Jesus Christ can be reduced into so small a compass. But if we consult reason, we shall no longer have faith in any mystery". . . . In the next page, Luther adds the following incredibly audacious piece of coarse humour:—"You seem to think that the drunkard, Christ, having drunk too much at supper, bewildered his disciples with superfluous words."

This violent polemic war of Luther's on Carlstadt, was daily embittered by the fearful symptoms of general disturbance which threatened Germany. The doctrines of the bold theologian responded to the thoughts and desires which already filled the minds of the masses in Suabia, Thuringia, Alsace, and the whole western half of the empire. The lower classes, the peasantry, who had so long slumbered under the weight of feudal oppression, heard princes and the learned speak of liberty, of enfranchisement, and they applied to themselves that which was not spoken for them*. The reclamation of the poor peasants of Suabia will remain, in its simple barbarism, a monument of courageous moderation. By degrees, the eternal hatred of the poor to the rich was aroused; less blind than in the *jacquerie*, but striving after a systematic form, which it was only to attain afterwards, in the time of the English *levellers*, and complicated with all the forms of religious democracy, which were supposed to have been stifled in the

* The peasants did not wait for the Reformation to break out into rebellion, but had risen up in 1491 and in 1502. The free towns had followed the example; Erfurth in 1509, Spire in 1512, and Worms in 1513. Disturbances broke out again in 1524; but this was the nobles' doing. Franz of Sickingen, their leader, thought the moment was come for despoiling the ecclesiastical princes of their temporalities, and boldly laid siege to Trèves. He is said to have been under the guidance of the celebrated reformers, Ecclampadius and Bucer, and of Hutten, who, at the time, was in the service of the archbishop of Mentz. The duke of Bavaria, the palatine, and the landgrave of Hesse, advanced to raise the siege, and were for attacking Mentz, in order to punish the archbishop for his personal connivance of Sickingen. This nobleman fell; Hutten was exiled, and, from this moment without an asylum, but always writing, always violent and a prey to passion; he died no long time afterwards in extreme want.

middle age. Lollards, Beghards, and a crowd of apocalyptic visionaries were in motion. At a later moment, the rallying cry was the necessity for a second baptism: at the beginning, the aim was a terrible war against the established order of things, against every kind of order—a war on property, as being a robbery of the poor; a war on knowledge, as destructive of natural equality, and a tempting of God, who had revealed all to his saints. Books and pictures were inventions of the devil. The peasants first rose up in the Black Forest, and then around Heilbronn and Frankfort, and in the country of Baden and Spire; whence the flame extended into Alsace, and nowhere did it assume a more fearful character. It reached the Palatinate, Hesse, and Bavaria. The leader of the insurgents in Suabia was one of the petty nobles of the valley of the Neckar, the celebrated Goetz of Berlichingen, *Goetz with the Iron Hand*, who pretended they had forced him to be their general against his will.

"*Complaint and Loving Demand of the Confederation of Peasants, with their Christian prayers; the whole set forth very briefly in twelve principal articles.*—To the Christian reader, peace and divine grace through Christ! There are, now-a-days, many anti-Christians who seize the occasion of the confederation of the peasants to blaspheme the Gospel, saying: 'These are the fruits of the new doctrines; obedience is at an end; each man starts up and spurns control; the people flock together and assemble tumultuously, seeking to reform and depose authorities, ecclesiastic and secular; and, perhaps, even to murder them.' To these perverse and impious allegations the following articles are answers. In the first place, they turn aside the disgrace with which God's word is attempted to be covered; in the second, they, by Christian proof, clear the peasants from the reproach of disobedience and revolt. The Gospel is not a cause of insurrection or of trouble; it is a message which announces the Christ, the promised Messiah; this message, and the life it teaches, are love, peace, patience, and union alone. Know, too, that all who believe in this Christ will be united in love, peace, and patience. Since, then, the articles of the peasants, as will be more distinctly shown hereafter, have no other aim than to secure the hearing of the Gospel, and the living in conformity with it, how can anti-Christians call the Gospel a cause of trouble and disobedience? If the anti-Christians and the enemies of the Gospel oppose demands of the kind, it is not the Gospel which is the cause, it is the devil, the mortal enemy of the Gospel, who, through disbelief, has excited in his victims the hope of crushing and effacing God's word, which is only peace, love, and union. Hence, it clearly follows that the peasants, who, in their articles, demand such a Gospel for their edification and the regulation of their life, cannot be called disobedient or revolters. If God calls and invites us to live according to his word, if he choose to hearken to us, who will blame God's pleasure, who impeach his judgment, who strive against what he wills to do? He heard the children of Israel when they cried unto him, and delivered them from the hand of Pharaoh. Cannot he still save his own at the present day? Yes, he will save them, and speedily! Read, then, the following articles, Christian reader; read them carefully, and judge."

The articles follow:—

I. "In the first place, it is our humble prayer and request, our unanimous wish, to enjoy henceforward the power and the right of electing and choosing a pastor ourselves, with the power of deposing him if he conduct himself improperly. The pastor whom we choose must preach the holy Gospel to us clearly, in its purity, without any additions of human precept or command. For, by always having the true faith declared to us, we are enabled to pray to God, to beseech his grace, to form this true faith within us, and to strengthen it. If the divine grace be not formed within us, we still remain flesh and blood, and then we are worthless." This clearly seen in Scripture that we can only reach God by the true faith, and attain beatitude by his mercy. Such a guide and pastor, then, fulfilling his office as instituted in Scripture, is indispensable to us."

II. "Since the lawful tenth is established in the Old Testament (which the New has confirmed in everything), we will pay the lawful tenth of grain, but after suitable sort. . . . Being henceforward minded that the elders of a district receive and collect such tenth, supply the pastor elected by the district with sufficient for the fit support of himself and family, acquainting the district therewith, and apply the remainder to the relief of the poor: any surplus beyond should be reserved for the charges of war, of convoy, and other like things, so as to relieve poor folk from the taxes levied on those accounts. If, on the other hand, it be found that one or more villages have, in the hour of want, sold their tithes, the purchasers shall have nothing to fear from us, for we will enter into arrangements with them according to circumstances, so as to indemnify them proportionally as we shall be able. But as for those who, instead of acquiring the tithe of a village by purchase, have—either they or their ancestors—forcibly taken possession of it, we owe them nothing and shall give them nothing; this tithe is to be employed as specified above. With regard to small tithes, and the tithe of blood (of cattle), we will in no wise pay them, for God the Lord created animals to be freely used by man. We consider this tithe to be an unlawful tithe, invented by men; wherefore we shall no more pay it."

In their IIIrd article the peasants declare that they will no longer be treated as the property of their lords, "for Jesus Christ, by his precious blood, has redeemed all without exception, the shepherd the same as the emperor." They will be free, but only according to Scripture; that is to say, without any licentiousness, and duly recognizing authority; for the Gospel teaches them to be humble, and to obey the powers that be "*in all fitting and Christian things.*"

IV. "It is contrary to justice and charity that the poor should have no right in game, in birds, and in the fish of the running waters, or that they should be compelled to endure, without remonstrance, the enormous damage done to their fields by the beasts of the forests, since when God created man, he gave him power over all animals without distinction." They add, that in conformity with Gospel-precepts, they will respect the rights of those nobles who can prove by title-deeds that they purchased their right of fishing; but that the rest shall lose all without indemnity.

V. "Those woods and forests which were anciently held in common, but have passed into the hands

of a third party in any other way than by fair purchase, ought to return to their original proprietary, that is, to the *commune*; and every inhabitant should have the right to take out of them such proportions of fuel as shall seem good to the elders."

VI. They require the services imposed upon them, and which daily become more oppressive, to be alleviated; desiring to serve "like their fathers, after God's word."

VII. The seignior must not require more gratuitous services from the peasants than is prescribed by their mutual covenant (*Vereinigung*).

VIII. The rents on many lands are grievously burthensome. The lords are required to accept the arbitrement of irreproachable persons, and to lower the rents according to equity, "that the peasant may not toil in vain, since the labourer is worthy of his hire."

IX. Justice is partially administered, and new penalties constantly imposed. No one is to be favoured, and the ancient rules to be the law.

X. All fields and meadows taken from the common land, otherwise than by equitable purchase, to return to the *commune*.

XI. Fines on deaths are revolting, and in open opposition to God's will, "being a spoiling of the widow and the orphan," and are to be wholly and for ever abolished.

XII. . . . "If it happen that any one or more of the preceding articles be opposed to Scripture (which we do not think is the case), we renounce such beforehand. If, on the contrary, Scripture suggest to us any others on the oppression of one's neighbour, we reserve all such, and declare our adhesion to them equally beforehand. May the peace of Jesus Christ be with us all! Amen."

Luther could not be silent at this great crisis. The nobles accused him of being the originator of these troubles. The peasants availed themselves of his name, and prayed him to be the arbiter. He did not shrink from the dangerous office; and in his reply to their twelve articles, acts as judge between the prince and the people. In none of his writings has he displayed more elevation.

Exhortation to Peace, in reply to the Twelve Articles of the Peasants of Suabia, and also in opposition to the spirit of murder and robbery evinced by the other peasants riotously assembled. "The peasants now assembled in Suabia have just drawn up and circulated, in print, twelve articles, containing their complaints against the powers that be. What I most approve of in this document, is their declaration in the twelfth article, of their readiness to receive any better evangelical instruction than their own on the subject of their griefs. In fact, if such be their true intentions (and as they have avowed their designs in the face of men, without fearing the light, I cannot conclude otherwise, a happy end to all these troubles may yet be looked for. And I, who am also of those who make the Holy Scriptures their study on this earth, I, to whom they apply by name (appealing to me in one of their printed statements), I feel myself singularly emboldened by this declaration of theirs to publish to the world my opinion also on the subject in question, in conformity with the precepts of charity which ought to bind all men together. By so doing, I shall free myself both

before God and men from the reproach of having contributed to the evil by silence, should this end fatally. Perhaps, too, they have only made this declaration by way of a blind ; and, no doubt, there are enow evil-disposed persons amongst them for this, since it is impossible that all should be good Christians in so vast a multitude ; it is the more likely that many of them make the honesty of the rest a cloak for their own evil designs. Well, if there be imposture in this declaration, I forewarn the impostors that they will not succeed, and that success would be their damnation, their eternal loss. This business in which we are engaged is great, and full of peril ; affecting both the kingdom of God and that of the world. In fact, if the revolt should spread and be triumphant, both would perish ; both secular government and God's word, and the whole land of Germany would be laid waste. Under such grave circumstances, then, we feel impelled to give our advice freely on all things, and without regard to persons. At the same time, we are all of us no less bounden to become at last attentive and obedient, and to cease closing our ears and hearts, the which has called forth the fulness of God's wrath and his most fearful thunders (*seinen vollen Gang und Schwang*). The numerous alarming sights which have in these latter times appeared in heaven and earth, announce great calamities and unheard-of changes to Germany. To our misfortune, we have been but little moved by them ; but God will not the less pursue the course of his chastisements, until he at last softens our heads of iron."

FIRST PART. *To the Princes and Nobles.*—"We have no one on earth to thank for all this disorder and insurrectionary movement, if it be not you, ye princes and lords, and you, above all, ye blind bishops, insensate priests and monks, who, even to this day, hardened in your perversity, cease not to exclaim against the holy Gospel, albeit you know it for just and good, and that you can say nothing against it. At the same time, as secular authorities, you are the executioners and leeches of the poor, sacrificing every thing to your unbridled luxury and pride, until the people neither will nor can endure you any more. The sword is already at your throats, and you yet think yourselves so firm in the saddle that you cannot be overthrown. With this impious security of yours, you will break your necks. Many a time have I exhorted you to bear in mind this verse (Psalm cvii.), '*Efundit contemptum super principes*' (He poureth contempt upon princes). You are doing your utmost to have these words fulfilled in you ; you will have the mace, already uplifted, fall and crush you ; advices, counsels, are superfluous. Nevertheless, the signs of God's wrath on earth and in the heavens are addressed to you. 'Tis you, and your crimes, that God wishes to punish. If these peasants who attack you now are not the ministers of his will, others will arise. Should you defeat them, you would no less be conquered. God would raise up others. He wishes to strike you, and he will strike you. You fill up the measure of your iniquity, by imputing this calamity to the Gospel, and to my teaching. Go on calumniating. You will now learn what my doctrine is, what the Gospel is ; there is another at the door who will teach you, if you do not amend. Have I not ever zealously and

ardently exhorted the people to obedience unto authority, even to yours, tyrannical and intolerable as it has been ? Who has combated sedition more than I ? And so the prophets of murder hate me as much as you do. You persecuted my Gospel by every means in your power, whilst this Gospel was inducing the people to pray for you, and aiding to keep up your tottering power. And, truly, if I sought revenge, I need now only laugh in my sleeve, and look on whilst the peasants are at their work : I might even make common cause with them, and envenom the wound. God preserve me from such thoughts ! Wherefore, dear lords, friends or enemies, scorn not my loyal aid, albeit I am but a poor man ; scorn not either this rebellion, I beseech you : not that I mean to say that they are too strong for you ; it is not they I would have you fear, but God, the angry Lord. If he wishes to punish you (you have only deserved it too well), he will punish you ; and if there be not peasants enough, he will change the stones into peasants—one, in his hands, would slay a hundred of yours. As many as you are, neither your cuirasses, nor your might, would save you.

"If you are still open to advice, dear lords, in God's name, retreat a little from before the wrath which you see let loose. One fears and shuns a drunken man. Cease your exactions ; give truce to your sharp tyranny ; treat the peasants as a man in his senses treats madmen, or the drunken. Do not plunge into a struggle with them ; you cannot know how it will end. Employ mildness at first, for fear a slight spark, spreading all around, should kindle throughout Germany such a fire as cannot be extinguished. You will be no losers by mildness ; and even if you should, peace will indemnify you a hundred-fold. War may engulf and ruin you, body and soul. The peasants have drawn up twelve articles, some of which contain such just demands, as to dishonour you before God and men, and to realise Psalm cvii., for they cover the princes with contempt. Now I could easily draw up other articles against you, and more important ones, perhaps, as regards your government of Germany, as I have done in my book *To the German Nobility*. But my words have been to you as the passing wind ; and therefore, you have now to undergo all these reclamations from peculiar interests. As to the first article, you cannot deny them the free choice of their own pastors. They wish to have the Gospel preached to them. Authority cannot and ought not to hinder this, but ought to allow every one to teach and to believe what he thinks right, whether it be the Gospel or falsehood : it is enough to prohibit the preaching of disorder and sedition. The other articles, touching the material condition of the peasants, fines on deaths, accumulation of services due, &c., are equally just ; for authority was not instituted for its own interests, or to make subjects the tools of its caprices and bad passions, but for the interest of the people. Now your crying exactions cannot be long endured. What would it benefit the peasant to see his fields bear as many florins as blades of grass, or grains of wheat, if his lord should despoil him in the same proportion, and waste, like straw, the money he draws from him, in dress, castles, and feastings ? What it most behoveth to do, is to retrench all this luxury, and stop up the holes by which money escapes, so that something may be left in the peasant's pocket.

SECOND PART. *To the Peasants.*—"Thus far, dear friends, you have seen but one side. I have set forth that the princes and lords who prohibit the preaching of the Gospel, and who bow down the people with intolerable burthens, have deserved that God should hurl them from their seats, for they have sinned against God and man, and are without excuse. Nevertheless, it is for you to prosecute your enterprise conscientiously and justly. If you are conscientious, God will aid you; though you should even momentarily succumb, you would eventually triumph; such of you as should fall in the struggle would be saved. But if justice and conscience be against you, you will succumb; and though even you should not succumb, but slay all the princes, you would be none the less lost for ever, body and soul. This is no-jesting matter. Your bodies and life eternal are at stake. You have to weigh well, not your strength and the wrongs of your adversaries, but whether you are proceeding justly and conscientiously. Believe not, I beseech you, the prophets of murder whom Satan has raised up amongst you, and who come from him, although they invoke the holy name of Gospel. They will hate me for this advice which I am giving you, and will call me hypocrite; but I care not. My wish is to save from God's wrath the good and honest amongst you; I fear not the rest, and reck not of their contempt. I know One who is stronger than them all; and He teaches me, by Psalm iii., to do what I am now doing. The hundred thousand affright not me....

"You call on God's name, and pretend to act according to his word. Then, forget not, above all, that God punishes him who calls upon his name in vain. Dread his wrath. Who are you, and what is the world? Forget you that He is the omnipotent and terrible God, the God of the deluge, and who rained his thunders upon Sodom? Now, it is plain, that you honour not his name. Does not God say, 'They that take the sword, shall perish with the sword?' And St. Paul, 'Be ye all obedient to authority in all respect and honour?' How can you, after this, still pretend that you act according to the Gospel? Beware; a fearful judgment awaits you. But, you say, authority is wicked, intolerable, will not allow us the Gospel, overwhelms us with burthens beyond all measure, is ruining us, body and soul. To this I reply, that the iniquity and injustice of authority are no excuse for revolt, for the punishment of the wicked does not appertain to every man. Besides, the natural law says, that no one should be judge in his own cause, or avenge himself, for the Proverb truly says, 'To strike the striker is naught.' The divine law teaches us the same thing: 'Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord.' Your enterprise, therefore, is not only contrary to law, according to the Bible and the Gospel, but also to the natural law and simple equity. You cannot go on with it except you can prove that you have been called to it by a new commandment of God's, directed to yourselves, and confirmed by miracles. You see the mote in the eye of authority, but you cannot see the beam in your own. Authority is unjust in interdicting you the Gospel, and overwhelming you with burthens; but how much more unjust are you, who, not content with interdicting God's word, trample it under foot, and arrogate the

power reserved to God alone? Again, who is the greater thief, (yourselves shall be the judge,) he who takes a part, or he who takes all? Now, authority takes your goods unjustly from you; but you strip it, not of goods only, but of body and life. You assert loudly, it is true, that you will leave it something; who will believe you? You have taken power from it; who takes all does not fear to take part; when the wolf devours the sheep, it devours ears as well.

"And how is it you do not see, my friends, that if your doctrine were true, there would no longer be on earth authority, order, or justice of any kind? Each would be his own judge; and there would be nothing to be seen but murder, desolation, and robbery. What would you do, if, assembled as you now are, each affected to be independent, to do himself justice, and be his own avenger? Would you allow it? Would you not say, that judgment belongs to one's superiors? This law must be alike observed, by pagans, Turks, and Jews, if there is to be order and peace on earth. So far from being Christians, you are worse than pagans and Turks. What will Jesus Christ say, seeing his name so profaned by you? Dear friends, I greatly fear Satan has sent amongst you prophets of murder, who covet the empire of this world, and who think to compass it through you, careless of the dangers, spiritual and temporal, into which they are plunging you.

"But, now, to pass to the Gospel law. This does not bind pagans like the law of which we have just been treating. Does not Jesus Christ, from whom ye are named Christians, say, 'Resist not evil; but whosoever shall smite thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also?' . . . Do you hear him, ye assembled Christians? How does your conduct square with this command? If you know not how to endure, as our Lord requires, quickly resign his name; you are unworthy of it; or he will suddenly deprive you of it himself." (Here Luther quotes other scriptural injunctions to forbearance.) "Suffer, suffer—the cross, the cross—this is the law of Christ; there is none other. . . . Ah! my friends, if you act thus, when will you attain unto that other command which bids you love your enemies and do them good! . . . Oh! would to God that the greater number of us were rather good and pious pagans, observing the natural law! To show you how far you have been led astray by your prophets, I have only to remind you of some examples which throw light on the law of the Gospel. Look at Jesus Christ and St. Peter in the garden of Gethsemane. Did not St. Peter suppose that he was doing right in defending his Master and his Lord from those who were about to deliver Him to the executioners? And yet, you know that Jesus Christ upbraided him as a murderer for having resisted sword in hand. Again: what is the conduct of Jesus Christ on the cross? Does he not pray for his persecutors? does he not say, 'Father, forgive them, they know not what they do?' And was not Jesus Christ glorified after having suffered, and has not his kingdom prevailed and triumphed? In like manner, God would aid you if you knew how to suffer as he requires. To take an example of the present day: how has it happened that neither emperor nor pope could anything against me? The greater their efforts to stay and destroy the Gospel, the greater its growth and power. I have

drawn no sword, raised no revolt, have ever preached obedience to authority even when persecuting me, have relied always on God, and put my trust in him. Hence, despite the pope and tyrants, he has not only preserved my life, itself a miracle, but has favoured and diffused my Gospel more and more. And how, now, are you thinking to serve the Gospel by directly contravening it? In truth, you are inflicting a fearful wound on it in the minds of men; crushing it, if I may so say, by your perverse and mad attempts.

"I tell you all this, dear friends, to show you how you profane Christ's name and his holy laws. However just your demands may be, it becomes not a Christian to fight or to use violence: we must suffer injustice; such is our law. (1 Cor. vi.) I repeat to you, then, act now as you like; but lay aside the name of Christ, and do not shamefully take it as a cloak for your impious conduct. I will not permit it. I will not tolerate it. I will tear this name from you by every effort of which I am capable, to the last drop of my blood. . . . Not that I wish by this to justify authority; the injuries inflicted by it are, I acknowledge, immense; but what I wish is that, if, unhappily, (may God avert it!) if, I say, you come into collision, men may call neither party Christians. It will be a war of pagans, and nothing else; for Christians do not fight with swords and harquebusses, but with the cross and patience; even as their general, Jesus Christ, does not handle the sword, but suffers himself to be bound to the cross. Their triumph does not consist in dominion and power, but in submission and humility. The arms of our chivalry have no corporeal efficacy; their strength is in the Most High.

"Call yourselves, then, men who wish to follow nature, and not endure evil. Such is the name which suits you; and if you do not take it, but persist in retaining and constantly calling upon the name of Christ, I can only consider you as my enemies, as those of the Gospel, like the pope and the emperor. Now, know that in this case I have made up my mind to refer myself wholly to God, and to implore him, in order to enlighten you, to turn against you, and to shipwreck your enterprise. I shall so risk my life, as I have done by opposing the pope and the emperor; for I see plainly that the devil having been unable to get the better of me through them, seeks to exterminate and devour me through the prophets of murder who are among you. Well, let him devour me; the morsel will not be easy of digestion. However, dear friends, I humbly pray you, and as a friend who wishes your good, to reflect well before you proceed further, and to spare me fighting and praying against you; albeit I myself am but a poor sinner, still I know that I should be so justified in this matter that God would infallibly listen to my prayers. He has himself taught us in the holy *Pater Noster*, to pray that his name may be hallowed on earth as it is in heaven. It is impossible for you to have the same trust in God; since Scripture and your conscience condemn you, and tell you that you are acting like pagans and enemies of the Gospel. If you were Christian you would not be using the fist and sword, but saying, '*Deliver us from evil*,' and '*Thy will be done*' (here follow texts from Scripture in illustration). But you wish yourselves to be your own God and Saviour; the true God, the true

Saviour abandon you then. The demands which you have drawn up are not contrary to natural law and equity in their tenor, but in the violence with which you would force them from authority; and he who has drawn them up is not a pious and sincere man, for he has referred to numerous chapters from Scripture, without citing the verses, in order to throw an air of speciousness around your enterprise, and to seduce you and plunge you into dangers. On reading these chapters, one does not see much bearing on your enterprise, but the contrary rather; to wit, to live and act Christianly. He must, I take it, be a seditious prophet who would wish to attack the Gospel through you. May God be pleased to oppose him, and to keep you from him.

"In the first place, you boast in your preface, of only asking to be allowed to live according to the Gospel. But do you not yourselves confess that you are in rebellion? And how, I ask you, have you the audacity to colour such conduct with the holy name of the Gospel? You cite the example of the children of Israel; you say that God heard the cries they raised unto him, and delivered them. Why then not follow this boasted example? Call on God, as they did, and wait till he send you also a Moses, who will prove his mission by his miracles. The children of Israel did not rebel against Pharaoh; they did not combine for mutual aid as you propose to do. This example then is directly adverse to you, and damns instead of saving you. No more is it true that your articles, as you proclaim in your preface, teach the Gospel, and are in conformity with it. Is there one out of the twelve which contains any point of evangelical doctrine? Have they not all the one single object of enfranchising your persons and your goods? Do they not all treat of temporal things? You, you covet power and worldly goods, and will endure no wrong. The Gospel, on the contrary, takes no care of these matters, and makes external life consist in suffering, in bearing injustice, the cross, in patience, and contempt of life and of all worldly matters. You must either then renounce your enterprise, and consent to suffer wrong, if you wish to bear the name of Christians; or else, if you persist in your resolution, lay down this name and take another. Choose; there is no alternative. You say that the Gospel is hindered from reaching you. I reply, that there is no power earthly or heavenly which can hinder it. Public teaching marches free under the heavens, and is as little bound to any place as the star which, traversing the clouds, announced to the wise men of the East the birth of Jesus Christ. . . If the Gospel be interdicted the town or village in which you are, follow it wheresoever it may be preached. . . Jesus Christ has said (Matthew x.), 'But when they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another.' He does not say, 'If they persecute you, stay there, conspire against the lords in the name of the Gospel, and make yourselves masters of the town.' What then are those Christians who, in the Gospel's name, turn robbers and thieves? Have they the effrontery to call themselves evangelical?"

Reply to first article:—"If the authorities will not cheerfully support the pastor desired by the commune, the latter," says Luther, "may charge itself with his support. If the authorities will not

tolerate the said pastor, let the faithful follow him into another commune."

Reply to the second article:—"You desire to dispose of a tithe which is not yours; this would be a robbery. If you wish to do good, do it out of your own means, not those of others. God says through Isaiah, 'A stolen offering I detest.'"

Reply to the third article:—"You wish to apply to the flesh the Christian liberty taught by the Gospel. Had not Abraham and the other patriarchs, as well as the prophets, slaves? Read St. Paul; the empire of this world cannot subsist without inequality of persons."

Reply to the eight last articles:—"As to your articles touching game, fuel, *services*, rent, &c., I refer them to the lawyers, it is not for me to judge of them; but I repeat to you that the Christian is a martyr, and has no care for all these things. Cease, then, speaking of Christian law, and rather say it is human law, the natural law which you claim; for the Christian law commands you to suffer, as regards these matters, and to complain to God alone."

"Dear friends, such is my teaching in reply to your request to me. May it be God's will that you faithfully keep your promise, and be guided according to Scripture. Do not all cry out at once—Luther is a flatterer of princes; he speaks contrary to the Gospel; but read first, and consider whether what I say is not founded on God's word."

"*Exhortation to both parties*:—Since, then, my friends, you neither of you are maintaining a Christian cause, but acting alike against God, forego, I beseech you, all violence. Otherwise, you will cover all Germany with horrible and endless carnage. For as you are both equally involved in injustice, you will but rush to mutual destruction, and God will chastise one offender by the other."

"You, lords, have Scripture and history against you, which teach you the punishment which has ever followed tyranny. You are yourselves tyrants and executioners, for you interdict the Gospel. There is no hope, then, that you will escape the fate which has hitherto visited your equals. Consider the empires of the Assyrians, the Persians, the Greeks, the Romans, how they all perished by the sword after having begun by the sword. God wished to prove that it is he who judges the earth, and that no injustice shall remain unpunished."

"You, peasants, you, too, have Scripture and experience against you. Revolt has never ended well, and God has sternly cared that the text, 'They that take the sword, shall perish with the sword,' shall not be a deceitful one. Though you should conquer all the nobles; when conquerors of the nobles, you would turn upon and rend yourselves like wild beasts. The Spirit not reigning over you, but flesh and blood only, it would not be long before God would send an evil spirit, a destroying spirit, as he did to Sichem and its king.

"What fills me with grief and pity (and would to heaven that it could be redeemed with my life!) are the two irreparable misfortunes which must fall upon both parties. In the first place, as you all fight for injustice, it is inevitable that those who shall perish in the struggle will be everlast-

ingly lost, body and soul; for they will die in their sins, without repentance, and unsuccoured by grace. The other misfortune is, that Germany will be laid waste; such a carnage once begun, there will be no ceasing until the destruction is complete. It is easy to commence the battle, but beyond our power to stop it. Madmen, what have those children, women, and old men, done to you whom you are hurrying to ruin with you, that you should fill the country with blood and rapine, and make so many widows and orphans? Oh! Satan is rejoicing! God has waxed into his most fearful wrath, and threatens to let him loose upon us. Beware, dear friends; all are involved. What will it benefit you to damn yourselves gaily for ever, and to leave behind you a land ensanguined and desert? Wherefore, my advice would be to choose some counts and lords from the nobility, and an equal number of councillors from the towns, and to entrust them with the amicable arrangement of the matters in dispute. You, lords, if you will listen to me, will renounce that outrageous pride of which you must at last divest yourselves, and will relax your tyranny so that the poor man also may enjoy a little ease. You, peasants, you will give way on your side, and will abandon some of your articles, which go too far. On this wise, matters will not, indeed, be treated according to the Gospel, but they will at least be arranged conformably with human law."

"If you do not (which may God forbid!) follow some such plan, I cannot hinder you from coming into collision; but I shall be innocent of the loss of your souls, of your blood, of your goods. Your sins will lie at your own door. I have told you this is no struggle of Christians with Christians, but of tyrants and oppressors with robbers and profaners of the name of the Gospel. Those who shall perish will be everlastingly damned. For me, I and mine will pray to God to reconcile you, and to restrain you from proceeding to the extremes you contemplate. Nevertheless, I cannot conceal from you that the terrible signs which have been made manifest in these latter times sadden my soul, and fill me with fear lest God's wrath be too lively kindled, and he may exclaim, as in Jeremiah: 'Though these three men, Noah, Job, and Daniel, were in it, they only shall be delivered, but the land shall be desolate.' God grant that you may fear his wrath, and amend, that the calamity may at least be deferred! Such are the counsels which, my conscience bears me witness, I tender you as a Christian and a brother; God grant they bring forth fruit. Amen!"

The biographical character of this work, and the limits within which we must restrict it, do not allow us to enter into the history of this German *jacquerie*. (See, however, the Additions and Illustrations.) We must be contented here with citing the sanguinary proclamation issued by Dr. Thomas Münzer, the leader of the Thuringian peasants, which contrasts strikingly with the mild and moderate tone observable in the twelve articles given above:—

"*The true fear of God before all.*

"Dear brethren—How long will you slumber? Will you for ever disobey God's will, because, in your limited comprehension, you deem yourselves abandoned? How often have I repeated my exhortations! God cannot longer reveal himself. You must be firm; if not, sacrifice and griefs will all

have been in vain. I forewarn you, your sufferings will in such case, re-commence. We must either suffer in God's cause, or become martyrs to the devil. Be firm, then; give not way to fear or sloth; cease from flattering dreamers and impious wretches who have wandered from the path. Arise, and fight the Lord's fight. Time presses. Make your brethren respect God's testimony; otherwise, all will perish. Germany, France, Italy, are wholly up in arms; the Master wishes to play his game; the hour of the evil-doers is come. At Fulda, during Passion week, four churches of the bishopric were sacked: the peasants of Klegen in Hegau, and those of the Black Forest, have risen to the number of three hundred thousand. Their mass increases daily. All my fear is, that these silly ones may be ensnared into some deceitful compact, the disastrous consequences of which they cannot foresee. Though you should be but three, yet, confiding in God and seeking his honour and glory, a hundred thousand enemies would not affright you. Up, up, up! (*Dran, dran, dran!*) 'Tis time; the wicked tremble. Be without pity, though even Esau should speak you fairly. (Gen. xxiii.) Listen not to the groans of the impious: they will supplicate you most tenderly; they will weep like children; be not moved by them; God forbade Moses to be so (Deut. vii.), and has made a revelation to us of the same prohibition. Raise the towns and villages, above all, the miners of the mountains. . . . Up, up, up, whilst the fire is heating; let not the sword, warm with blood, have time to chill. Forge Nimrod on the anvil, *pink pank*. Slay all in the tower; whilst they shall live, you will never be freed from the fear of men. One cannot speak of God to you, as long as they reign over you. Up, up, up, whilst it is day. God goes before you; follow. The whole of this history is described and explained in St. Matthew, c. xxiv. Be not then afraid. God is with you, as it is said, c. ii., paragraph 2. God tells you to fear nothing. Fear not numbers. 'Tis not your battle, 'tis the Lord's; 'tis not you who fight. Be bold, and you will experience the power of succours from on high. Amen. Given at Mülhausen, in 1525. THOMAS MÜNZER, God's servant against the wicked."

In a letter to the elector Frederick and duke John, Luther draws a comparison between himself and Münzer. "As to me, I am only a poor man, and began my undertaking with fear and trembling, like St. Paul, as he himself confesses (1 Cor. ii. 3—6), he who, nevertheless, could boast of having heard a heavenly voice. I hear not such voices, and am not sustained by the Spirit. With what humble and apologetic frame of mind did I not begin to attack the pope! What internal struggles did I not go through! What supplications did I not address to God! My first publication attests this. Yet, with this poor spirit of mine, I have done what this terrible *world-cracking* (*Weltfresser-geist*,) spirit has not yet dared to attempt*. I have held disputations at Leipzig, in the midst of a hostile population. I have attended the summons of my greatest enemy to Augsburg. I have shown myself at Worms, before Caesar and the whole empire, although well-aware that my safe-conduct was broken through, that craft and treachery were on

the watch for me. However weak and poor I then was, my heart, notwithstanding, assured me that I behaved to enter Worms, although I should find there as many devils as tiles on the roofs. . . . I have been compelled, in my career, to meet in argument, without remission, one, two, three, no matter how many, and upon their own ground. Weak and poor in mind, I have been necessitated to stay by myself like the flower of the field; I could select neither adversary, nor hour, nor place, nor mode of attack, nor distance to be observed, but have been necessitated to hold myself ready to answer the whole world, as the apostle teaches (1 St. Peter, iii. 15). And this spirit who has soared above us all as high as the sun above the earth, this spirit who barely regards us as insects and worms, requires an assembly of such as are favourable to him, and from whom he has nothing to fear, and refuses to reply to two or three challengers who would question him apart. The reason is, that we have no other strength than that which Jesus Christ gives us; if he leave us to ourselves, the rustling of a leaf will make us tremble; if he support us, our spirit is conscious within itself of the power and glory of the Lord. I am forced to vaunt myself, foolish though it be, and St. Paul was forced as well (2 Cor. xi. 16); but would willingly refrain, could I do so in the presence of these lying spirits."

Immediately after the defeat of the peasants, Melancthon published a brief account of Münzer, of course, singularly unfavourable to the conquered. He asserts, that Münzer fled to Frankenhäusen, where he concealed himself in a bed, and feigned to be sick, but was found out by a cavalier, and recognized through his portfolio. "Whilst he was being handcuffed, he kept crying out, and duke George saying to him, 'You are in pain, Thomas; but those poor people who have been killed, pushed on to their death by you, have suffered more to-day;' 'They would not have it otherwise,' was his reply, bursting out into laughter, as if possessed by the devil. Münzer confessed, on his examination, that he had long thought of reforming Christendom, and that the insurrection of the Suabian peasants had struck him as a favourable opportunity. He showed extreme pusillanimity in his last moments, and was so bewildered, as to be unable to repeat the *Credo* of himself. Duke Henry of Brunswick repeated it, and he said it after him. He also publicly confessed that he had acted erroneously. With regard to the princes, he exhorted them to be less hard to the poor, and to read the books of Kings, saying, that if they followed his advice, they would never have similar dangers to fear. He was then decapitated. His head was fixed upon a pike, and remained exposed as an example. Before his execution, he wrote to the inhabitants of Mülhausen, recommending his wife to them, and praying them not to avenge themselves on her. He added, that "before he quitted the world, he thought it his duty earnestly to exhort them to discontinue the revolt, and avoid all fresh effusion of blood."

Whatever may have been the atrocities that sullied Münzer and the peasants, one cannot but be surprised at the severity with which Luther speaks of their defeat. He could not pardon them, for having compromised the name of Reformation. "O wretched spirits of troubles, where are now

* Münzer refused to dispute in any assembly, public or private, which was unfavourable to him.

the words with which you excited and stirred up poor people to revolt—when you said that they were God's people, that God fought for them, that any one of them could beat down a hundred enemies, that with a hat they could kill five at a blow, and that the stones fired from the arquebuss, instead of striking those opposite, would turn, and kill those who fired them? Where now is Münzer, with that sleeve in which he boasted he could catch all the missiles directed against his people? What is now that God, who for near a year has prophesied by the mouth of Münzer? I am of opinion, that all the peasants ought to perish, rather than the princes and magistrates, since they take up the sword without divine authority. The peasants deserve no mercy, no tolerance, but the indignation of God and man." (May 30th, 1525.) "The peasants," he says elsewhere, "are under the ban both of God and the emperor, and may be treated as mad dogs." In a letter dated the 21st of June, he enumerates the horrible massacres committed upon them by the nobles, without displaying the least sign of interest or pity.

He showed more generosity towards his enemy Carlstadt, who was, at the time, exposed to the greatest dangers, and had infinite difficulty in justifying himself for having taught doctrines akin to those of Münzer. He returned to Wittenberg, and humbled himself before Luther, who interceded for him, and obtained the elector's permission for his settling as a husbandman at Kemberg, which he desired to do. "I am grieved about the poor man; and your grace knows that we should have pity on the unfortunate, especially when they are innocent." (Sept. 12th, 1525.) On Nov. 22nd, 1526, he again writes. . . . "Doctor Carlstadt earnestly prays me to intercede with your grace to allow him to inhabit the city of Kemberg, as the malice of the peasants renders living in a village irksome to him. Now, as he has kept himself quiet up to the present time, and as he will be under the eye of the provost of Kemberg, I humbly beseech your electoral grace to grant his request, although your grace have already done much for him, and have even drawn suspicion and calumnies on yourself on his account. But so much the more abundantly will God return it to you. 'Tis for him to think of the safety of his soul—that is his concern; to treat him well as regards his bodily wants, is ours."

"To all dear Christians into whose hands the present writing shall fall, the grace and peace of God our Father, and of our Lord Jesus Christ; Doctor *Martin Luther*.—Doctor Andreas Carlstadt has just forwarded to me a small work, in which he clears himself of the charge of having been one of the leaders of the rebels, and earnestly entreats me to get it printed, in order to save the honour of his name, and, perhaps, even his life, which is endangered through the haste with which they will hurry through the trial of the accused. Indeed it is reported that rapid proceedings are about to be instituted against many poor persons, and the innocent to be executed along with the guilty, without hearing or proof, in the wantonness of rage; and I much fear the cowardly tyrants, who before trembled at the fall of a leaf, waxing now so bold in glutting their rage, that, on

the destined day, God will cast them down in their turn. Now, albeit doctor Carlstadt is my greatest enemy on questions of doctrine, and there is no hope of our agreeing on such points, the confidence with which he applies to me in his hour of fear, rather than to those old friends of his who erst excited him against me, shall not be deceived, and I shall gladly do him this service, and others, if possible." Luther goes on to express his hopes that, by God's grace, all will yet turn out well for Carlstadt, and that he will at the last renounce his errors touching the sacrament. At the same time, he defends himself against any charge that may be brought on account of his conduct on this occasion, of his yielding a jot on doctrinal points; whilst to any charge of excess of credulity, he replies, "That it becomes neither him nor any one to judge another's heart. 'Charity suffereth long,' says St. Paul; and, elsewhere, 'Charity believeth all things, hopeth all things.' This, then, is my opinion. So long as doctor Carlstadt offers to take his trial, and to undergo fitting punishment should he be convicted of having taken part in the rebellion, I am bound to credit both his word and this writing of his, although previously inclined to consider himself and his friends animated with a seditious spirit, and am bound to aid him to procure the inquiry which he solicits."

Luther next proceeds to ascribe much of what has happened, to the violence with which princes and bishops have opposed the spread of religion. "Hence that popular fury which, naturally, will not be appeased until the tyrants be low in the mud; since things cannot last when a master can only inspire fear instead of love. No, let us leave our black-coats and country squires to shut their ears against warnings: let them go on, let them go on; let them continue to accuse the Gospel of the evil which they have brought upon themselves; let them always say, 'What do I care for it?' Soon will there come Another, who will answer them, 'Yet a little while and there shall be no prince nor bishop on the face of the earth.' Let them, then, alone; they will soon find what they have been so long looking for; the thing is set a-going. God grant they may yet repent in time! Amen. Therefore, I beseech nobles and bishops, and every one, to suffer doctor Carlstadt, on this solemn allegation of his that he can clear himself from all implication in the rebellion, to enter on his defence, for fear of tempting God more, and of the people's anger becoming more violent and justified. . . . He has never lied, He who has promised to hearken to the cries of the oppressed; and He wanteth not power to punish. May God grant us his grace. Amen." (A.D. 1525.)—"Germany, I fear me, is lost. Perish she must, since the princes will only employ the sword. Ah! they think that they can thus pluck out, hair by hair, the good God's beard. He will smite them on the cheek therefore." (A.D. 1526.)—"The spirit of these tyrants is impotent, cowardly, foreign from every honest thought. They deserve to be the slaves of the people. But, by the grace of Christ, I am sufficiently avenged in the contempt I entertain for them, and for Satan, their god." (The end of December, 1525.)

CHAPTER IV.

A. D. 1524—1527.

LUTHER ATTACKED BY THE RATIONALISTS.—ZWINGLE.
—BUCER, &c.—ERASMUS.

During the whole of this terrible tragedy of the war of the peasants, the theological war was raging against Luther. The Swiss and Rhenish reformers, Zwingle, Bucer, Ecolampadius, participated in Carlstadt's theological principles, differing from him in little save in their submission to the civil power. Not one of them would remain within the limits to which Luther desired to restrict the Reformation. Hard and frigid logicians, they daily effaced the traces of that antique Christian poesy which he sought to preserve. Less daring, but more dangerous still, the king of the literary world, the cold and ingenious Erasmus, rained fearful blows upon him. Zwingle and Bucer*, men of a political cast of mind, had long been striving to preserve, at any price, the apparent unity of Protestantism. Bucer, that *grand architect of subtleties* (Bossuet), concealed his opinions for some time from Luther, and even translated his German works. "No one," says Luther, "no one has translated my works into Latin more ably or exactly than master Bucer. He foists into them none of his vagaries touching the sacrament. Did I seek to display my inmost heart and thought in words, I could not do better." At another time, he seems to have detected the infidelity of the translation. On September 13th, 1527, he writes to a printer, that Bucer, in translating his works into Latin, had so altered certain passages as to pervert the sense; "it is on this fashion that we have made the fathers heretics." And he begs him, should he reprint the volume, to prefix a preface from himself, warning the reader of the changes introduced by Bucer. In 1527, he published a work against Zwingle and Ecolampadius, in which he styled them new Wickliffites, and denounced their opinions as sacrilegious and heretical. At length, in 1528, he said, "I know enough, and more than enough, of Bucer's iniquity to feel no surprise at his perverting against me my own published sentiments on the sacrament. . . . Christ keep you, you who are living in the midst of these ferocious beasts, these vipers, lionesses, panthers, with almost more danger than Daniel in the lions' den." "I believe Zwingle to be worthy of a holy hate for his rash and criminal handling of God's word." (October 27th, 1527.) "What a fellow is this Zwingle, with his rank ignorance of grammar and dialectics, not to speak of other sciences!" (November 28th, 1527.)

In a second publication against them, in 1528, he says, "I reject, and condemn as mere error, all doctrine which assumes the will to be free." This was the subject of his grand quarrel with Erasmus; which began in 1525, the year that Erasmus pub-

lished his *De Libero Arbitrio*. Up to that time, they had been on friendly terms. Erasmus had frequently stood forth in defence of Luther; and the latter, in return, consented to respect the neutrality of Erasmus. The following letter proves that down to 1524, Luther thought it expedient to observe some delicacy towards him:—"This has been a long silence, dear Erasmus; and although I waited for you, as my superior, to break it, charity now seems to bid me make a commencement. I do not reproach you with having kept aloof from us through fear of embarrassing the cause which you abetted against our enemies, the papists; and, indeed, the only annoyance I feel is your having harassed us with some sharp stings and bites in various passages of the works which you have published, to catch their favour or mitigate their anger. We see that the Lord has not yet granted you sufficient energy or understanding to attack these monsters freely and courageously, and we are not the men who would exact from you what is above your strength. We have respected in you your weakness, and the measure of God's gifts. The whole world must bear witness to your successful cultivation of that literature by which we arrive at a true understanding of the Scriptures, and this gift of God's has been magnificently and wonderfully displayed in you; calling for all thanks. And so I have never desired to see you quit the distance which you keep, in order to enter our camp. Great, doubtless, would be the services you could render us by your talent and eloquence; but, since your heart fails, better serve with what He has given you. There was a fear that you might suffer yourself to be led away by our adversaries to attack our doctrine publicly, when I should feel bound to oppose you to your face; and I have quieted some of our friends who had written with the design of forcing you into the arena: hence, I should have been glad that the Hutten's *Expostulatio*, and still more that thy *Hutten's Sponge* had not been published; a circumstance which may have taught you to feel how easy it is to write about moderation, and to accuse Luther of intemperance, but how difficult and impossible to practise these lessons except by a singular gift of grace. Believe it or not, Christ is my witness that I pity you from the bottom of my soul when I see such passions and hates against you, to which it were too much (weak and worldly as is your virtue to bear up against such storms) to suppose you insensible. Yet, perchance, our friends may be instigated by a lawful zeal, deeming themselves unworthily attacked by you. . . . For my own part, although irritable and often hurried away by anger to write bitterly, it has been in the case of the obstinate only; being merciful and mild to sinners generally, however insensate and iniquitous, as my conscience bears me witness, and numbers can tell. And thus I have restrained my pen, notwithstanding your goadings, and have resolved to restrain it, until you declare yourself openly. For whatever be our points of disagreement, and with whatever impiety or dissimulation you express your disapprobation or your doubts on the most important points of religion, I neither can nor will accuse you of obstinacy. What steps take now? On both sides there is exceeding exasperation. Might I be mediator, I would have them forbear their furious attacks upon you, and

* The learned of the sixteenth century generally translated their proper names into Greek. So, Kuhhorn (Cow-horn) changed his name into that of Bucer; Hausschein (House-light) into Ecolampadius; Didier (from *Desiderium*, desire) into Erasmus; Schwarz-Erde (Black-earth) into Melancthon, &c. Luther and Zwingle, the two popular reformers, are the only ones who retained their own proper appellations in the vulgar tongue.

suffer your declining years to sleep in peace in the Lord; and they would do so, did they take into consideration your weakness and the greatness of our cause, which has long exceeded your small measure. We have advanced so far that we have scant need to fear for our cause, even though Erasmus should assemble all his forces against us. . . . However, there is some show of reason in our friends feeling so annoyed at your attacks; for it is only human weakness to fidget and alarm itself about the name and authority of Erasmus. To be bitten by Erasmus but once, is a very different thing from being a prey to the attacks of all the papists put together. I have written to you thus, dear Erasmus, to prove my candour, and because I yearn that the Lord may grant you grace befitting your name. Should this be delayed, yet I pray you to remain at least a spectator of our tragedy. Join not your forces to our adversaries; publish no books against me, and I will publish none against you. As for those who complain of being attacked in Luther's name, remember that they are men like you and me, to whom we must grant indulgence and pardon, and that, as St. Paul says, '*we must bear each other's burden.*' Biting is enough; we must beware of devouring one another. . . ." (April, 1524.)

To *Borner*. "Erasmus knows less about predestination than even the sophists of the school. Erasmus is not formidable on this, any more than on any other Christian matter. I will not lunge at Erasmus, and shall let him lunge at me once or twice, without parrying and returning the thrust. It is not wise in him to be preparing the strength of his eloquence against me. . . . I shall present myself confidently before the most eloquent Erasmus, stammerer as I may be in comparison with him, and caring not for his credit, his name, or his reputation. I am not angry with Mosellanus's attacking himself to Erasmus rather than me. Tell him to be Erasmian with all his strength." (May 28th, 1522.) This forbearance could not last. The publication of the *De Libero Arbitrio* was a declaration of war. Luther perceived that the true question was at last mooted. "What I esteem, what I laud in thee is, that thou alone hast touched the root of the subject, the whole gist of the matter, I mean free will. Thou dost not plague me with disputes foreign to the question, with the papacy, purgatory, indulgences, and other fooleries with which they have paid me off. Alone thou hast seized the knot, hast struck at the throat. Thanks, Erasmus! . . . It is irreligious, thou sayest, it is superfluous, a matter of pure curiosity, to inquire whether God be endowed with prescience, whether our will is operant as regards everlasting salvation, or is only acted upon by grace; whether what good and evil we do, we do actively or passively! . . . Great God! what then is religious, grave, useful? Erasmus, Erasmus, it is difficult to accuse thee of ignorance; a man of thy years, living in the midst of Christian people, and who has so long meditated upon the Scriptures! It is impossible to excuse, or to think well of thee. . . . What! you, a theologian, you, a Christian doctor, not satisfied to abide by your ordinary scepticism, you to decide that those things are unnecessary, without which there is no longer God, nor Christ, nor Gospel, nor faith; without which there remains nothing, I will not say of Chris-

tianity, but of Judaism!" But all in vain is Luther powerful and eloquent; he cannot break asunder the bonds which entwine him. "Why," asks Erasmus, "does not God correct the viciousness of our will, since it is not in our power to control it? or why does he impute it to us, since this viciousness of will is inherent in man? . . . The vessel says to the potter, 'Wherefore have you made me for the everlasting fire?' . . . If man be not free, what is the meaning of *precept, action, reward*, in short, of all language? Why speak of repentance, &c." Luther is exceedingly put to it to answer all this. "God speaks to us on this fashion," he says, "solely to convict us of our powerlessness if we do not implore his assistance. Satan said, 'Thou art free to act.' Moses said, 'Act;' in order to convict us before Satan of our inability to act." A cruel and seemingly silly answer; equivalent to tying our legs, and then bidding us walk, and punishing us every time we fall. Recoiling from the consequences which Erasmus either deduces or hints at, Luther rejects every system of interpretation for the Scripture, and yet finds himself obliged to have recourse to interpretation in order to escape the conclusions of his adversary. For instance, he explains the "*I will harden Pharaoh's heart*," as follows: "God does evil in us, that is to say, through us, not through any defect in himself, but through the effect of our vices; for we are sinners by nature, whilst God can only do good. By virtue of his omnipotence, he carries us along with him in his course of action, but, although good itself, he cannot prevent an evil instrument from producing evil."

It must have been glorious for Erasmus to behold the triumphant enemy of papacy writhing under his blows, and clutching to oppose him a weapon so dangerous to him who employs it. The more Luther struggles, the more he takes advantage; the more he pushes his victory, the deeper he sinks into immorality and fatalism, even to being constrained to admit that Judas could do no other than betray Christ. Deep and lasting, therefore, was Luther's recollection of this quarrel. He did not deceive himself with regard to his triumph; he had not discovered the solution of the terrible problem; he felt this in his *De Seruo Arbitrio* (On the Bondage of the Will); and, to his latest day, the name of him who had beaten him down to the most immoral consequences of the doctrine of grace, is mixed up in his writings and sermons, with curses upon the blasphemers of Christ.

He was, most of all, angered by Erasmus's apparent moderation; who, not daring to attack the foundations of the edifice of Christianity, seemed desirous of destroying it slowly, stone by stone. This shifting and equivocation did not suit Luther's energy. "Erasmus," he says, "that amphibolous king, who sits quietly on the throne of amphibology, mocks us with his ambiguous words, and claps his hands when he sees us entangled in his insidious figures, like a quarry in the nets. Taking it as an opportunity for his rhetoric, he falls upon us with loud cries, tearing, flogging, crucifying, throwing all hell at our head, because, he says, we have understood in a slanderous, infamous, and Satanic sense, words which he, nevertheless, wished to be so understood. . . . See him advance, creeping like a viper, to tempt simple souls, like the serpent that

beguiled Eve into doubt, and infused into her suspicion of God's commands." Whatever Luther may say, this dispute occasioned him so much anxiety and trouble, that he at last declined battle, and prevented his friends from replying for him: "If I fight with dirt, conqueror or conquered, I am always defiled." "I would not," he writes to his son John, "for a thousand florins find myself in God's presence in the danger in which Jerome will stand, still less in Erasmus's place. If I recover health and strength I will fully and freely bear witness to my God against Erasmus. I will not sell my dear little Jesus. I daily draw nearer to the grave; and, before I descend into it, wish to bear witness to my God with my lips, and without putting forth a single leaf as my shield. As yet I have hesitated, and have said to myself, 'Shouldst thou kill him what would be his fate?' I killed Münzer, and his death is a load round my neck. But I killed him because he sought to kill my Christ." Preaching on Trinity Sunday, doctor Martin Luther says: "I pray all of you, who have seriously at heart the honour of Christ and of the Gospel, to be the enemies of Erasmus. . . ." One day, doctor Luther exclaimed to doctors Jonas and Pomeranus, with energetic earnestness: "My dying prayers to you would be, 'Scourge this serpent.' . . . When I shall recover, with God's aid, I will write against him, and kill him. We have endured his mockery of us, and having taken us by the throat; but now, that he seeks to do the same by Christ, we will array ourselves against him. . . . It is true, that crushing Erasmus is crushing a bug; but my Christ, whom he mocks, is nearer to me than Erasmus's being in danger." "If I live, I will, with God's aid, purge the Church of his ordure. 'Tis Erasmus who has given birth to Crotus, Egranus, Witzeln, Ecolampadius, Campanus, and other visionaries or Epicureans. Be it thoroughly understood, I will no more recognize him as a member of the Church." Looking one day at a portrait of Erasmus, Luther said: "Erasmus, as his countenance proves, is a crafty, designing man, who has laughed at God and religion; he uses fine words, as, 'dear Lord Christ, the word of salvation, the holy sacraments,' but holds the truth to be a matter of indifference. When he preaches, it rings false, like a cracked pot. He has attacked the papacy, and is now drawing his head out of the noose."

CHAPTER V.

A. D. 1526 — 1529.

LUTHER'S MARRIAGE.—HIS POVERTY, DISCOURAGEMENT, DESPAIR, SICKNESS.—BELIEF IN THE APPROACHING END OF THE WORLD.

The firmest souls would have found it difficult to bear up against such a succession of shocks; and Luther's visibly failed after the crisis of the year 1525. His part had been changed, and most distressingly. Erasmus's opposition was the signal for the estrangement of men of letters, who, at the first, had so powerfully aided Luther's cause. He had allowed the *De Libero Arbitrio* to remain without any serious reply. The great innovator, the people's champion against Rome, saw himself outstripped by the people, and, in the war of the

peasants, cursed by the people; so that one cannot be surprised at the discouragement which overwhelmed him at this period. In this prostration of his mind, the flesh regained its empire; he married. The two or three succeeding years are a sort of eclipse for Luther; in which we find him for the most part preoccupied with worldly cares, that cannot, however, fill up the void he experiences. At last, he succumbs. A grand physical crisis marks the end of this period of atony. He is aroused from his lethargy by the dangers that threaten Germany; which is invaded by Soliman (A.D. 1529), and threatened in its liberty and its faith at the diet of Augsburg, by Charles the Fifth. (A.D. 1530.)

"Since God has created woman such as to require of necessity to be near man, let us ask no more, God is on our side. So, let us honour marriage, as an honourable and divine institution. This mode of life is the first which it pleased God to ordain, is that which he has constantly maintained, is the last which he will glorify over every other. Where were kingdoms and empires when Adam and the patriarchs lived in marriage? Out of what other kind of life do all states proceed? Albeit, man's wickedness has compelled the magistracy to usurp it for the most part, so that marriage has become an empire of war, whilst, in its purity and simplicity it is the empire of peace." (Jan. 17th, 1525.) "You tell me, my dear Spalatin, that you wish to renounce the court, and your office. My advice to you is, to remain, except you leave to marry. For my part, I am in God's hand, a being whose heart he can change and change back, whom he can slay, or call to life, at each moment, and at every hour. Nevertheless, in the state in which my heart has ever been, and still is, I shall not take a wife: not that I do not feel my flesh and my sex; I am neither wood nor stone, but my mind inclines not to marriage whilst I am daily expecting the heretic's death and punishment." (Nov. 30th, 1524.) "You need not be surprised that I, *qui sic famosus sum amator* (who am so notorious a lover), do not marry. You should rather be surprised that I, who have written so much upon marriage, and have constantly had so much to do with women, have not long since been changed into a woman rather than marrying one. Still, if you will regulate yourself by my example, it should be all-powerful with you to learn that I have had three spouses at the same time, and have loved them so much as to lose two, who are about to take other husbands. The third, I hardly detain by the left-hand, and she is slipping from me." (April 16th, 1525.)

To Amstdorff. "Hoping to have my life spared for some time yet, I have not liked to refuse giving my father the hope of posterity. Besides, I have chosen to practise what I have preached, since so many others have shown themselves afraid to practise what is so clearly announced in the Gospel. I follow God's will; and am not devoured with a burning, immoderate love for my wife, but simply love her." (June 21st, 1525.)

His bride, Catherine von Bora, was a young girl of noble birth, who had escaped from her convent; was twenty-four years of age, and remarkably beautiful. It appears that she had been previously attached to a young student of Nuremberg, Jerome

Baumgartner; and Luther wrote to him (Oct. 12th, 1524).—"If you desire to obtain your Catherine von Bora, make haste before she is given to another, whose she almost is. Still, she has not yet overcome her love for you. For my part, I should be delighted to see you united." He writes to Stiefel, a year after his marriage. (Aug. 12th, 1526). "Catherine, my dear *rib*, salutes you. She is, thanks to God, in the enjoyment of excellent health. She is gentle, obedient, and complying in all things, beyond my hopes. I would not exchange my poverty for the wealth of Cæsar." Luther, in truth, was at this time extremely poor. Pre-occupied with household cares, and anxiety about his future family, he turned his thoughts to acquiring a handicraft. "If the world will no longer support us in return for preaching the word, let us learn to live by the labour of our own hands." Could he have chosen, he would no doubt have preferred one of the arts which he loved—the art of Albert Durer, and of his friend Lucas Cranach—or music, which he called a science inferior to theology alone; but he had no master. So he became turner. "Since our barbarians here know nothing of art or science, my servant Wolfgang and I have taken to turning." He commissioned Wenceslaus Link to buy him tools at Nuremberg. He also took to gardening and building. "I have planted a garden," he writes to Spalatin, "and have built a fountain, and have succeeded tolerably in both. Come, and be crowned with lilies and roses." (Dec. 1525.) In April, 1527, on being made a present of a clock by an abbot of Nuremberg, "I must," he says, in acknowledging its receipt, "I must become a student of mathematics in order to comprehend all this mechanism, for I never saw anything like it." A month afterwards he writes, "The turning tools are come to hand, and the dial with the cylinder and the wooden clock. I have tools enough for the present, except you meet with some newly-invented ones, which can turn of themselves, whilst my servant snores or stares at the clouds. I have already taken my degree in clockmaking, which is prized by me as enabling me to tell the hour to my drunkards of Saxons, who pay more attention to their glasses than the hours, and care not whether sun, or clock, or whose regulates the clock, go wrong." (May 19th, 1527.) "You may absolutely see my melons, gourds, and pumpkins grow; so I have known how to employ the seeds you have sent me." (July 5th.)

Gardening was no great resource, and Luther found himself in a situation equally strange and distressing. This man, who governed kings, saw himself dependent on the elector for his daily food. The new church had only compassed her deliverance from the papacy, by subjecting herself to the civil power, which, at the outset, starved and neglected her. Luther had written to Spalatin in 1523, that he desired to resign the income which he drew from his convent, into the elector's hands. . . . "Since we read no more, bawl no more, say mass no more, and, indeed, do nothing for which the house was founded, we can no longer live on this money which is no longer ours." (Nov. 1523.) "As yet, Staupitz has paid no fraction of our income. . . . We are daily plunging deeper into debt; and I know not whether to apply to the elector again, or to let things go on, and the worst come to the worst, until want drives me forth from

Wittenberg into the tender hands of pope and emperor." (Nov. 1523.) "Are we here to pay every one, and yet no one to pay us? This is passing strange." (Feb. 1st. 1524.) "Each day burdens me with fresh debts; I must seek alms by some other means." (April 24th, 1524.) "This life cannot last. Are not these delays of the prince justly calculated to arouse suspicion? For my own part, I would long since have left my convent for some other abode, and have lived by my own labour (although I cannot now be said to live without labour), had I not feared to bring scandal on the Gospel, and even on the prince." (End of Dec. 1524.)

"You ask me for eight florins; but where shall I get them? You know that I am obliged to use the strictest economy; and I have imprudently contracted debts this year to the amount of above a hundred florins. I have been forced to leave three goblets in pledge for fifty florins. It is true, that my Lord, who has thus punished me for my improvidence, has at last set me free. . . . Besides, Lucas and Christian will no longer take my security, finding that they either lose all, or else drain my purse to the bottom." (Feb. 2nd, 1527.) "Tell Nicolas Endrissus to ask me for some copies of my works. Although very poor, I have yet made certain stipulations with my printers, asking them nothing for all my labour, except the power of taking occasionally a copy of my works. This is not exacting, I think, since other writers, even translators, receive a ducat a sheet." (July 5th, 1527.) "What has happened, my dear Spalatin, that you write to me in so threatening and imperious a tone? Has not Jonas experienced enough of your contempt and your prince's, that you still rage so furiously against that excellent man? I know the prince's character, and how lightly he treats men. . . . 'Tis thus, then, that the Gospel is honoured, by refusing a poor stipend to its ministers! . . . Is it not iniquitous and detestably perfidious to order him to leave, and yet to manage to make it appear that no such order had been given him? And think you that Christ does not note the stratagem? . . . I do not conceive, however, that the prince has sustained any injury through us. . . . A tolerable proportion of the good things of this world has found its way into his purse, and each day is adding to it. God will find the means of feeding us, if you withhold your alms and some accursed money. . . . Dear Spalatin, treat us, I pray you, us, Christ's poor and exiles, more gently, or else explain yourself frankly, so that we may know what we are about, and no longer be forced to ruin ourselves by following an equivocal order, which, whilst it obliges us to leave, does not allow of our naming those who compel us to the step." (Nov. 27th, 1524).—"We have been gratified, my dear Gerard Lampadarius, by the receipt of the letter and the cloth, which you have sent us with such candour of soul and benevolence of heart. . . . Catherine and myself use your lamps every night, and we reprove each other with having made you no present, and having nothing to send you to keep us in your recollection. I feel much shame at not having made you a present of paper even, though easy for me so to do. . . . Ere long I will send you a bundle of books, at the least. I would have forwarded to you, by this same conveyance, a German Isaiah, which has just seen the light, but I

have been stripped of every copy, so that I have not one left." (Oct. 14th, 1528.)

To *Martin Gortitz*, who had made him a present of beer:—"Your Ceres of Torgau has been happily and gloriously consumed. It had been reserved for myself and for visitors, who were never weary of praising it above all they had ever tasted. Like a true boor, I have not yet sufficiently thanked your Emilia and you for it. I am so careless a house-keeper (*οικονομότης*) that I had utterly forgotten it was in my cellar, until reminded by my servant of it. Remember me to all our brethren, and, above all, to your Emilia and her son, the graceful hind and the young fawn. May the Lord bless you, and make you multiply by thousands, both according to the spirit and the flesh." (Jan. 15th, 1529.) Luther writes to Amsdorff, that he is about to extend his hospitality to a young wife:—"If my Catherine should be brought to bed at the same time, thou wouldst be the poorer for it. Gird thee, then, not with sword and cuirass, but with gold and silver and a good purse, for I will not let thee off without a present." (March 29th, 1529.)—To *Jonas*:—"I had got to the tenth line of this letter when they came to tell me that my Kate had given me a girl: '*All glory and praise to our Father who is in heaven!*' My little John is safe. Augustin's wife is doing well; and, lastly, Margaret Mochinn has escaped death, contrary to all expectation. By way of set-off, we have lost five pigs. . . . May the plague be satisfied with this contribution! I am, as heretofore, an apostle truly, '*as dying, and behold, we live!*'" Luther's wife was pregnant; his son ill, cutting his teeth; his two women-servants (Hannah and Margaret Mochinn) had been attacked by the plague, which was raging at the time at Wittemberg. He writes to Amsdorff: "My house is turned into a hospital." (Nov. 1st, 1527.) "The wife of Georges, the chaplain, is dead of a miscarriage and the plague. . . . Every one is seized with terror. I have taken the curate and his family into my house." (Nov. 4th, 1527.) "Your little John does not salute you, for he is ill, but begs your prayers. He has not touched food for these twelve days. It is marvellous to see how the child would fain be gay and cheerful as usual, but is too weak for the effort. The surgeon opened Margaret Mochinn's abscess yesterday, and she is beginning to recover. I have given her our winter apartment; we occupy the large front parlour; Hanschen is in my room, with the stove; and Augustin's wife in hers. We are beginning to hope that the plague has run its course. Adieu. Embrace your daughter and her mother for us, and remember us in your prayers." (Nov. 10th, 1527.)

"My poor son was dead, but has been resuscitated. He had not eaten for twelve days. The Lord has increased my family by a little girl. We are all well, save Luther himself, who, sound in body and utterly isolated from the world, suffers inwardly from the attacks of the devil and his angels. I am writing for the second and last time against the Sacramentarians and their vain words, &c." (December 31st, 1527.) "My little daughter Elizabeth is dead. I am surprised how sick she has left me at heart; a woman's heart, so shaken I am. I could not have believed that a father's soul would have been so tender towards his child." (August 5th, 1528.) "I can teach you what it is to be a father, especially of one of that

sex which has the power of awakening your softest emotions beyond the reach of sons (*præsertim sexus qui ultra filiorum casum etiam habet misericordiam calidè moventem*)." (June 5th, 1530.)

Towards the close of the year 1527, Luther himself was frequently seriously indisposed both in body and mind. Writing to Melancthon, October 27th, he concludes his letter as follows:—"I have not yet read Erasmus's new work, and what should I read, I, a sick servant of Jesus Christ's, I, who am scarcely alive? What can I do? What write? Is it God's will thus to overwhelm me with all ocean's waves at once? And it is they who ought to have compassion on me who come to give me the final blow after so many sufferings! May God enlighten them and their hearts! Amen." Two of Luther's intimate friends, doctors John Bugenhagen and Jonas, have left us the following account of a fainting fit with which Luther was seized about the end of 1527:—"On the Saturday of the Visitation of the Virgin Mary (A.D. 1527), in the afternoon, doctor Luther complained of pains in the head and such inexpressibly violent humming in his ears, that he thought he must sink under it. In the course of the morning, he sent for doctor Bugenhagen to confess him; when he spoke to him with affright of the temptations he had been going through, begged him to strengthen him, and to pray to God for him, and concluded by saying, 'Because I sometimes wear a gay and jovial air, many conclude that my path is on roses; and God knows how far my heart is from any such feeling. Often have I resolved, for the world's sake, to assume a more austere and holier demeanour (I do not explain myself well), but God has not favoured my resolve.' In the afternoon of the same day he fell down senseless, turned quite cold, and gave no sign of life. When recalled to himself by unceasing care, he began to pray with great fervour:—'Thou knowest, my God!' he said, 'how cheerfully I would have poured out my blood for thy word, but thou hast willed it otherwise. Thy will be done! No doubt, I was unworthy of it. Death would be my happiness; yet, O my God! if it be thy will, gladly would I still live to spread thy holy word, and comfort such of thy people as wax faint. Nevertheless, if my hour be come, thy will be done! In thy hands are life and death. O my Lord Jesus Christ, I thank thee for thy grace in suffering me to know thy holy name. Thou knowest that I believe in thee, in the Father, and in the Holy Ghost; thou art my divine Mediator and Saviour. . . . Thou knowest, O my Lord, that Satan has laid numerous snares for me, to slay my body by tyrants and my soul by his *fiery arrows*, his infernal temptations. Up to this time, thou hast marvellously protected me against all his fury. Protect me still, O my steadfast Lord, if it be thy will!"

"Then he turned to us both (Bugenhagen and Jonas), and said, 'The world is prone to lying, and there will be many who will say that I retracted before I died. I call on you, therefore, at once to receive my profession of faith. I conscientiously declare that I have taught the true word of God, even as the Lord laid upon me and impelled me to do. Yea; I declare that what I have preached upon faith, charity, the cross, the holy sacrament, and other articles of the Christian doctrine, is just, good, and conducive to salvation. I have

been often accused of violence and harshness ; I acknowledge that I have sometimes been violent and harsh towards my enemies. Yet have I never sought to injure any one, still less the perdition of any soul. I had intended to write upon baptism, and against Zwingle ; but God, apparently, has willed the contrary.' He next spoke of the sects that will arise to pervert God's word, and will not spare, he said, the flock which the Lord has redeemed with his blood. He wept as he spoke of these things. 'As yet,' he said, 'God has suffered me to join you in the struggle against these spirits of disorder, and I would gladly continue so to do ; alone, you will be too weak against them all. However, the thought of Jesus Christ reassures me ; for he is stronger than Satan and all his arms ; he is the Lord of Satan.' Some short time after, when the vital heat had been a little revived by frictions, and the application of hot pillows, he asked his wife, 'Where is my little heart, my well-beloved little John ?' When the child was brought, he smiled at his father, who began saying, with tears in his eyes, 'Poor dear little one, I commend you to God, you and your good mother, my dear Catherine. You are penniless, but God will take care of you. He is the father of orphans and widows. Preserve them, O my God ; inform them, even as thou hast preserved and informed me up to this day.' He then spoke to his wife about some silver goblets. 'Thou knowest,' he added, 'they are all we have left.' He fell into a deep sleep, which recruited his strength ; and on the next day, he was considerably better. He then said to doctor Jonas, 'Never shall I forget yesterday. The Lord takes man into hell, and draws him out of it. The tempest which beat yesterday morning on my soul, was much more terrible than that which my body underwent towards evening. God kills, and brings to life. He is the master of life and death.'

"For nearly three months, I have been growing weaker, not in body, but in mind ; to such a degree, that I can scarcely write these few lines. This is Satan's doing." (Oct. 8th, 1527.) "I want to reply to the Sacramentarians, but shall be able to do nothing except my soul be fortified." (Nov. 1st, 1527.) "I have not yet read Erasmus, or the Sacramentarians, with the exception of some three sheets of Zwingle. It is well done of them to trample me so mercilessly under foot, so that I may say with Jesus Christ, '*He persecuted the poor and needy man, that he might even slay the broken in heart.*' I alone bear the weight of God's wrath, because I have sinned towards him. The pope and Cæsar, the princes, the bishops, the whole world, hates and assails, but yet 'tis not enough without my very brother come to torment me. My sins, death, Satan and his angels, rage incessantly against me. And who would keep or comfort me if Christ were to desert me ; for whose sake I have incurred their hate ! But he will not desert the wretched sinner when the end cometh ; for I think I shall be the last of all men. Oh ! would to God that Erasmus and the Sacramentarians were to undergo for a quarter of an hour only the misery of my heart !" (Nov. 10th, 1527.) "Satan tries me with marvellous temptations, but I am not left without the prayers of the saints, albeit the wounds of my heart are not easy to cure. My comfort is, that there are many others who

have to sustain the same struggles. No doubt, there is no suffering so great that my sins do not deserve it. But what gives me life and strength is, the consciousness that I have taught, to the salvation of many, the true and pure word of Christ. This it is which burns up Satan, who would wish to see me and the word drowned and lost. And so I suffer nothing at the hands of the tyrants of this world, while others are killed, burnt, and die for Christ ; but I have so much the more to suffer spiritually from the prince of this world." (August 21st, 1527.) "When I wish to write, my head is filled as it were with tinklings, thunders, and if I did not stop at once, I should faint outright. I have now been three days, unable even to look at a letter. My head is wearing into a small chapter ; and if this goes on, it will soon be no more than a paragraph, a period (*caput meum factum est capitulum, perget cetero fietque paragrahus, tandem periodus*). The day I received your letter from Nuremberg, Satan visited me. I was alone. Vitus and Cyriacus had left me. This time he was the stronger. He drove me out of my bed, and forced me to go and seek the face of men." (May 12, 1530.) "Although well in bodily health, I am ever ill with Satan's persecutions ; which hinder me from writing or doing anything. The last day, I fully believe, is not far from us. Farewell, cease not to pray for poor Luther." (Feb. 28th, 1529.) "One may overcome the temptations of the flesh, but how hard it is to struggle against the temptation of blasphemy and despair. We neither comprehend the sin, nor know the remedy." After a week of constant suffering, he wrote : "Having all but lost my Christ, I was beaten by the waves and tempests of despair and blasphemy." (Aug. 2nd, 1527.)

Luther, far from receiving support and comfort from his friends, whilst undergoing these internal troubles, saw some lukewarm and timidly sceptical, others fairly embarked in the path of mysticism which he had himself opened up for them, and wandering further from him daily. The first to declare himself was Agriola, the leader of the Antinomians. We shall hereafter see how Luther's last days were embittered by his controversy with so dear a friend. "Some one has been telling me a tale of you, my dear Agriola, and with such urgency that I promised him to write and make inquiry of you. The tale is, that you are beginning to advance the doctrine of faith without works, and that you profess yourself ready to maintain this novelty against all and sundry, with a grand magazine of Greek words and rhetorical artifices. . . . I warn you to be on your guard against the snares of Satan. . . . Never did event come more unexpectedly upon me than the fall of Ecolampadius and of Regius. And what have I not now to fear for those who have been my intimate friends ! It is not surprising that I should tremble for you also, whom I would not see separated in opinion from me for aught that the world can bestow." (Sept. 11th, 1528.) "Wherefore should I be provoked with the papists ? They make open war upon me. We are declared enemies. But they who do me most evil are my dearest children, *fraterculi mei, amici mei* ; they who, if Luther had not written, would know nothing of Christ and the Gospel, and would never have thrown off the papal yoke ; at least, who, if they had had the

power, would have lacked the courage. I thought that I had by this time suffered and exhausted every calamity ; but my Absalom, the child of my heart, had not yet deserted his father, had not yet covered David with shame. My Judas, the terror of the disciples of Christ, the traitor who delivered up his master, had not yet sold me : and now all this has befallen me.

"A clandestine, but most dangerous persecution is now going on against us. Our ministry is despised. We ourselves are hated, persecuted, and suffered to die of hunger. See what is now the fate of God's word. When offered to those who stand in need of it, they will not receive it. . . Christ would not have been crucified, had he left Jerusalem. But the prophet will not die out of Jerusalem, and yet it is only in his own country that the prophet is without honour. It is the same with us. . . . It will soon come to pass that the great of this duchy will have emptied it of ministers of the word ; who will be driven from it by hunger, not to mention other wrongs." (Oct. 18th, 1531.)

"There is nothing certain with regard to the apparitions about which so much noise has been made in Bohemia : many deny the fact. But as to the gulfs which opened here, before my own eyes, the Sunday after Epiphany, at eight o'clock in the evening, it is a certainty, and has been noticed in many places as far as the sea-coast. Moreover, in December, doctor Hess writes me word, the heavens were seen in flames above the church of Breslaw ; and another day, he adds, two beams were in flames, and a tower of fire between. These signs, if I mistake not, announce the last day. The empire is falling, kings are falling, priests are falling, and the whole world totters ; just as small fissures announce the ap-

proaching fall of a large house. Nor will it be long before this happen, unless the Turk, as Ezekiel prophesies of Gog and Magog, lose himself in his victory and his pride, with the pope, his ally." (March 7, 1529.) "Grace and peace in our Lord Jesus Christ. The world hastens to its end, and I often think that the day of judgment may well overtake me before I have finished my translation of the Holy Scriptures. All temporal things predicted there are being fulfilled. The Roman empire inclines to its ruin, unless the Turk has reached the height of his power, the splendour of the papacy suffers eclipse, the world is cracking in every corner, as if about to crumble to pieces. The empire, I grant, has recovered a little under our emperor Charles, but 'tis, perhaps, for the last time ; may it not be like the light which, the moment before it goes out for ever, emits a livelier flash. . . . The Turk is about to fall upon us. Mark me ; he is a reformer sent in God's wrath." (March 15th.)

"There is a man with me, just come from Venice, who asserts that the doge's son is at the court of the Turk : so that we have been only fighting against the latter until pope, Venetians, and French openly and impudently turn Turks. The same man states that there were eight hundred Turks in the army of the Frenchmen at Pavia ; three hundred of whom, sick of the war, have returned safe and sound to their own country. As you have not mentioned these montrosities to me, I conclude you to be ignorant of them ; but they have been told me both by letters and personal informants, with details which do not allow me to doubt of their truth. The hour of midnight approaches, when we shall hear the cry, '*The bridegroom cometh, go ye out to meet him.*'" (May 6th, 1529.)

BOOK THE THIRD.

A.D. 1529—1546.

CHAPTER I.

A.D. 1529—1532.

THE TURKS.—DANGER OF GERMANY.—AUGSBURG, SMALKALDE.—DANGER OF PROTESTANTISM.

LUTHER was roused from his dejection, and restored to active life, by the dangers which threatened the Reformation and Germany. When that *scurge of God*, whose coming he awaited with resignation, as the sign of the judgment, burst in reality on Germany, when the Turks encamped before Vienna, Luther changed his mind, called on the people to take up arms, and published a book against the Turks, which he dedicated to the landgrave of Hesse. On the 9th of October, 1528, he wrote to this prince, explaining to him the motives which had induced him to compose it :—"I cannot," he says, "keep my peace. There are, unfortunately, preachers among us who exhort the

people to pay no attention to the invasion of the Turks ; and there are some extravagant enough to assert that Christians are forbidden to have recourse to temporal arms under any circumstances. Others, again, who regard the Germans as a nation of incorrigible brutes, go so far as to hope they may fall under the power of the Turks. These mad and criminal notions are imputed to Luther and the Gospel, just as, three years since, the revolt of the peasants was, and as, in fact, every ill which befalls the world invariably is ; so that I feel it incumbent on me to write upon the subject, as well to confound calumniators, as to enlighten innocent consciences on the course to be pursued against the Turks. . . ." "We heard yesterday that, by God's miraculous grace, the Turk has left Vienna for Hungary. For, after having been repulsed in his twentieth assault, he sprang a mine, which opened a breach in three places, but nothing could induce his army to renew the attack. God had struck a panic into

it, and his soldiers preferred falling by the hands of their chiefs to advancing to another assault. Some believe that he has drawn off his forces through fear of bombardments and our future army; others think otherwise. God manifestly has fought for us this year. The Turk has lost twenty-six thousand men; three thousand of ours have fallen in sorties. I have written this news to you, in order that we may offer up thanks and prayer together; for the Turk, now that he is our neighbour, will not leave us for ever in peace." (Oct. 27th, 1529.)

Germany was saved, but German Protestantism was only the more endangered. The exasperation of the two parties had been brought to a climax, by a circumstance which occurred prior to Solymán's invasion. To believe Luther's Roman Catholic biographer, Cochläus, whom we have before quoted, duke George's chancellor, Otto Pack, feigned that the Roman Catholic princes had formed a league against the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse, and showed forged documents with the duke's seal to them, to the landgrave, who, believing himself to be menaced, levied an army, and entered into close alliance with the elector. The Catholics, and, above all, duke George, vehemently repelled the charge of having ever thought of menacing the religious independence of the Lutheran princes, and disavowed the chancellor, who, perhaps, had only been guilty of divulging the secret designs of his master. "Doctor Pack, in my opinion a voluntary prisoner of the landgrave's, has hitherto borne the blame of having got up this alliance of the princes. He asserts that he can rebut the charge, and clear himself with honour; and may God grant this plot to rebound on the head of the clown whom I believe to be its author, on that of our grand adversary; you know whom I mean, duke George of Saxony." (July 14th, 1528.) "You see the troubles this league of wicked princes, which they deny however, has stirred up. For my part, I look upon duke George's cold excuse as a confession. God will confound this mad-headed fool; this Moab, who exalts his pride above his strength. We will lift up our voice in prayer against these homicides; enough indulgence has been shown. And, if they are still plotting, we will first invoke God, then summon the princes to destroy them without pity."

Although all the princes had declared the documents to be forgeries, the bishops of Mentz, Bamberg, &c., were called upon to pay a hundred thousand crowns of gold, by way of indemnity for the armaments which the Lutheran princes had prepared; and who, indeed, asked no better than to begin war. They had computed, and they felt their strength. The grand-master of the Teutonic order had secularised Prussia; and the dukes of Mecklenburg and of Brunswick, encouraged by this great event, had invited Lutheran preachers. (A.D. 1525.) The Reformation prevailed over the north of Germany. In Switzerland, and on the Rhine, the Zwinglians, who increased daily in numbers, were seeking to identify themselves with Luther. Finally, on the south and the east, the Turks, masters of Buda and of Hungary, constantly menaced Austria, and held the emperor in check. In default of the latter, duke George of Saxony, and the powerful bishops of the north, had constituted themselves the opponents of the Reformation. A violent controversial war had long been going

on between this prince and Luther. The duke wrote to the latter:—"Thou fearest our having to do with hypocrites, the present letter will show thee how far this is the case, in which, if thou findest us dissemble, thou mayest speak as ill of us as thou likest; if not, thou must look for hypocrites there, where thou art called a prophet, a Daniel, the apostle of Germany, the evangelist. . . . Thou imaginest, perchance, that thou art sent of God to us, like those prophets whom God commissioned to convert princes and the powerful. Moses was sent to Pharaoh; Samuel to Saul; Nathan to David; Isaiah to Hezekiah; St. John the Baptist to Herod, as we well know. But, amongst all these prophets, we do not find a single apostate. They were consistent in doctrine, sincere and pious men, free from pride and avarice, and friends of chastity. . . . We reckon little of thy prayers, or of those of thy associates. We know that God hates the assembly of thy apostates. . . . God punished Münzer for his perversity, through us. He may well visit Luther likewise; nor shall we refuse to be in this, too, his unworthy instrument. . . . No, Luther, rather return thyself, and be no longer led astray by the spirit which seduced the apostate Sergius. The Christian church closes not her bosom against the repentant sinner. . . . If it be pride which has lost thee, consider that haughty Manichean, St. Augustin, thy master, whose rule thou hast sworn to observe: return, like him; return to thy fidelity and thy oaths; be, like him, a light to Christendom. . . . Such are our counsels to thee for the new year. Conform to them, thou wilt be eternally rewarded by God, and we will do our utmost to obtain thy pardon from the emperor." (Dec. 28th, 1525.)

Luther's *Protest* against duke George, who had intercepted one of his letters, 1529:—"As to the fine names duke George showers on me—wretch, criminal, perjurer, I cannot but thank him. They are the emeralds, rubies, and diamonds, with which I ought to be adorned by princes in return for the honour and power which temporal authority receives from the restoration of the Gospel. . . . Would not one say that duke George knows no superior? 'I, squire of squires,' he says, 'am alone master and prince, am above all the princes in Germany, am above the empire, its laws and customs. I am the one to be feared, the one to be obeyed; my will is law, despite what all others may think or say.' Where, friends, will the pride of this Moab stop? There is only now left for him to scale heaven, to spy and punish letters and thoughts even in the sanctuary of God himself. See our little prince; and withal, he will be glorified, respected, adored! Mighty well, grameray."

In 1529, the year of the treaty of Cambrai and of the siege of Vienna by Solymán, the emperor convened a diet at Spire (March 15th), where it was settled that the states of the empire were to continue to obey the decree launched against Luther in 1524, and that every innovation was to remain interdicted until the convocation of a general council. It was on this that the party of the Reformation broke out. The elector of Saxony, the margrave of Brandenburg, the landgrave of Hesse, the dukes of Luneburg, the prince of Anhalt, and, in conjunction with them, the deputies of fourteen imperial cities, published a solemn protest against the decree of the diet, declaring it

to be impious and unjust; and from this they kept the name of Protestants.

The landgrave of Hesse, feeling the necessity of combining all the dissident sects so as to form a party which might be formidable to the Catholics of Germany, endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation between Luther and the Sacramentarians; but Luther foresaw the inutility of the attempt:—"The landgrave of Hesse has summoned us to attend at Marburg on St. Michael's day, in the view of reconciling us and the Sacramentarians. . . I augur no good from it; it is all a snare; and the victory, I fear, will be theirs, as in the age of Arius. Meetings of the kind are ever more injurious than useful. . . This young man of Hesse is restless and full of brilliant ideas. The Lord has saved us these two last years from two great conflagrations which would have set all Germany on fire." (August 2nd, 1529.) "We have been most sumptuously entertained by the landgrave. Ecolampadius, Zwingle, Bucer, &c., were there; and all entreated for peace with extraordinary humility. The conference lasted two days. I opposed Ecolampadius and Zwingle with the text, '*This is my body*,' and refuted their objections. In short, they are ignorant persons, incapable of sustaining a discussion." (October 12th.) "I am delighted, my dear Amsdorff, that you are delighted with our synod of Marburg. The thing is apparently trifling; but, in reality, of great importance. The prayers of the pious have confounded, paralyzed, humiliated them. The whole of Zwingle's argument is reducible to this, that there can be no body without place or dimension. Ecolampadius maintained that the Fathers called the bread a sign, and that therefore it was not very body. . . They besought us to give them the name of brothers. Zwingle asked it of the landgrave with tears. 'There is no spot on earth,' he said, 'where I would sooner pass my life than Wittemberg.' . . We only allowed them the name save as charity compels us to give it to our enemies. . . They conducted themselves in every way with incredible humility and candour; in order, as is now clear to be seen, to beguile us into a fictitious agreement, so as to make us the partisans and patrons of their errors. . . O crafty Satan; but Christ, who has saved us, is abler than thou. I am now no longer astonished at their impudent lies. I see that they cannot act otherwise, and glorify myself for their fall." (June 1st, 1530.)

This theological war of Germany filled up the intervals of truce in the grand European war carried on by Charles the Fifth against Francis I. and against the Turks; indeed, seldom slackened even in the most violent crises of the latter. Germany, so absorbed at this moment in the consideration of religion as to be on the point of forgetting the impending ruin with which she was threatened by the most formidable enemies, presents an imposing spectacle. Whilst the Turks were overleaping all the ancient barriers, and Solymán pushing on his Tartars beyond Vienna, Germany was disputing on transubstantiation and free-will, and her most illustrious warriors sat in diets and interrogated doctors. Such was the phlegmatic intrepidity of the great nation; such its confidence in its massive strength. Charles the Fifth and Ferdinand were so taken up with the Turkish and the French war, with the taking of Rome and

defence of Vienna, that the Protestants were granted toleration until the next council. But in 1530, Charles, seeing France humbled, Italy subjected, and Solymán repulsed, undertook the grand trial of the Reformation. Both parties appeared at Augsburg. Luther's followers, designated by the general name of Protestants, were anxious to distinguish themselves from the other enemies of Rome whose excesses might injure their cause, from the republican Zwinglians of Switzerland, who were odious to the princes and nobles, and especially from the Anabaptists, proscribed as enemies of order and society. Luther, still obnoxious to the sentence pronounced against him at Worms, by which he was declared a heretic, could not be present. His place was filled by the mild and peaceful Melancthon, a gentle and timid being like Erasmus, whose friend he remained in despite of Luther. However, the elector brought him as near as possible to Augsburg, lodging him in the fortress of Cobourg, where Luther could be in constant correspondence with the Protestant ministers, and whence he wrote to Melancthon on the 22nd of April:—"I have arrived at my Sinai, dear Philip, but will make it a Zion, and erect thereon three tabernacles, one to the Psalmist, one to the prophets, one to Æsop (whose fables he was then translating). There is nothing wanting to render my solitude complete. I have a vast house which commands the castle and the keys of all the rooms. There are barely thirty persons in the fortress; and twelve of these are watchers by night, and two others sentinels, always posted on the towers." (April 22nd.)

To Spalatin, (May 9th):—"You are going to Augsburg without having taken the auspices, and not knowing when they will allow you to begin. I, indeed, am already in the midst of the comitia, in the presence of magnanimous sovereigns, kings, dukes, princes, nobles, who confer gravely on affairs of state, and with indefatigable voice fill the air with their decrees and preachings. They do not sit confined in the royal caves you call palaces, but have the heavens for their tent, the verdure of the trees for their rich and variegated carpet, and the earth, to its remotest bounds, for their domain. They have a horror of the stupid luxury of gold and silk, and all wear the same colours and countenances; they are all equally black; all indulge in the same music; and this song of theirs, on a single note, is varied only by the agreeable dissonance of the younger voices blending with the older. I have never heard a word about their emperor; and they have a sovereign contempt for that quadruped in which our knights delight, possessing something better with which they can laugh at the rage of cannons. As far as I can understand their decrees, they have unanimously determined upon making war the whole of this year on barley, wheat, and grain, and, in fact, on the choicest fruits and seeds. It is to be feared, too, that they will triumph in all directions, being a race of skilful and crafty warriors, equally skilled to seize their prey by force or by surprise. I, an idle spectator, have assisted with great satisfaction at their comitia. The hope I have conceived of the victories their courage will ensure them over the wheat and barley, or any other enemy, has made me the sincere friend of these *pères patrie*, these saviours of the republic. And if I can aid them by vows, I ask of Heaven, that

delivered from the odious name of crows, &c. All this is trifling; but serious trifling, and necessary to chase the thoughts which oppress me, if chase them it can." (May 9th.) "The noble lords who form our comitia run, or rather sail, through the air. They sally forth early in the morning to war, armed with their invincible beaks, and while they pillage, ravage, and devour, I am freed for a time from their eternal songs of victory. In the evening, they return in triumph; fatigue closes their eyes; but their sleep is sweet and light, like a conqueror's. Some days since I made my way into their palace to view the pomp of their empire. The unfortunates were seized with terror, imagining that I came to destroy the results of their industry. When I saw that I alone made so many Achilleses and Hector's tremble, I clapped my hands, threw my hat into the air, and thought myself sufficiently avenged to be able to laugh at them. All this is not mere trifling; 'tis an allegory, a presage of what will come to pass. And, even thus, we shall see all these harpies, who are now at Augsburg screeching and Romanising, trembling before God's word." (June 19th.)

Melanchthon, transformed at Augsburg into a partisan leader, and forced to do battle daily with legates, princes, and emperor, was exceedingly discomposed with the active life with which he had been saddled, and often unbosomed his troubles to Luther, when all the comfort he got was rough rebuke: "You tell me of your labours, dangers, tears; am I on roses? Do not I share your burden? Ah! would to heaven my cause were such as to allow me to shed tears!" (June 29th.) "May God reward the tyrant of Saltzburg, who works thee so much ill, according to his works! He deserves another sort of answer from thee; such as I would have made him, perchance; such as has never struck his ear. They must, I fear, hear the saying of Julius Cæsar: '*They would have it.*'" . . . "I write in vain, because, with thy philosophy, thou wishest to set all these things right with thy reason, that is, to be unreasoning with reason. Go on; continue to kill thyself so, without seeing that neither thy hand nor thy mind can grasp this thing." (30th June, 1530.) "God has placed this cause in a certain spot, unknown to thy rhetoric and thy philosophy—that spot is faith; there all things are inaccessible to the sight; and whoever would render them visible, apparent, and comprehensible, gets pains and tears as the price of his labour, as thou hast. God has said that his dwelling is in the clouds and thick darkness. Had Moses sought a means of avoiding Pharaoh's army, Israel would, perhaps, still be in Egypt. . . . If we have not faith, why not seek consolation in the faith of others, for some must necessarily have it, though we have not? Or else, must we say that Christ has abandoned us before the fulfilment of time? If he be not with us, where is he in this world? If we be not the church, or part of the church, where is the church? Is Ferdinand the church, or the duke of Bavaria, or the pope, or the Turk, or their fellows? If we have not God's word, who has? These things are beyond thee, for Satan torments and weakens thee. That Christ may heal thee is my sincere and constant prayer!" (June 29th.) "I am in poor health. . . . But I despise the angel of Satan, that is buffeting my flesh. If I cannot read or write, I can at least think and pray, and even wrestle with the devil;

and then sleep, idle, play, sing. Fret not thyself away, dear Philip, about a matter which is not in thy hand, but in that of One mightier than thou, and from whom no one can snatch it." (July 31st.)

Melanchthon believes it possible to reconcile the two parties; but Luther had early seen its impracticability. At the commencement of the Reformation, he had often demanded public disputations, feeling bound to try every means before giving up the hope of preserving Christian unity; but, towards the close of his life, in fact, from the holding of the diet of Augsburg, he declared against all such word-combats, in which the conquered party will never own its defeat. "I am opposed to all attempts to bring the two doctrines into harmony; for the thing is impossible, except the pope consent to abolish the papacy. It is enough for us to have rendered an account of our belief, and asked for peace. Why hope to convert them to the truth?" (August 26th.) *To Spalatin.* (August 26th.) "I hear you have undertaken a marvellous task, to reconcile Luther and the pope. . . . If you accomplish it, I promise you to reconcile Christ and Belial." In a letter of the 21st of July, to Melanchthon, he writes: "You will see how true a prophet I am in reiterating the impossibility of reconciling the two doctrines, and that it is enough for us to obtain the preservation of the public peace." His prophecies were unheeded; conferences were held; and the Protestants were asked for a confession of faith. Melanchthon drew it up, taking Luther's opinion on the most important points. *To Melanchthon.* "I have received your apology, and am astonished at your asking what we are to cede to the papists. If the prince, indeed, be in any danger, that is another question. But, as far as I am concerned, more concessions are made in this apology than are becoming. If they reject them, I do not see how I can go further, except their arguments strike me with much more force on reflection than now. I pass my days and nights pondering, interpreting, analysing, searching the Scriptures, and am only daily more confirmed in my doctrine. Our adversaries do not yield us a hair, and yet require us to yield them the canon, masses, communion in one kind, their customary jurisdiction, and, still more, to acknowledge that they are justified in the whole of their conduct to us, and that we have accused them wrongfully; in other words, they require us to justify them, and condemn ourselves out of our own lips, which would be not simply to retract, but to be trebly accused by our own selves. . . . I do not like your supporting yourselves in such a cause by my opinions. I will neither be nor seem your chief. . . . If it be not your own cause, I will not have it called mine, and of my imposing. If I be its sole supporter, I will be its sole defender." (September 20th.) Two days previously he had written to him, "If I hear you are getting on badly, I shall hardly be able to refrain from facing this formidable row of Satan's teeth." And shortly after, "I would fain be the victim to be sacrificed by this last council, as John Huss was at Constance that of the last day of the papal fortunes." (July 21st.)

The Protestant profession of faith was presented to the diet, "and read by order of Cæsar before all the princes and states of the empire. 'Tis exceeding happiness for me to have lived to see Christ

preached by his confessors before such an assembly, and in so fine a confession." (July 6th.) This confession was signed by five electors, thirty ecclesiastical princes, twenty-three secular princes, twenty-two abbots, thirty-two counts and barons, and thirty-nine free and imperial cities. "The prince elector of Saxony, the margrave George of Brandenburg, John Frederick the younger, landgrave of Hesse, Ernest and Francis, dukes of Luneburg, prince Wolfgang of Anhalt, the cities of Nuremberg and of Reutlingen have signed the confession. . . . Many bishops incline to peace, without caring about the sophisms of Eck and Faber. The archbishop of Mentz wishes for peace, as does duke Henry of Brunswick, who invited Melancthon familiarly to dinner, and assured him that he could not deny the reasonableness of the articles touching communion in both kinds, the marriage of priests, and the inutility of making distinctions as to matters of food. All our people confess that no one has shown himself more conciliatory in all the conferences than the emperor, who received our prince not only with kindness, but with respect." (July 6th.) The bishop of Augsburg, and even Charles V.'s confessor were favourably disposed to the Lutherans; and the Spaniard told Melancthon that he was surprised at Luther's view of faith being disputed in Germany, and that he had always entertained the same opinion. But whatever Luther may say of Charles V.'s graciousness, he closed the discussions by calling on the reformers to renounce their errors under pain of being put under the ban of the empire, seemed even inclined to use violence, and at one time closed the gates of Augsburg for a moment. "If the emperor chooses to publish an edict, let him; he published one after Worms. Let us listen to the emperor inasmuch as he is emperor, nothing more. What is that clown (he alludes to duke George) to us, who wishes to be thought emperor?" (July 15th.) "Our cause can defend itself better from violence and threats than from the Satanic wiles which I dread, especially at the present moment. . . . Let them restore us Leonard Keiser, and the many whom they have unjustly put to death; let them restore us the innumerable souls lost by their impious doctrine; let them restore all the wealth which they have accumulated with their deceitful indulgences and frauds of every kind; let them restore to God his glory violated by such innumerable blasphemies; let them restore, in person and in manners, that ecclesiastical purity which they have so shamefully sullied. What then? Then we, too, shall be able to speak *de Possessorio*." (July 13th.)

"The emperor intends simply to order all things to be restored to their pristine state, and the reign of the pope to recommence; which, I much fear, will excite great troubles, to the ruin of priests and clerks. The most powerful cities, as Nuremberg, Ulm, Augsburg, Frankfort, Strasburg, and twelve others, openly reject the imperial decree, and make common cause with our princes. You have heard of the inundations at Rome, and in Flanders and Brabant; signs sent of God, but not understood by the wicked. You are aware, too, of the vision of the monks of Spire. Brentius writes me word, that a numerous army has been seen in the air at Baden, and, on its flank, a soldier, triumphantly brandishing a lance, and who

passed by the adjoining mountain, and over the Rhine." (Dec. 5th.) Hardly was the diet dissolved before the Protestant princes assembled at Smalkalde, and concluded a defensive league, by which they agreed to form themselves into one body. (Dec. 31st.) They entered a protest against the election of Ferdinand to the title of king of the Romans; prepared for war, fixed the contingents, and addressed the kings of France, England, and Denmark. Luther was accused of having instigated the Protestants to assume this hostile attitude. "I have not advised resistance to the emperor, as has been reported. My opinion, as a theologian, is, If the jurists can show by their laws that resistance is allowable, I would leave them to follow their laws. If the emperor have ruled in his laws, that in such a case he may be resisted, let him suffer by the law of his own making. The prince is a political personage; in acting as prince, he does not act as Christian; for the Christian is neither prince, nor man, nor woman, nor any one of this world. If then it be lawful for the prince, as prince, to resist Cæsar, let him do as his judgment and his conscience dictate. To the Christian, nothing of the kind is lawful; he is dead to the world." (Jan. 15th, 1531.) This year, (1531), Luther wrote an answer to a small work anonymously printed at Dresden, which accused the Protestants of secretly arming themselves, and wishing to surprise the Catholics, who were thinking solely of peace and concord. "No one is to know the author of this work. Well, I will remain in ignorance too. I will have a *cold* for once, and not smell the awkward pedant. However, I will try my hand and strike boldly on the sack; if the blows fall on the ass that carries it, it will not be my fault; they were intended of course for the sack. Whether the charge against the Lutherans be true or not, is no concern of mine. I did not advise them to such a course; but, since the papists announce their belief in it, I can only rejoice in their illusions and alarms, and would willingly increase them if I could, were it only to kill them with fears. If Cain kills Abel, and Annas and Caiaphas persecute Jesus, 'tis just that they should be punished for it. Let them live in transports of alarm, tremble at the sound of a leaf, see in every quarter the phantom of insurrection and death; nothing juster. Is it not true, impostors, that when our confession of faith was presented at Augsburg, a papist said, 'Here they give us a book written with ink; would they had to record their answer in blood? Is it not true that the elector of Brandenburg, and duke George of Saxony, have promised the emperor a supply of five thousand horses against the Lutherans? Is it not true, that numbers of priests and lords have betted that it would be all over with the Lutherans before St. Michael's day? Is it not true, that the elector of Brandenburg has publicly declared, that the emperor and all the empire would devote body and goods to this end? Do you think your edict is not known? that we are unaware that by that edict all the swords of the empire are unsheathed and sharpened, all its cavalry in saddle, to fall upon the elector of Saxony and his party, in order to put all to fire and sword, and spread far and wide tears and desolation? Look at your edict; look at your murderous designs, sealed with your own seal and arms, and then dare accuse the Lutherans of troubling the

general harmony? O impudence, O boundless hypocrisy! . . . But I understand you. You would have us neglect to prepare for the war with which you have been so long threatening us, so that we may be slaughtered unresistingly, like sheep by the butcher. Your servant, my good friends, I, a preacher of the word, ought to endure all this, and all, to whom this grace is given, ought equally to endure it. But that all the rest will, I cannot answer for to the tyrants. Were I publicly to recommend our party so to do, the tyrants would take advantage of this, and I will not spare them the fear they entertain of our resistance. Do they wish to win their spurs by massacring us? Let them win them with risk, as it becomes brave knights. Cut-throats by trade, let them expect at least to be received like cutthroats.

. . . "I care not about being accused of violence; it shall be my glory and honour henceforward to have it said how I rage and storm against the papists. For more than ten years I have been humiliating myself, and speaking them fairly. To what end? Only to exasperate the evil. Those clowns are but the laughtier for it. Well! since they are incorrigible, since there is no longer any hope of shaking their infernal resolutions by kindness, I break with them, and will leave them no rest from my curses until I sink into the grave. They shall never more have a good word from me; I would have them buried to the sound of my thunders and lightnings. I can no longer pray without cursing. If I say, '*Hallowed be thy name*,' I feel myself constrained to add, '*Accursed be the name of papists, and of all who blaspheme thee!*' If I say, '*Thy kingdom come*,' I add, '*Cursed be the popedom, and all kingdoms opposed to thine.*' If I say, '*Thy will be done*,' I follow with, '*Cursed and disappointed be the schemes of the papists, and of all who fight against thee!*' . . . Such are my ardent prayers daily, and those of all the truly faithful in Christ. . . . Yet do I keep towards all the world a kind and loving heart, and my greatest enemies themselves know it well. Often in the night, when unable to sleep, I ponder in my bed, painfully and anxiously, how the papists may yet be won to repent, before a fearful judgment overtakes them. But it seems that it must not be. They scorn repentance, and ask for our blood with loud cries. The bishop of Salzburg said to Master Philip, at the diet of Augsburg: '*Wherefore so long disputing? We are well aware that you are in the right?*' and another day: '*You will not yield, nor will we, so one party must exterminate the other; you are the little, we the great one; we shall see which will gain the day.*' Never could I have thought to hear of such words being spoken."

CHAPTER II.

A.D. 1534 — 1536.

THE ANABAPTISTS OF MUNSTER.

WHILST the two great leagues of the princes are in presence, and seem to defy each other, a third starts up between them to their common dismay;—the people, again, as in the war of the peasants, but an organized people, in possession of a wealthy city. The *jacquerie* of the north, more systematic than that of the south, produces the ideal of the German

democracy of the sixteenth century—a biblical royalty, a popular David, a handicraft messiah. The mystic German companionship enthronises a tailor. His attempt was daring, not absurd. Anabaptism was in the ascendant, not in Munster only, but had spread into Westphalia, Brabant, Guelders, Holland, Frisia, and the whole littoral of the Baltic, as far as Livonia. The Anabaptists formalised the curse imprecated by the conquered peasants on Luther. They detested him as the friend of the nobles, the prop of civil authority, the *remora* of the Reformation. "There are four prophets—two true, two false; the true are David and John of Leyden, the false, the pope and Luther; but Luther is worse than the pope."

"How the Gospel first arose at Munster, and how it ended there after the destruction of the Anabaptists. A veritable history, and well worthy of being read and handed down (for the spirit of the Anabaptists of Munster still liveth); narrated by Henricus Dorpius of that city." We shall confine ourselves to a summary of this prolix narrative:—

Rothmann (a Lutheran or Zwinglyan) first preached the Reformation at Munster in 1532, with such success that the bishop, at the landgrave of Hesse's intercession, allowed the Gospellers the use of six of his churches. Shortly afterwards a journeyman tailor (Jolin of Leyden) introduced the doctrine of the Anabaptists into several families. He was aided in his labours by Herrmann Stapraeda an Anabaptist preacher of Mœrsa; and their secret meetings soon became so numerous, that Catholics and Reformers equally took the alarm, and expelled the Anabaptists from the city. But they boldly returned, intimidated the council, and compelled it to fix a day for a public discussion in the town-hall, on the baptism of children; and Rothmann himself became their convertite, and one of their leaders. . . . One day, one of their preachers runs through the streets, exclaiming, "Repent, repent; reform and be baptized, or suffer God's vengeance!" Whether through fear or religious zeal, many who heard him hurried to be baptized; and on this the Anabaptists throng the market-place, crying out, "Down with the pagans who will not be baptized." They seize the cannon and ammunition, take possession of the town-hall, and maltreat all Catholics and Lutherans they fall in with. The latter, in their turn, coalesce, and attack the Anabaptists. After various indecisive struggles, it was agreed that each party should be free to profess its own belief; but the Anabaptists broke the treaty, and secretly summoned their brethren in the adjoining cities to Munster:—"Leave all you have," they wrote, "houses, wives, children; leave all, and join us; your losses shall be made up to you tenfold. . . ." When the richer citizens saw the city crowded with strangers, they quitted it as they could (in Lent, 1534). Emboldened by their departure and the reinforcements they were receiving, the Anabaptists soon replaced the town council, which was Lutheran, with men of their own party. They next took to plundering the churches and convents, and scoured the city, armed with halberets, arquebusses, and clubs, exclaiming, "Repent, Repent!" a cry which soon became, "Quit the city, ye wicked! quit it, or be sacrificed!" and they pitilessly drove forth all who were not of their own sect, sparing neither aged men nor pregnant

women. Many of these poor fugitives fell into the bishop's hands, who was preparing to lay siege to the city, and who, disregardless of the fact that they were not Anabaptists, threw some into prison, and executed others.

The Anabaptists being now masters of the city, their chief prophet, John Matthiesen, ordered all to bring their goods into one common stock, without any reservation, under pain of death. The terrified people obeyed; and the property of those they had expelled the city was also appropriated. The prophet next proclaimed it to be the will of the Father, that all books should be burnt save the Old and New Testament; and twenty thousand florins' worth of books were accordingly burnt in the square before the cathedral. The same prophet shoots a farther dead, who has maligned the prophets; and, soon afterwards, runs through the streets, a halbert in his hand, crying out that the Father has ordered him to repulse the enemy. Hardly had he passed the gates before he was killed. He was succeeded by John of Leyden, who married his widow, and who reanimated the people, dispirited by the death of his predecessor. The bishop ordered the assault to be delivered on Pentecost, but was repulsed with great loss. John of Leyden named twelve of the faithful (among whom were three nobles) to be ancients in Israel. . . . He also announced new revelations from God concerning marriage; and the preachers, convinced by his arguments, preached for three days successively a plurality of wives. Many of the townsmen declared against the new doctrine, and even flung the preachers and one of the prophets into prison; but were soon obliged to release them, with a loss of forty-nine on their part.

On St. John's day, 1534, a new prophet, a goldsmith of Warendorff, assembled the people, and announced that it had been revealed to him that John of Leyden was to rule over the whole earth, and sit on the throne of David, until such time as God the Father should come and claim it. . . . The twelve ancients were deposed, and John of Leyden proclaimed king.

The more wives the Anabaptists took, the more the spirit of libertinism spread, and they committed fearful excesses on young girls of ten, twelve, and fourteen. These violences, and the distress consequent on the siege, alienated part of the inhabitants; and many suspected John of Leyden of imposition, and thought of giving him up to the bishop. The king redoubled his vigilance, and nominated twelve bishops to maintain his authority in the town (Twelfth-day, 1534), promising them the thrones of all the princes of the earth, and distributing beforehand among them, electorates and principalities, exempting from this proscription "the noble landgrave of Hesse" alone, whom he hopes to have to call a brother in the faith. . . . He named Easter-day as the time the town would be delivered. . . . One of the queens, having observed that she could not think it to be God's will that the people should be left to die of misery and hunger, the king led her to the market-place, made her kneel down in the midst of his other wives in the same posture, and struck off her head, whilst they sang, "*Glory to God in the highest*," and all the people danced around. Yet they were left with nothing to eat but bread and salt; and, towards the close of the siege, regularly distributed the

flesh of the dead, with the exception of such as had died of contagious diseases. On St. John's day, 1535, a deserter informed the bishop how he might attack the city with advantage; and it was taken the self-same day, after an obstinate resistance and a general massacre of the Anabaptists. The king, with his vicar and his lieutenant, was borne off prisoner between two horses, a double chain round his neck, and his head and his feet bare. . . . The bishop questioned him sternly on the horrible calamity of which he had been the cause, when he replied,—"Francis of Waldeck (the bishop's name), if I had had my way, they should have all died of hunger before I would have surrendered the city."

Many other interesting details are given in a document, inserted in the second volume of Luther's German works (Witt's edition), under the following title: *News of the Anabaptists of Munster*.

" . . . A week after the repulse of the first assault, the king began his reign by forming a complete court, appointing masters of ceremonies, and all the other officers usual in the courts of secular princes; and he chose a queen out of his wives, who has her court likewise. She is a handsome Dutch woman, of noble birth, who was the wife of a prophet recently killed, and who left her in the family way. The king has one-and-thirty horses covered with housings of cloth of gold, and has had costly robes made for himself, adorned with the gold and silver ornaments taken from the churches. His squire is similarly arrayed; and he wears, besides, golden rings, as do the queen and her virgins. When the king parades the city in state, on horseback, he is accompanied by pages; one, on his right hand, bearing the crown and the Bible; another, a naked sword. One of them is the bishop of Munster's son, who is a prisoner, and who is the king's valet. The king's triple crown is surmounted by a globe, transfixured with a golden and a silver sword; and in the middle of the pommels of the two swords, is a small cross on which is inscribed, *A king of justice over the world*. The queen wears the same. In this array, the king repairs thrice a week to the market-place, where he seats himself on a throne made on purpose. His lieutenant, named Knipperdolling, stands a step lower, and then come the councillors. All who have business with the king, incline their bodies twice before the king, and prostrate themselves on the ground at the third inclination, before entering on their business. One Tuesday, they celebrated the holy supper in the public square; about four thousand two hundred sat down to table. There were three courses; bouilli, ham, then roast meat. The king, his wives, and their servants waited on the guests. After the meal, the king and the queen took barley bread, broke it, and distributed it, saying, 'Take, eat, and proclaim the Lord's death.' They then handed a jug of wine, saying, 'Take, drink all of you, and proclaim the Lord's death.' In like manner, the guests broke their cakes, and presented them to each other, saying, 'Brothers and sisters, take and eat. Even as Jesus Christ offered himself up for me, so do I wish to offer myself up for thee; and even as the grains of barley are joined in this cake, and the grapes in this wine, so are we united.' They also exhorted one another to use no idle words, or break the law of the Lord; and concluded by returning thanks to God, ending with the canticle, *Glory be to God in*

the highest. The king, his wives, and servants, then sat down with them at table. When all was over, the king asked the assembly, whether they were ready to do and suffer God's will? They all replied, *Yea*. Then the prophet John of Warendorff, arose and said, 'That God had bade him send forth some from among them to announce the miracles which they had witnessed,' adding, that those whom he should name were to repair to four towns of the empire, and preach there. . . . Each of these was presented with a piece of gold, of the value of nine florins, together with money for his expenses; and they set out that very evening.

"They reached the appointed cities on the eve of St. Gall, and paraded the streets, crying out, 'Repent ye, for God's mercy is exhausted. The axe is already at the root of the tree. Your city must accept peace, or perish!' Taken before the council, they laid their cloaks on the ground, and casting into them the said pieces of gold, they said, 'We are sent by the Father to declare peace unto you. If you accept it, bring all your goods together in common; if you will not, we protest against you before God with this piece of gold, which shall be for a witness that you have rejected the peace which he sent you. The time is now come foretold by the prophets, the time when God wills there to be only justice upon earth; and when the king shall have established the reign of justice all over the earth, then Jesus Christ will remit the government into the hands of the Father.' They were then thrown into prison, and interrogated on their belief, way of life, &c. . . . They said that there were four prophets, two true, two false; that the true were David and John of Leyden; the false, the pope and Luther. 'Luther,' they said, 'is still worse than the pope.' They consider all Anabaptists elsewhere as damned. . . . 'In Munster,' they said, 'we have in general from five to eight wives, or more; but each is obliged to confine himself to one until she is pregnant. All young girls, above twelve, must marry.' . . . They destroy churches and all buildings consecrated to God. . . . They are expecting, at Munster, people from Groningen and other countries of Holland, and when they come, the king will arise with all his forces, and subjugate the whole earth. They hold it to be impossible to comprehend Scripture aright, without its being interpreted by prophets; and when it is objected to them that they cannot justify their enterprise by Scripture, some say that their Father does not allow them to explain themselves thereupon; others answer, 'The prophet has commanded it by God's order.' Not one of them would purchase mercy by retreating. They sang and returned thanks to God that they had been found worthy to suffer for his name's sake."

The Anabaptists, who were called upon by the landgrave of Hesse to justify themselves for having elected a king, replied (Jan. 1535), "That the time for the restoration mentioned by the holy books was come; that the Gospel had thrown open to them the prison of Babylon; and that it now behoved to render unto the Babylonians according to their works; and that an attentive perusal of the prophets and the Apocalypse, &c., would show the landgrave whether they had elected a king of themselves or by God's order, &c."

After the convention entered into in 1533, between the bishop of Munster and the city, and

which was brought about by the mediation of the landgrave of Hesse's councillors. . . . the Anabaptists sent the landgrave their book *De Restitutione*. He read it with indignation, and ordered his theologians to reply to it, and to oppose the Anabaptists on nine points, which he particularly specified, and in which he objects to them, amongst other things,—1st, The making justification consist not in faith alone, but in faith and works together. 2nd, Of unjustly accusing Luther of never having preached good works. 3rd, Of defending free-will. In the *De Restitutione*, the Anabaptists classified the whole history of the world into three principal parts. "The first world, which lasted until Noah, was sunk beneath the waters. The second, that in which we live, will be melted and purified by fire. The third will be a new heaven and a new earth, inhabited by justice. This is what God prefigured in the holy ark, in which there were the porch, the sanctuary, and the Holy of Holies. . . . The coming of the third world will be preceded by universal restitution and chastisement. The wicked will be put to death, the reign of justice prepared, Christ's enemies cast down, and all things restored. It is this time which is now beginning."

"*Discourse or Discussion, held at Beverger, by Anthony Corvinus and John Kynneus, with John of Leyden, king of Munster.*—When the king entered our room, with his gaoler, we gave him a friendly greeting, and invited him to take a seat by the fire. We enquired after his health, and how he felt in his prison. He replied that he suffered from the cold there, and was ill at heart, but that since it was God's will, he ought to endure all patiently. By degrees, and conversing friendly with him, for we could get nothing out of him by any other means, we drew him on to speak of his kingdom and his doctrine as follows:—

Opening of the examination. The ministers. "Dear John, we have heard extraordinary and horrible things of your government. If they are as told us, and, unfortunately, the whole is only too true, we cannot conceive how you can justify your undertaking from Holy Scripture."

The king. "What we have done and taught, we have done and taught rightfully, and we can justify our undertaking, our actions, and our doctrine before God, and to whomsoever it belongs to judge us."

The ministers object to him, that the spiritual kingdom of Jesus Christ is alone spoken of in Scripture; "My kingdom is not of this world," are his own words.

The king. "I clearly comprehend your argument touching the spiritual kingdom of Jesus, and do not contravene the texts you quote. But you must distinguish the spiritual kingdom of Jesus Christ, which has reference to the time of suffering, and of which, after all, neither you nor Luther have any clear notion, from that other kingdom, which, after the resurrection, will be established in this world for a thousand years. All the texts which treat of the spiritual kingdom of Jesus, relate to the time of suffering; but those which we find in the prophets and the Apocalypse, and which treat of the temporal kingdom, refer to the time of glory and of power, which Jesus will enjoy in this world with his followers. Our kingdom of Munster was an image of this temporal kingdom of Christ's. You know that God announces many things by figures. We believed that our kingdom

would last until the coming of the Lord ; but we now see our error on this point, and that of our prophets. However, since we have been in prison, God has revealed to us the true understanding . . . I am not ignorant that you commonly refer those passages to Christ's spiritual kingdom, which ought to be understood of the temporal. But of what use are these spiritual interpretations, if nothing is to be one day realized ? . . . God's chief object in creating the world, was to take pleasure in men, to whom he has given a reflection of his strength and his power."

The ministers. "And how will you justify yourself when God shall ask you on the day of judgment, 'Who made you king ? Who ordered you to diffuse such frightful errors, to the great detriment of my word ?'"

The king. "I shall answer, 'The prophets of Munster ordered me so to do, as being your divine will ; in proof whereof they pledged me their body and soul.'"

The ministers enquire what divine revelations he enjoyed touching his elevation to the throne.

The king. "I was vouchsafed no revelation ; only thoughts came into my head, that there must be a king in Munster, and that I must be that king. These thoughts deeply agitated and afflicted me. I prayed to God to deign to consider my inability, and not to load me with such a burden ; but if he willed otherwise, I besought him to grant that I should be designated as the chosen person by prophets worthy of faith, and in possession of his word, so held my peace, and communicated my thoughts to no one. But a fortnight afterwards, a prophet arose in the midst of the people, and proclaimed that God had made known to him that John of Leyden was to be king. He announced the same to the council, who immediately divested themselves of their power and proclaimed me king. He, likewise, placed in my hand the sword of justice. On this wise it was that I became king."

SECOND ARTICLE. *The king.* "We only resisted the authorities because they forbade us our baptism and God's word, and we resisted to violence. You assert that we acted wrongfully therein, but does not St. Peter say, that we are to obey God rather than men ? . . . You would not pass wholesale condemnation on what we have done, did you know how those things took place." . . .

The ministers. "Set off and justify your acts as you may, you will not the less be rebels and guilty of high treason. The Christian is bound to suffer ; and though the whole council had been of your party, (which was not the case,) you ought to have borne with violence rather than have begun such a schism, sedition, and tyranny, in opposition alike to the word of God, the majesty of the emperor, the royal dignity, and that of the electorate, and princes and states of the empire."

The king. "We know what we have done ; God be our judge."

The ministers. "We, too, know the foundation we have for what we say : God be our judge, likewise!"

THIRD ARTICLE. *The king.* "We have been besieged and destroyed on account of God's holy word ; for it, have suffered hunger and all evils, have lost our friends, and have fallen into this frightful calamity ! Those of us who still live will die unresistingly, and uncomplainingly, like the slaughtered lamb." . . .

FIFTH ARTICLE. The king said, that he had long been of Zwingle's opinion ; but that he returned to the belief in transubstantiation. Only he does not grant his interlocutors that it is operant in him who is without faith.

SIXTH ARTICLE. " . . . What then do ye make of Jesus Christ, if he did not receive flesh and blood from his mother Mary ? Will you have him to have been a phantom, a spectre ? Our Urbanus Regius must print a second book to teach to understand your native tongue, or your asses' heads will always be impervious to instruction."

The king. "If you knew the infinite consolation contained in the knowledge that Jesus Christ, God and Son of the living God, became man, and shed his blood, not Mary's, to redeem our sins (He who is without blemish), you would not speak as you do, and you would not entertain such contempt for our belief."

SEVENTH ARTICLE. *On Polygamy.* The king objects to the ministers the examples of the patriarchs. The ministers entrench themselves behind the generally established custom of modern times, and declare marriage to be *res politica*. The king contends that it is better to have many wives than many harlots, and concludes again with the words, "God be our judge."

Although drawn up by the ministers themselves, the impression left by a perusal of this document is not favourable to them. One cannot help admiring the firmness, good sense, and modest simplicity of the king of Munster, which were made more conspicuous still by the pedantic harshness of his interlocutors.

Corvinus and Kymeus to the Christian reader : "We have reported our conversation with the king, almost word for word, without omitting one of his arguments ; only we have put them into our own language, and stated them more scholarly. About a week after, he sent to beg us to confer again with him. We had a fresh discussion, which lasted two days. We found him more docile than the first time, but only saw in this a desire to save his life. He voluntarily declared, that if pardoned, he would, with the help of Melchior Hoffman, and his queens, exhort to silence and obedience all the Anabaptists, who, according to him, are very numerous in Holland, Brabant, England, and Frisia ; and even get them to baptize their children, until arrangements could be entered into with the civil power with regard to their religion." . . . There follows a new profession of faith, in which John of Leyden, whilst exhorting the Anabaptists to obedience, gives it to be understood that he means outward obedience only. He recants none of his peculiar doctrines, and desires liberty of conscience. With regard to the Eucharist, he declares all his brethren to be Zwinglians, but states that God has shown him his error on this point whilst in prison. This confession is signed in Dutch : *I, John of Leyden, signed with my own hand.*

On the 19th of January, 1536, John of Leyden, and Knipperdolling and Krechting, his vicar and his lieutenant, were removed from their dungeons ; and the next day the bishop sent his chaplain to confer with them separately on their belief and acts. The king testified repentance and retracted ; but the two others justified all they had done. . . . The morning of the 22nd all the gates of Munster were closed ; and, about eight o'clock, the king,

stripped to the waist, was led to a scaffold erected in the market-place, which was guarded by two hundred foot soldiers and three hundred horse, and crowded with spectators. He was bound to a post, and two executioners tore off his flesh by turns with red-hot pincers, until at last one of them plunged a knife into his breast, and so finished the execution, which had lasted for an hour. "At the three first wrenches of the pincers the king uttered no cry; but, afterwards, kept incessantly exclaiming, with eyes raised to heaven, '*O my Father, take pity on me!*' and he prayed to God earnestly to forgive him his sins. When he felt himself sinking, he exclaimed: '*O my Father, I yield my spirit into thy hands,*' and expired. His dead body was flung upon a hurdle, and dragged to the open place in front of St. Lambert's tower, where three iron panniers were ready, into one of which it was put, and secured with chains, and then hoisted to the top of the tower, where it was suspended by a hook. Knipperdolling and Krechting were executed in the same horrible manner; and their bodies placed in the two other panniers, and suspended on either side of John of Leyden's, only not so high."

Luther's preface to the News of the Anabaptists of Munster:—"Ah! what and how ought I to write against or upon these poor people of Munster! Is it not clear that the devil reigns there in person, or, rather, that there is a whole troop of devils? Let us, however, recognize here the infinite grace and mercy of God. After Germany, by innumerable blasphemies and the blood of so many innocents, has deserved so severe a rod, still the Father of all mercy withholds the devil from striking his deadliest blow, and gives us paternal warning by the gross game Satan is playing at Munster. God's power constrains the spirit of a hundred wiles to set about his work awkwardly and unskillfully, in order to allow us time to escape by repentance from the better-aimed blows reserved for us. In fact, for the spirit who seeks to deceive the world to begin by taking women, by stretching forth the hand to grasp honours and the kingly sword, or else, by slaughtering people, is too gross. All can see that such a spirit only seeks its own elevation, and to crush all besides. To deceive, you should don a grey gown, assume a sad and piteous air, refuse money, eat no meat, fly women like poison, reject as damnable all temporal power, refuse the sword, then stoop gently down and stealthily pick up crown, sword, and keys. A show like this might deceive even the wise and spiritual. There were a fine devil, with feathers finer than peacock or pheasant! But to seize the crown so impudently, to take not only one wife, but as many as caprice and lust dictates! Ah! this is the act of a devilkin in his horn-book; or else, of the true Satan, the learned and able Satan, but fagoted by God's hands with such potent chains as to be unable to act more cunningly. And so the Lord warns us to dread his chastisements, lest he leave the field free to a learned devil, who will attack us, not with the A, B, C, but with the true text, the difficult text. If he does such things as a devilkin at school, what would he not do as a rational, wise, learned, lawyer-like doctor of divinity devil?"

"... When God, in his wrath, deprives us of his word, no deceit of the devil's is too gross. The first attempts of Mahomet were gross; yet, God interposing no obstacle in his way, a damnable and

infamous empire has grown up, as all the world knows: and if God had not been our aid against Münzer, a Turkish empire would have arisen through him, like unto Mahomet's. In fine, no spark is so small, but that, if God suffers the devil to blow at it, a fire may be kindled to consume the whole world. The best weapon against the devil is the sword of the Spirit, the word of God. The devil is a spirit, and laughs at cuirass, horse, and horseman. But our lords, bishops, and princes will not allow the Gospel to be preached, and souls to be rescued from the devil by the divine word: they think throat-cutting sufficient, and so rob the devil of bodies whilst leaving him souls. They will succeed in like manner as the Jews, who thought to exterminate Christ by crucifying him. . . . The Munsterites, among other blasphemies, speak of the birth of Jesus Christ as if he did not come (such is their language) of the seed of Mary, and yet was of the seed of David. But they do not explain themselves clearly. The devil keeps the hot soup in his mouth, and only mutters *mum, mum*, meaning, probably, to infer worse. All that one can make out is, that according to them, Mary's seed or flesh cannot redeem us. Well, devil! mutter and spit as you list, that one little word *born* overthrows all you say. In all tongues, and over all the earth, the child of flesh and blood, who issues from the entrails of woman, is said to be *born*, and nothing else. Now, Scripture every where says, that Jesus Christ is *born* of his mother Mary, and is her first-born. So speak Isaiah, Gabriel, &c. 'Thou shalt conceive, &c.' To *conceive*, my duck, does not mean to be a funnel through which water flows (according to the Manichean blasphemy), but that a child is taken out of the flesh and blood of his mother, is nourished in her, grows in her, and is at last brought into the world. The other tenet maintained by these folk, namely, that infant baptism is a pagan rite, is similarly gross. And since they regard all that the wicked possess as unholy, why did they not reject the gold, silver, and other goods they took from the wicked in Munster? They ought to coin quite new gold and silver. . . Their wicked kingdom is so visibly a kingdom of gross impurity and revolt, that it reeks not to speak of it. I have already said too much."

CHAPTER III.

A. D. 1536 — 1545.

LATTER YEARS OF LUTHER'S LIFE.—POLYGAMY OF THE LANDGRAVE OF HESSE, &c.

THE momentary union of the Catholics and Protestants against the Anabaptists, left them only the greater enemies. A general council was talked of; but the pope dreaded it, and the Protestants rejected it beforehand. "I hear from the diet that the emperor urges a council on our friends, and is indignant at their refusal. I cannot understand these monstrosities. The pope asserts that heretics cannot sit in a council; the emperor wishes us to consent to the council and its decrees. Perhaps God is turning them mad. . . . But their mad design, no doubt, is, that since pope, emperor, church, and diets have failed, they will try to cry us down by representing us as so lost and desperate, as to reject the council which we have so often

asked for. See Satan's cleverness against the poor fool of a God, who, undoubtedly, will be put to it to escape such well-laid snares! . . . Now, it is the Lord who will make a mock of them who mock him. If we agree to a council so disposed towards us, why did we not five-and-twenty years since submit to the pope, the lord of councils and to all his bulls?" (July 9th, 1545.)

A council might have concentrated the catholic hierarchy, but could not have re-established the unity of the church. The question could be settled by arms only. The Protestants had already driven the Austrians out of Wirttemberg, had despoiled Henry of Brunswick, who was turning the execution of the decrees of the Imperial Chamber into a source of profit for himself, and were encouraging the archbishop of Cologne to follow the example of Albert of Brandenburg, and secularize his archbishopric, which would have given them a majority in the electoral council. However, some attempts were still made at reconciliation, and conferences uselessly opened at Worms and Ratisbon (A.D. 1540, 1541), at which Luther did not even think it necessary to be present. He writes that he hears from Melancthon that the numbers of learned personages, from all quarters, in the synod at Worms, exceeds all precedent; and, speaking of the stratagems resorted to by the Catholic party, says, "One would fancy one saw Satan himself, with the break of day, running to and fro in a vain search for some den dark enough to shut out the light which pursues him." (Jan. 9th, 1541.) Luther's opinion was desired upon ten articles, which had been agreed upon by the two parties, when the elector, hearing that they were about to be forwarded without being first submitted to him, drew up a reply himself; an interference which would have aroused Luther's indignation some years before, but by this time he seems to have felt wearied and disgusted with the consciousness that his labours to re-establish evangelical purity, had only furnished the great of the earth with the means of satisfying their terrestrial ambition. "Our excellent prince has given me the conditions of peace to read, which he intends to propose to the emperor and our adversaries. I see that they consider the whole affair as a comedy to be played amongst them, whilst it is a tragedy betwixt God and Satan, in which Satan triumphs, and God is humiliated. But the catastrophe will come, when the Almighty, author of this tragedy, will give us the victory." (April 4th, 1541.)

We noticed at an early period of this narrative, the melancholy state of dependance in which the Reformation was placed on the princes that espoused the cause. Luther had time to foresee the results. These princes were men, with men's caprices and passions; and hence concessions, which, without being contrary to the principles of the Reformation, seemed to redound little to the honour of the reformers. The most warlike of these princes, the hot-headed landgrave of Hesse, submitted to Luther and the Protestant ministers, that his health would not allow of his confining himself to one wife. His instructions to Bucer for the negotiation of this matter with the theologians of Wittenberg, are a curious mixture of sensuality, of religious fears, and of daring simplicity. "Ever since I have been married," he writes, "I have lived in adultery and fornication; and as I won't give up this way of living, I cannot present myself

at the holy table; for St. Paul has said, that the adulterer shall not enter the kingdom of heaven." He proceeds to state the reasons which drive him into this course: "My wife is neither good-looking nor good-tempered; she is not sweet; she drinks, and my chamberlains can tell what she then does, &c. I am of a warm complexion, as the physicians can prove; and as I often attend the imperial diets, where the body is pampered with high living, how am I to manage there without a wife, especially as I can't be always taking a seraglio about with me? . . . How can I punish fornication and other crimes, when all may turn round and say, 'Master, begin with yourself?' . . . Were I to take up arms for the Gospel's sake, I could only do so with a troubled conscience, for I should say to myself, 'If you die in this war, you go to the devil.' . . . I have read both the Old and New Testament carefully, and find no other help indicated than to take a second wife; and I ask before God, why cannot I do what Abraham, Jacob, David, Lamech, and Solomon have done?" The question of polygamy had been agitated from the very beginning of Protestantism, which professed to restore the world to scriptural life; and, whatever his repugnance, Luther durst not condemn the Old Testament. Besides, the Protestants held marriage to be *res politica*, and subject to the regulations of the civil power. Luther, too, had already held, theoretically, and without advising it to be put in practice, the very doctrine advanced by the landgrave. He had written years before: . . . "I confess, I cannot say that polygamy is repugnant to Holy Scripture, yet would not have the practice introduced amongst Christians, who ought to abstain even from what is lawful, in order to avoid scandal, and in order to maintain that *honestas* (decorum) which St. Paul requireth under all circumstances." (Jan. 13th, 1524.) "Polygamy is not allowable amongst Christians, except in cases of absolute necessity, as when a man is forced to separate from a leprous wife, &c." . . . (March 21st, 1527.) Having one day put the case to doctor Basilus, whether a man, whose wife was afflicted with some incurable malady, might take a concubine, and receiving an answer in the affirmative, Luther observed, "It would be of dangerous precedent, since excuses might be daily invented for procuring divorces." (A.D. 1539.)

Luther was greatly embarrassed by the landgrave's message. All the theologians of Wittenberg assembled to draw up an answer, and the result was a compromise. He was allowed a double marriage, on condition that his second wife should not be publicly recognized. "Your highness must be aware of the difference between establishing a universal and granting an exceptional law. . . . We cannot publicly sanction a plurality of wives. . . . We pray your highness to consider the dangers in which a man would stand who should introduce a law that would disunite families, and plunge them into endless law-suits. . . . Your highness's constitution is weak, you sleep badly, and your health requires every care. . . . The great Scanderbeg often exhorted his soldiers to chastity, saying that nothing was so injurious in their calling as incontinence. . . . We pray your highness seriously to take into consideration the scandals, cares, labours, griefs, and infirmities herein brought under your notice. . . . If, never-

theless, your highness is fully resolved to take a second wife, we are of opinion that the marriage should be secret. . . . Given at Wittemberg, after the festival of St. Nicholas, 1539.—MARTIN LUTHER, PHILIP MELANCHTHON, MARTIN BUCER, ANTONY CORVIN, ADAM, JOHN LENING, JUSTIN WINTFERT, DYONISIUS MELANTHER."

It was hard for Luther, who, both as theologian and as a father of a family, was identified with the sanctity of the marriage tie, to declare that in virtue of the Old Testament two wives might seat themselves, with their jealousies and their hates, at the same domestic hearth; and he groaned under this cross. "As to the *Macedonian* business, grieve not overmuch, since things are come to that pass, that neither joy nor sadness availeth. Why kill ourselves? Why allow sorrow to banish the thoughts of him who has overcome all deaths and all sorrows? Did not he who conquered the devil and routed the prince of this world, at the self-same time judge and conquer this scandal? . . . Let Satan triumph, and let us be neither chagrined nor grieved, but let us rejoice in Christ, who will discomfit all our enemies." (June 18th, 1540.) He seems to have looked to the emperor's interfering. "If Cæsar and the empire will, as they perforce must, put a stop to this scandal, an edict will soon stay it, and prevent its being hereafter used as either a right or an example." From this time forward, Luther's letters, and those of Melanchthon, are full of disgust and sadness.

On Luther's being asked for a letter of recommendation to the court of Dresden, he replies, that he has lost all credit and influence there; in that "worldly court," as he sometimes calls it. To a friend (Lauterbach) he writes: "I will be present at your marriage in mind, not in body, being hindered, not only by pressure of business, but by the fear of offending the Mamelukes and queen of the kingdom (the duchess Catherine of Saxony?) for who is not offended with Luther's folly?" "You ask me, my dear Jonas, to write an occasional word of comfort to you. But I stand much more in need of your letters to revive me, who, like Lot, have so much to endure in the midst of this infamous and Satanic ingratitude, this horrible contempt for the Lord's word. . . . I must, then, see Satan take possession of the hearts of those who fancy that the chiefest seats in the kingdom of Heaven are reserved for them alone!" The Protestants were already beginning to relax from their severity of manners, and the bagnios were reopened. "Better," exclaims Luther, "not to have driven out Satan, than to bring him back in greater force." (Sept. 13th, 1540.)

"The pope, the emperor, the Frenchman, and Ferdinand, have despatched a magnificent embassy to the Turks to demand peace . . . and, last of all, for fear of offending the eyes of the Turks, the ambassadors have put themselves into Turkish robes. I trust these are blessed signs of the approaching end of all things!" (July 17th, 1545.)

To Jonas. "Hark in thy ears! I shrewdly suspect that we Lutherans shall be packed off to fight the Turks single-handed. King Ferdinand has removed the war-chest from Bohemia, and forbade a single soldier to stir, and the emperor does nothing; as if it were settled that we should be exterminated by the Turks." (Dec. 29th, 1542.) "Nothing new here, except that the margrave of Brandenburg is getting evil spoken of by every one, with regard to the war in Hungary. They speak just the same of Ferdinand. I desecry so many and such probable reasons for it, that I cannot help believing there is horrible and deadly treachery there." (Jan. 26th, 1542.) "I ask, what will be the end of this horrible treachery of the princes and kings?" (Dec. 16th, 1543.) "May God avenge us on the incendiaries (Luther speaks, almost every month, of fires occurring at Wittemberg). Satan has devised a new plan for getting rid of us. Our wine is poisoned, and lime mixed with our milk. Twelve persons have been killed by poisoned wine at Jena. Perhaps they died of excess of drink; but at all events, it is given out for certain that dealers have been detected selling poisoned milk at Magdeburg and Northuse." (April, 1541.) He writes to Amsdorf, on occasion of the plague at Magdeburg: "What you tell me of the alarm felt of the plague, reminds me of what I observed some years since; and I am surprised to see that the more life in Christ Jesus is preached, the stronger grows the fear of death; whether this fear were lessened, during the reign of the pope, by a false hope of life, and that now the true hope of life is placed before the people, they feel how weak nature is to believe in the conqueror of death, or that God tempts us by these weaknesses, and allows Satan to grow bolder and stronger on account of this alarm! Whilst we believed in the pope, we were as drunkards, men asleep, or fools, mistaking death for life, that is, ignorant of the nature of death and of God's wrath. Now that the light has shone upon us, and that God's wrath is better known, nature has shaken off sleep and folly, and hence greater fear than before. . . . Here I apply the passage of the seventy-first Psalm, '*Cast me not away in the time of age; forsake me not when my strength faileth me.*' For I think that these are the latter days of Christ, and the time of casting down; that is, the time of the last great assault of the devil, as David, in his latter days, weakened by years, would have fallen before the giant, had not Abishai come to his aid. . . . I have learnt almost all this year to sing with St. Paul, '*As dying, and behold, we live;*' and '*By your rejoicing, which I have in Christ Jesus our Lord, I die daily.*' When he says to the Corinthians, '*In deaths oft,*' this was not meditating or speculating on death, but the sensation of death itself, as if hope of life there were none." (Nov. 20th, 1538.) "I trust that with this rending of the world, Christ will hasten his coming and crush the globe to atoms, *ut fractus illabatur orbis.*" (Feb. 12th, 1538.)

BOOK THE FOURTH.

A.D. 1539—1546.

CHAPTER I.

LUTHER'S CONVERSATIONS ON DOMESTIC LIFE, ON WIVES
AND CHILDREN, AND ON NATURE.

LET us pause in this sad history of the last years of his public life, and retire with Luther into his private life, seat ourselves at his table, by the side of his wife, and in the midst of his children and friends, and listen to the grave words of the pious and tender father of a family.

"The man who insults preachers and women, will never succeed well. From women proceed children, the future heads of families and of the state. To despise them, is to despise God and man." "The Saxon law is too hard in giving the widow a chair and her distaff only. The first we should interpret to mean, a house; the second, her maintenance. We pay our lacquey; what do I say, we give more to a beggar?" "There can be no doubt, that women who die in the faith in child-bearing, are saved, because they die fulfilling the end for which God created them." "In the Low Countries, the priest, on his induction, chooses some little girl as his betrothed, in sign of honouring the marriage state."

Luther being asked whether a Christian preacher, who is bound to suffer imprisonment and persecution for the world's sake, ought not much more to do without marriage? replied: "It is easier to endure imprisonment than desire, as I know in my own person. The more I strove to macerate and subdue the flesh, the more I lusted. Even though gifted with chastity, one ought to marry to spite the pope. . . . Had I been seized with a fatal illness, I should have wished to summon some pious maid to my death-bed, and wed her, presenting her with two silver goblets as a wedding-gift and morrow's present (*morgengabe*), in order to show how I honoured marriage." To a friend he writes: "If you lust, marry. You want a wife at once beautiful, pious, and rich. Well, you can have one painted, with red cheeks and white limbs, and such are the most pious; but they are worth nothing for kitchen or couch. . . . No one will ever have to repent rising early and marrying young. . . . It is no more possible to do without a wife than without eating and drinking. Conceived, nourished, borne within the body of woman, our flesh is mainly hers, and it is impossible for us ever to separate wholly from her. . . . Had I wished to make love, I should have taken thirteen years ago to Ave Schoufeldin, who is now the wife of doctor Basilus, the Prussian physician. At that time I did not love my Catherine, whom I suspected of being proud and haughty; but it was God's will; it was his will that I should take pity on her, and I have cause, God be praised, to be satisfied."

"The greatest grace God can bestow is to have a good and pious husband, with whom you may live in peace, to whom you can trust every thing, even your body and your life, and by whom you have

little children. Catherine, thou hast a pious husband, who loves thee; thou art an empress. Thanks be to God!"

Alluding to immorality in men, Luther observed: "Let them know that they are, after all, but despisers of the sex, who were not created for their brutal pleasures. . . . 'Tis a great thing for a young girl to be always loved, and the devil but seldom allows it. . . . My hostess of Eisenach said well, when I was a student there: '*There is no sweeter pleasure upon earth than to be loved by a woman.*'"

"On St. Martin's day (doctor Martin Luther's birth-day), master Ambrosius Brend came to ask him his niece in marriage. . . . One day, surprising them in close conversation, he burst out laughing, and said: 'I am not surprised at a lover having so much to say to his mistress; can they ever tire? We must not put them out of the way; they have a privilege above law and custom!' When he betrothed her to him, he addressed him as follows:—'Sir, and dear friend, I give you this young maid, such as God in his goodness gave her unto me. I confide her to your hands. May God bless you, sanctify your union, and make it happy!' "Being present at the marriage of John Luffte's daughter, he led her to her bed after supper, and said to the husband, that, according to common custom, he was to be master of the house. . . . when the wife was not in it; and, in token of this, he took one of the husband's shoes, and put it on the top of the bed, showing that he so assumed dominion and government."

Being one day in very high spirits at table, "Be not scandalized," he said, "to see me so merry. I have heard a great deal of bad news to-day, and have just read a letter violently abusing me. Our affairs must be going on well, since the devil is storming so!"

"Were I to make love again, I would have an obedient wife carved for me in stone; I should despair of getting one any other way." "Strange thoughts come into one's head the first year of marriage. When at table, one says to oneself, 'Just now thou wert alone, now thou art two' (*selbender*). On awaking, one sees another bed by the side of one's own. The first year my Catherine used to sit by me whilst I was studying, and, not knowing what to say, she asked me, 'Sir doctor, in Prussia, is not the *maître d'hôtel* the margrave's brother?' " "There should be no delay between the betrothals and the marriage. . . . Friends interpose obstacles. . . . All my best friends kept crying, 'Don't take her, take another.' " "A sure sign that God is hostile to the papacy is, that he has refused it the blessing of corporeal fruit (children). . . . When Eve was brought before Adam, he was filled with the Holy Ghost, and gave her the most beautiful and glorious of names, calling her *Eva*, that is, mother of all living. He did not call her his wife, but mother, mother of all living. This is woman's glory, and

most precious ornament. She is *Fons omnium viventium*, the source of all human life; a brief phrase, but such as neither Demosthenes nor Cicero could have expressed. The Holy Ghost here speaks by our first father, and having passed so noble a eulogy on marriage, it is but right in us to extenuate the weaknesses of women. No more did Jesus Christ, the Son of God, despise marriage. He is himself born of woman, which is a high testimony to marriage."

"We find an image of marriage in all creatures, not only in birds, beasts, and fishes, but in trees and stones too. Every one knows that there are trees, like the apple and the pear tree, which are, as it were, husband and wife, which desiderate each other, and which thrive more when they are planted together. The same is observable of stones, especially precious stones, such as the coral, emerald, and others. The sky, also, is the husband of the earth, vivifying it by the warmth of the sun, by the rain and the wind, and so leading it to bear all sorts of plants and fruits."

The doctor's little children were standing before the table, anxiously watching the fishes that were being served up, when he remarked,—“If you wish to see the image of a soul in the fruition of hope, there it is. Ah! would we could look forward to the life to come with the same delight.” His little girl, Madeleine, being brought in to sing to her cousin the song beginning, *The pope invokes the emperor and the kings*, &c., and refusing, notwithstanding coaxing and threats, the doctor said, “Nothing good comes of force: without grace, the works of the law are valueless.” “I see nothing contradictory in the injunction, *Serve the Lord with fear and rejoice with trembling*. My little John does so with regard to me, but I cannot with regard to God. When writing, or otherwise busied, he will begin a little song, and if he sing too loud, and I check him, he will go on, but to himself, and with a touch of fear. So God wishes us to be always cheerful, yet with awe and reserve.” One new-year's day, he and his wife were exceedingly put out at being unable to still the baby, who kept on screaming more than an hour; at last, he said, “These are the vexations of married life. . . . This is the reason none of the Fathers has written any thing remarkably good on the subject. Jerome has spoken degradingly, I should almost say in an anti-Christian spirit, of marriage. . . . St. Augustine on the contrary.” . . . His wife placing his youngest child in his arms, he observed, “Would I had died at this age; willingly would I forego any honour I may obtain in this world to die an infant!” The child dirtying him, he said, “Oh! how much more must our Lord endure with us than a mother with her child.” He addressed his baby with, “Thou art our Lord's innocent little fool, living under grace and not under the law. Thou art without fear or anxiety, and all that thou doest is well done.” “Children are the happiest. We old fools are ever distressing ourselves with disputes about the word, constantly asking ourselves, ‘Is it true? Is it possible? How can it be possible?’ Children, in their pure and guileless faith, have no doubts on matters appertaining to salvation. . . . Like them, we ought to trust for salvation to the simple word; but the devil is ever throwing some stumbling-block in our way.” Another time, as his wife was giving the breast to

his little Martin, he said, “The pope and duke George hate this child, and all belonging to me, as do their partizans and the devil. However, they give no uneasiness to the dear child, and he does not concern himself what such powerful enemies may do. He sticks to the teat, or crows laughingly aloud, and leaves them to grumble their fill.” One day, that Spalatin and Lenhart Beier, pastor of Zwickau, were with him, he pointed to his little Martin playing with a doll, and said, “Even such were man's thoughts in Paradise, simple, innocent, and free from malice or hypocrisy; he must have been like this child when he speaks of God and is so sure of him. What must have been Abraham's feelings when he consented to offer up his only son! He said nothing of it to Sarah; he could not! Of a verity, I should dispute God's commands were he to order me such a thing.” On this, the doctor's wife broke in with, “I will not believe that God can ask any one to kill his own child.”

“Ah! how my heart sighed after mine own, when I lay sick to death at Smalkalde. I thought that I should never more see my wife or little ones; and how agonizing was the thought! . . . There is no one who can so overcome the flesh, as not to feel this bent of nature. Great is the force of the social tie which knits man and wife together.”

It is touching to see how each thing that attracted his notice led Luther to pious reflections on the goodness of God, on the state of man before the fall, and on the life to come; as, on Dr. Jonas laying on his table a fine bough laden with cherries, his wife's delight on serving up a dish of fish from their own pond, the mere sight of a rose, &c. . . . On the 9th of April, 1539, as the doctor was in his garden, gazing attentively at the trees, resplendent with flowers and foliage, he exclaimed with admiration, “Glory be to God, who thus calls to life inanimate creation in the spring. Look at those graceful branches, already big with fruit. Fine image this of man's resurrection: winter is death; summer the resurrection!” After a violent storm on the evening of the 18th of April, 1539, followed by a kindly rain, which restored the verdure of the fields and trees, he exclaimed, looking up to heaven, “This is thy gift, O my God, and to us ingrates, full of wickedness and covetousness. Thou art a God of goodness! This was no work of Satan's; no, 'twas a beneficent thunder, shaking the earth, and opening it to make it bear its fruits and spread a perfume similar to that diffused by the prayer of the pious Christian.” Another day, walking on the Leipsic road, and seeing the whole plain covered with the finest wheat, Luther exclaimed, with exceeding fervour, “O God of goodness, this fruitful year is thy gift! Not for our piety is this, but to glorify thy holy name. Grant, O my God, that we may amend our lives and increase in thy Word! With thee all is miracle. Thy voice brings out of the earth, and even out of the arid sand, those plants and those beauteous ears of wheat which gladden the sight. O, my Father, give all thy children their daily bread!” One evening, noticing a little bird perched on a tree as if to take up its roost for the night, he said, “This little thing has chosen its shelter, and is going peacefully to sleep; it does not disturb itself with thoughts of where it shall rest to-morrow, but composes itself tranquilly on its little branch,

and leaves God to think for it." Towards evening, two birds began to build their nest in the doctor's garden, but were frequently disturbed by the passers by: "Ah!" he exclaimed, "dear little birds, don't fly away; I wish you well with all my heart, if you would only believe me! Even so we refuse to trust in God, who, far from wishing our harm, has given his own Son for us."

CHAPTER II.

THE BIBLE.—THE FATHERS.—THE SCHOOLMEN.—THE POPE.—COUNCILS.

DOCTOR Martin Luther had written with chalk on the wall, behind his stove, the following words:—"He that is faithful in that which is least is faithful also in much; and he that is unjust in the least is unjust also in much." (Luke xvi. 10.) "The little infant Jesus (he showed him painted on the wall) is sleeping in the arms of Mary, his mother. He will awake one day, and demand an account of what we have done." One day that Dr. Jonas was by, whilst Luther was being shaved, the latter said to him: "Original sin is within us, like the beard. We take it off to-day, and have a smooth face; to-morrow, it is grown again, and it will not cease growing whilst we live. Just so, original sin cannot be extirpated in us; but springs up our life long. Nevertheless, we ought to resist it with all our strength, and cut it off without delay." "Human nature is so corrupt as not even to feel a want of heavenly things. It is like a new-born child, to whom one would promise in vain all the treasures and pleasures the earth yields; the child is without a thought, and knows but its mother's breast. In like manner, when the Gospel speaks to us of eternal life through Christ Jesus, we turn a deaf ear, harden ourselves in the flesh, and indulge in frivolous and perishable thoughts. Human nature does not comprehend, does not even feel, the mortal ill which weighs it down." "In divine things, the Father is the *Grammar*, for he imparts words, and is the source whence flow good, pure, and harmonious sayings. The Son is *Logic*, and suggests arrangement, order, and sequence of ideas. The Holy Ghost is *Rhetoric*, states, presses home, enlarges, and gives life and strength, so as to impress and hold the hearers' hearts." "The Trinity occurs throughout creation. In the sun are substance, light, and heat; in rivers, substance, current, and force. So, in the arts: in astronomy are motion, light, and influence; in music, the three notes, *re, mi, fa*, &c. The schoolmen have neglected these important signs for silly trifles." "The decalogue is the *doctrine of doctrines*; the creed, the *history of histories*; the Lord's prayer, the *prayer of prayers*; the sacraments, the *ceremonies of ceremonies*."

On his being asked whether those who had lived in the darkness of popery, and had not known the blessing of the Gospel, could be saved? Luther replied: "I know not, save, perhaps, through baptism. I have seen the cross held out to many monks, on their death-bed, as was then the custom, and they may have been saved by their faith in Christ's merits and sufferings." "Cicero is far superior in his moral doctrine to Aristotle, and was a wise and laborious man, who did and who

suffered much. I hope that our Lord will be merciful unto him and all like unto him; albeit it belongs not to us to speak with certainty. That God should not make exceptions and establish distinctions between pagans, is what one cannot say. There will be a new heaven and a new earth much larger and vaster than those of our day." Being asked whether the offended party ought to seek pardon of the offender, Luther replied, "No; Jesus Christ himself has set us no example, and has left us no command of the kind. It is enough to pardon offences in one's heart; and publicly, if convenient, and prayed so to do. I, indeed, once went to ask pardon of two persons who had offended me, but they happened to be from home; and I now thank God that I was not allowed to execute my purpose." Sighing one day at the thought of the sectaries who despised God's word, "Ah!" he exclaimed, "were I a great poet, I would write a magnificent poem on the utility and efficacy of the divine word. Without it. . . . For many years I have read the Bible twice a year; 'tis a great and mighty tree, each word of which is a branch. I have shaken them all, so curious was I to know what each branch bore, and each time I have shaken off a couple of pears or apples." "Formerly, under papal rules, men used to go on pilgrimages to the saints, to Rome, to Jerusalem, to St. James of Compostella, to expiate their sins. Now we may make Christian pilgrimages in the faith. When we read attentively the prophets, the psalms, and the gospels, we peregrinate, not through the holy city, but through our thoughts and hearts, to God. That is visiting the true promised land, and the paradise of life eternal." "What are the saints compared with Christ! Nothing more than small drops of night-dew on the beard of the bridegroom and in the curls of his hair."

Luther did not like the miracles to be dwelt upon, considering this kind of proof as secondary. "The convincing proofs are in God's word. Our opponents read the translated Bible much more than we. I believe that duke George has read it more carefully than all the nobles on our side together. 'Provided,' I hear he has said, 'provided the monk have finished the translation of the Bible, he may be off when he likes.'" He used to say that Melancthon had forced him to translate the New Testament.

"Let our adversaries fume and rage. God has not opposed a wall of stone or a mountain of brass to the waves of the sea; a bank of sand has been enough."

"In my early days, whilst a monk, I used to be fond of reading my Bible, but to no use; I merely made Christ a Moses. Now I have found my beloved Christ. May I be thankful, and steadfast, and suffer for his sake what I may be called upon to suffer." "Why do we teach and keep the ten commandments? The reason is, that nowhere is the natural law so well arranged and laid down as in Moses. I wish we had borrowed from him in temporal things as well; such as the laws with regard to the *bill of divorcement*, the jubilee, the year of release, tithes, &c.; the world would be all the better governed. . . . So, the Romans took their Twelve Tables from the Greeks. . . . As regards the Sabbath or Sunday, there is no necessity for keeping it; but if we do, it ought to be, not on account of Moses' commandment, but be-

cause nature teaches us from time to time to take a day of rest, in order that men and animals may recruit their strength, and that we may attend the preaching of God's word. Since there is now-a-days a general movement towards restoring all things, as if the day of the universal restoration were come, it has come into my head to try whether Moses also cannot be restored, and the rivers recalled to their source. I have taken care to treat every subject in the simplest fashion, and to avoid mystical interpretations as they are called. . . . I see no other reason for God's choosing to form the Jewish people by these ceremonies, than his knowledge of their aptness to be caught by externals. To prevent these being empty phantoms and mere images, he added his word to give them weight and substance, and render them grave and serious matters. I have subjoined to each chapter brief allegories; not that I set much store by them, but to anticipate the mania many have for allegorical writing; as we perceive in Jerome, Origen, and other ancient writers an unfortunate and sterile habit of devising allegories to recommend morality and works, whereas it is the word and faith that ought to be insisted on." (April, 1525.)

"My prayer is the *Pater Noster*; and I am in the habit of blending with it something from the Psalms, in order to confound false teachers, and cover them with shame. There is no prayer comparable to the *Pater*; I prefer it to any Psalm *." "I frankly own that I know not whether or no I am master of the full meaning of the Psalms; although I have no doubts about my giving their correct sense. One man will be mistaken in some passages; another, in others. I see things which Augustin overlooked; and others, I am aware, will see things which I miss. Who will dare to assert that he has completely understood a single Psalm? Our life is a beginning and a progress; not a consummation. He is the best, who comes nearest to the Spirit. There are stages in life and action, why not in understanding? The apostle says, that we proceed from knowledge to knowledge."

Of the New Testament. "The Gospel of St. John is the true and pure Gospel, the principal Gospel, because it contains more of Jesus Christ's own words than the rest. In like manner, the Epistles of St. Paul and St. Peter, are far above (?) the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke. In fine, St. John's Gospel and his First Epistle, St. Paul's Epistles, especially those to the Romans, Galatians, and Ephesians, and St. Peter's First Epistle, are the books which show thee Jesus Christ, and which teach thee all that it is necessary and useful for thee to know, though thou wert never to see any other book." He did not consider either the Epistle to the Hebrews or the Epistle of St. James of apostolical authority. He says of that of St. Jude: "No one can deny that this Epistle is an extract from or copy of the Second of St. Peter; the words are almost identical. Jude speaks of the apostles as if he had been their disciple, and that they were dead; and he cites texts and events nowhere to be found in Scripture."

Luther's opinion on the Apocalypse is remarkable: "Every one," he says, "must form his own judgment on this work according to his lights and

gifts. I do not wish to force my opinion on any one, but simply speak as I think. I look upon it as being neither apostolic nor prophetic." . . . And, in another passage, "Many of the fathers have rejected this book; and it is free to all to think of it as they shall be moved. For my own part, I cannot take to this work. One reason alone would give me a distaste to it; which is, that Jesus Christ is neither adored nor preached in it such as we know him."

Of the Fathers. "You may read Jerome for the sake of the history; of faith, good true religion, and doctrine, there is not a word in his works. I have already proscribed Origen. Chrysostom is no authority with me. Basil is but a monk; I would not give a straw for him. Melancthon's Apology is beyond the writings of all the doctors of the Church, not excepting Augustin; Hilary and Theophylact are good, Ambrose also; he walks steadily as to the most essential article, the pardon of sins. Bernard, as a preacher, eclipses all the doctors; in argument, he is quite another man, and grants too much to the law and to free-will. Bonaventura is the best of the scholastic theologians. Amongst the fathers, Augustin holds, incontestably, the first place; Ambrose, the second; Bernard, the third. Tertullian is a true Carlstadt. Cyril has the finest sentences. Cyprian the martyr, is a poor theologian. Theophylact is the best interpreter of St. Paul."—(Arguments to prove that antiquity does not add to authority): "We see how bitterly St. Paul complains of the Corinthians and Galatians; even amongst the apostles, Christ found a traitor in Judas." "There is never anything conclusive in the writings of the Fathers on the Bible; they leave the reader suspended betwixt heaven and earth. Read Chrysostom, the best rhetorician, and speaker of all." He observes, that the Fathers said nothing of justification by grace during their life, but believed in it at their death. "This was more prudent, in order not to encourage mysticism or discourage good works. The dear Fathers have lived better than they have written." He eulogises the history of St. Epiphanius, and the poems of Prudentius. "Of all, Augustin and Hilary have written with most clearness and truth; the rest must be read *cum judicio* (with allowance). Ambrose was mixed up with worldly matters, as I am now; being obliged to busy myself in the consistory with marriage matters, more than with God's word. . . . Bonaventura has been called the seraphic; Thomas, the angelic; Scot, the subtle; Martin Luther will be named the arch-heretic." Observing a portrait of St. Augustin in a book, representing him with a monk's cowl, Luther remarked, "They do the holy man wrong, for he lived just as the world about him, and used silver spoons and cups, not even excluding himself like the monks." "Macarius, Antony, and Benedict have done the Church great and signal injury with their monkery; and I think they will be placed much lower in heaven than a pious, God-fearing citizen, father of a family. St. Augustin pleases me more than all the rest. The doctrine he teaches is pure, and regulated with Christian humility, by Holy Scripture. Augustin is favourable to marriage. He speaks well of the bishops who were the pastors of his day; but years, and his disputes with the Pelagians, embittered and distressed him at the last. . . . Had he witnessed the scandals of the papacy, he certainly would not have

* So says Montaigne in his *Essays*.

allowed them. He is the first Father of the Church who wrote on the subject of original sin." After having spoken of St. Augustin, Luther adds, "But since God has given me grace to understand Paul, I have not been able to relish any doctors; they have all become dwarfs in my eyes." "I know none of the Fathers whom I so much dislike as St. Jerome. He writes only on fasting, diet, virginity, &c., not a word on faith. Dr. Staupitz was wont to say, 'I should like to know how Jerome could be saved.'"

"The nominalists are a sect of the upper schools to which I used to belong; they are opposed to the Thomists, Scotists, and Albertists. The name they give themselves is Occamists. They are the newest sect of all, and, at present, the most powerful, especially at Paris." Luther thinks highly of Peter Lombard's *Master of Sentences*; but considers that the schoolmen in general laid too much stress on free-will and too little on grace. "Gerson alone, of all the doctors, has made mention of spiritual temptations. All the rest, Gregory of Nazianzen, Augustin, Scotus, Thomas, Richard, Occam, were conscious of corporal temptations only. Gerson alone has written of discouragement. The Church, in proportion to her advancing years, cannot but experience spiritual temptations of the kind; and we live in this age of the Church. William of Paris, too, felt such temptations in a degree; but the schoolmen never attained the knowledge of the catechism. Gerson is the only one who reassures and revives consciences. . . . He has saved many poor souls from despair by lessening and extenuating the law, yet, so as that the law shall remain. But Christ does not tap the cask, he breaks it in. He says, 'Thou must not trust in the law, nor rely upon it, but upon me, upon Christ. If thou art not good, I am.'"^{*} "Dr. Staupitz one day speaking to me of Andrew Zachary, who is said to have overcome John Huss in disputation, told me that Dr. Proles of Gotha seeing a portrait of Zachary, in which he was represented with a rose in his bonnet, exclaimed, 'God defend me from ever wearing such a rose, for he overcame John Huss by a trick, by means of a falsified Bible. You will find in the thirty-fourth of Ezekiel, *Behold, I myself will visit and punish my shepherds* *; to which they had added, '*and not the people*.' The members of the council showed him the text in his own Bible, which had been falsified as well as the rest, and then drew the conclusion, it is not your business to punish the pope, as God takes it upon himself. And so the holy man was condemned and burnt."^{*} "Master John Agricola reading one of John Huss's works, full of spirit, of resignation, and of fervour, in which you saw how in his prison he suffered martyrdom from the stone, and was exposed to the rebukes of the emperor Sigismund, Dr. Luther admired such spirit and courage. . . . It is most unjust," he exclaimed, "to call John Huss and me heretics. . . John Huss died, not as an anabaptist, but as a Christian. We discern Christian weakness in him; but, at the same time, strength from God arouses his soul and buoys him up. It is sweet and touching to see the struggle betwixt the flesh and the spirit in Christ and in Huss. . . . Constance is at

the present day a poor, wretched city. God, I opine, has chastised it. . . . John Huss was burnt; and I, too, with God's will, believe that I shall be put to death. He rooted out some thorns from Christ's vineyard by only attacking the scandals of the papacy. But I, Dr. Martin Luther, coming into a richly-soiled and well-tilled field, have attacked the pope's doctrine and overthrown it. . . . John Huss was the seed which had to be harrowed in the earth and die, to spring up afterwards and grow with renewed strength. . . ."

One day Luther improvised at table the following verse:—

"Pestis eram vivens, moriens ero mors tua, Papa *."

"The head of antichrist is at once the pope and the Turk. The pope is antichrist's spirit, the Turk the flesh."

"It is my poor and humble state (not to speak of the justice of my cause) which has been the pope's misfortune. 'If,' he said to himself, 'I have defended my doctrine against so many kings and emperors, why should I fear a simple monk? Had he looked upon me as a dangerous enemy, he might have crushed me at the outset. . . . I confess that I have often been too violent, but not with regard to the papacy. One ought to have a language on purpose to use against it, every word of which should be a thunderbolt. . . . The papists are confounded and conquered by the testimonies of Scripture. Thank God I know their error under its every aspect, from the *alpha* to the *omega*. Yet, even now, when they confess the Scriptures to be against them, the splendour and majesty of the pope sometimes dazzle me, and I attack him with trembling. . . . The pope said to himself, 'Shall I give way to a monk, who seeks to despoil me of my crown and my majesty? A fool if I do! I would give both my hands to believe as firmly, as surely in Jesus Christ, as the pope believes Jesus Christ to be nothing. . . . Others, as Erasmus and John Huss, have attacked the morals of the popes. But I have pulled down the two pillars on which the popedom rested—vows and private masses.'"

Of Councils. "Councils are not for the ordering of faith, but of discipline."

Dr. Martin Luther raised his eyes one day to heaven, sighed, and exclaimed, "Ah! for a general, free, and truly Christian council! God can do it; 'tis his business; he knows and holds in his hand the inmost thoughts of men."

"When Peter Paul Vergerius, the pope's legate, came to Wittemberg in the year 1533, and that I called upon him, he cited and summoned me to appear at the council. 'I will,' I said, adding, 'As for you papists, you labour in vain. If you hold a council, you do not take into consideration the sacraments, justification by faith, good works, but only babbling and childish matters, such as the length of robes, the width of priests' girdles, &c.' He turned away from me, leant his head on his hand, and said to a person with him, 'Of a truth this man goes to the root of the matter.'" It being asked when the pope would convene a council? "There will be none," said Luther, "before the last day, and then our Lord God will himself hold a council." Luther's advice was, not to

* In our version, "Behold, I am against the shepherds, and I will require my flock at their hands . . . that they may not be meat for them."

* "Pope, I was thy plague living; dying, I shall be thy death."

refuse attending a council, but to require it to be free. "If this be denied, we cannot have a better excuse."

Of Ecclesiastical Property. Luther wished it to be applied to the support of schools, and poor theological students. He deplors the spoliation of the churches, and predicts that princes will soon quarrel for the spoil. "The pope is now lavishing ecclesiastical property on catholic princes, in order to buy friends and allies. . . . It is not so much our princes of the confession of Augsburg who pillage the church, as Ferdinand, the emperor, and the archbishop of Mentz. The Bavarians, who have rich abbeyes, are the greatest robbers. My gracious lord and the landgrave have only poor monasteries of mendicant monks in their territories. At the diet, it was proposed to place the monasteries at the disposal of the emperor, who would have garrisoned them. I said, '*You must first bring all the monasteries together into one spot. Who would suffer the emperor's officers in his territories?*' The archbishop of Mentz was the instigator of the proposition." In answer to a letter of the king of Denmark's, asking for his advice, Luther disapproves of the annexation of church property to the crown. "Look," he says, "at our prince, John Frederick, how he applies the property of the church to the support of pastors and professors." "The proverb is in the right, '*Priests' goods do no good.*' (*pflaengut raffengut.*) Burchard Hund, councillor to John, elector of Saxony, was wont to say, '*We nobles have annexed church lands to our fiefs, and the church lands have devoured our fiefs, so that we now have neither the one nor the other.*'" Luther adds the fable of the fox, who revenges the loss of his cubs by burning down the tree, with the eagle's nest and eaglets in it. An old tutor of Ferdinand's son (king of the Romans), named Severus, was telling Luther the story of the dog that fought for his piece of meat, yet took his share of it, when the other dogs snatched it from him. "Exactly what the emperor is now doing," exclaimed Luther, "with the estates of the church." (Alluding to Utrecht and Liege.)

Of Cardinals and Bishops. "In Italy, France, England, and Spain, the bishops are commonly the royal councillors, the reason being, that they are poor. But in Germany, where they are rich, powerful, and enjoy great consideration, the bishops govern in their own name. . . . I shall strive to the utmost to preserve the canopies and small bishoprics, so as to endow out of their revenues preachers and pastors for the towns. The large bishoprics shall be secularised." Dining with the elector of Saxony on Ascension-day, and it having been settled that the bishops were to preserve their authority, provided they abjured the pope, Luther said, "Our people shall examine them, and shall ordain them by imposition of hands. This is the way I am bishop." The origin of monks being started in the disputations at Heidelberg, the reply was, "God having made priests, the devil wished to imitate him, but made the tonsure too great, and thence monks." "Monkery will never be re-established so long as the doctrine of justification shall be understood in its purity." Monks were formerly so highly esteemed, that the pope feared them more than kings and bishops; for they had the common people in their hands. The monks were the pope's best fowlers. The

king of England gains nothing by no longer recognizing the pope as the head of Christendom; he only torments the body, whilst strengthening the soul of the papacy." (Henry VIII. had not yet suppressed the monasteries.)

CHAPTER III.

OF SCHOOLS, UNIVERSITIES, AND THE LIBERAL ARTS.

"SCHOOLS ought to supply pastors, for edification and the support of the church. Schools and pastors are better than councils."

"I hope, if the world goes on, that the universities of Erfurth and Leipsic will revive and flourish, provided they adopt sound views of theology, as they seem disposed to do; but some will have to go to sleep first. I was at first surprised that a university should have been established here, at Wittemberg. Erfurth is excellently situated for the purpose. There must be a town on the spot, even though the present, which God forbid, should be burnt down. This university was formerly so renowned, that all others were considered only small schools in comparison. But now its glories have disappeared, and it is altogether dead." "Masters were formerly put forward and honoured; torches used to be borne before them. Never was joy in the world comparable to that. Taking a doctor's degree was also made a high festival of; one paraded round the town on horseback, and dressed oneself more carefully and ostentatiously than usual. All that is over; but I wish these good customs were revived." "Wo to Germany, who neglects schools, despises them, and allows them to go to decay! Wo to the archbishop of Mentz and Erfurth, who might with a word resuscitate the universities of those two cities, and who leaves them desolate and deserted! One nook of Germany, that in which we are, still, thanks to God, flourishes in purity of doctrine and culture of the liberal arts. The papists will be for rebuilding the fold, when the wolf shall have eaten the sheep. It is the bishop of Mentz's fault, who is a scourge to schools, and all Germany; and so is he justly punished for it. His face is the hue of death, like clay tempered with blood."

"The most celebrated and best school is at Paris, in France. It has twenty thousand students and upwards. The theologians there have the pleasantest spot in the whole city; being a street to themselves, with gates at each end: it is called the *Sorbonne*, a name derived, I fancy, from the fruit of the service tree (*Sorbus*), which grows by the Dead Sea, and which, beautiful without, are only ashes within. Even so the University of Paris shows a goodly multitude, but is the mother of many errors. In disputing, they bawl like drunken peasants, in Latin and in French; so that the auditors are obliged to stamp with their feet to silence them. Before one can take one's degree as doctor of theology, one is obliged to have been a student of their sophistical and futile logic for ten years. The respondent must sit a whole day, and dispute with every comer, from six in the morning to six in the evening." "At Bourges, in France, at the public creation of doctors in theology, which takes place in the metropolitan church there, each doctor has a net given him; as a sign,

seemingly, that their business is to catch men." "We, thanks to God, have universities which have embraced the word of God, and many excellent private schools besides, which display good dispositions, as those at Zwickau, Torgau, Wittenberg, Gotha, Eisenach, Deventer, &c."

Extract from Luther's Treatise on Education. "Domestic education is insufficient. The magistracy ought to superintend the education of the young, and the establishment of schools is one of their chief duties. Public offices, too, should only be entrusted to the most learned. So important is the study of tongues, that the devil fears it, and seeks to extinguish it. Is it not through this study that we have re-discovered the true doctrine? The first thing Christ gave to his apostles was the gift of tongues." Luther complains that Latin is no longer known in the monasteries, and hardly German. "For my own part, if I ever have children, and my fortune permits it, I will make them masters of tongues, and of history, and have them taught music and mathematics as well;" on this he branches forth into a eulogium on poets and historians. "Children should at least be sent, an hour or two daily to school; and the rest of their time be employed in the house, or in learning some trade." "There ought to be schools for girls likewise." "Public libraries ought to be established, and furnished at first with theological works, in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and German; next, with books to form the style, as the orators and poets, it matters not whether they be Christian or pagan; then works on the liberal and mechanical arts; legal and medical works; then, annals, chronicles, and histories, in the languages in which they were written; these are the works which should hold the first place in a library."

Of Languages. "The Greeks, compared with the Hebrews, have a number of good and pleasing words, but have no sentences. The Hebrew language is the richer; it does not beg, as Greek, Latin, and German do; and is not forced to recur to compound words. The Hebrews drink at the source; the Greeks from the stream; the Latins from the bog." "I have little facility in Latin, brought up as I was in the barbarism of scholastic teaching." (Nov. 12th, 1544.) "I follow no particular dialect of German; but use the common tongue, so as to be understood in Upper and Lower Germany. I model myself on the usage of the chancery court of Saxony, which is followed by all in Germany, in their public acts, whether kings, princes, or imperial cities, so that it has become the general tongue. Thus the emperor Maximilian and the elector Frederic of Saxony have reduced the German dialects to one fixed tongue. The language of the Marches is still sweeter than that of Saxony."

Of Grammars. "Grammar is one thing, the Hebrew language another. The Jews have, for the most part, lost the Hebrew language and positive grammar, which have declined with their state itself and with their understanding, as Isaiah says (ch. xxix.) The rabbis are no authority in sacred matters; they torture and do violence to etymology and construction, because they desire to force the matter by the words, to subject it to the words; whereas it is the matter which ought to command them. You see similar disputes between the Ciceronians and other Latinists. For my part,

I am neither Latinist nor grammarian, still less Ciceronian; yet side with those who lay claim to the latter title. And so, in sacred literature, I would prefer being simply Mosaic, Davidic, or Isaiahic, to being a Hebrew Kimchi, or like any other rabbi." (A.D. 1537.) "I regret not having more time to devote to the study of poets and rhetoricians; I had bought a Homer in order to become Greek." (March 29th, 1523.) "If I were to write a treatise on logic, I would reject every foreign word, as *propositio, syllogismus, enthymema, exemplum*, &c.; and give them German synonyms. . . . They who introduce new words ought also to introduce new things, as Scot with his *reality*, his *hicity*; and as the Anabaptists and preachers of sedition with their *Besprengung, Entgrobung, Gelassenheit*. Let us beware, then, of all who study to devise new and unusual words." Luther cited the fable of the lion's court, and said, "That after the Bible, he knew no better books than Æsop's fables and Cato's works, and that Donatus seemed to him the best grammarian. These fables are not the work of any one man; many great minds have devoted themselves to their composition at each epoch of the world."

Of Men of Learning. "In a few years, they will not be to be found. You may dig to unearthen them, but to no purpose; God is too much sinned against."

To a Friend. "Do not give in to the fear of Germany's becoming more barbarous than ever, by the discredit into which letters will be brought by our theology." (March 29th, 1523.)

CHAPTER IV.

THE DRAMA.—MUSIC.—ASTROLOGY.—PRINTING.—
BANKING.

Of Theatrical Representations. Luther does not blame a schoolmaster for getting up Terence's plays. He recapitulates the various advantages derivable from the drama. If you keep away from plays because they treat of love, you must on the same principle fear reading the Bible. "Our dear Joachim has asked me for my opinion on those plays from sacred story, which many of our ministers blame. Briefly, then, here it is. The command is, that all men are to spread and propagate God's word, by all means; not by preaching only, but by writings, paintings, sculpture, psalms, songs, music; for, as the Psalm says, 'Praise him with the timbrel and dance: praise him with stringed instruments and organs.' And Moses says, . . . 'and ye shall bind them for a sign upon your hand, that they may be as frontlets between your eyes. . . . and thou shalt write them upon the door-posts of thine house, and upon thy gates.' Moses wishes the word to be a frontlet between the eyes, and how can that be done better and more clearly than by representations of the kind, grave and modest ones, and not by farces, as formerly, under the papacy? Spectacles of this nature take the eyes of the people, and work upon them frequently much more than public preachings. I know that in Lower Germany, where the public profession of the Gospel is prohibited, dramas, drawn from the Law and the Gospel, have converted numbers." (April 5th, 1543.)

Of Music. "Music is one of the finest and most magnificent of God's gifts. Satan hates it. It dispels temptations and evil thoughts; the devil cannot hold out against it. . . . Some of the nobility and of the courtiers think that my gracious lord might spare three thousand florins a year for music; thirty thousand are expended on useless matters." "Duke George, the landgrave of Hesse, and John Frederick, elector of Saxony, used to keep singers and musicians; now it is the duke of Bavaria, the emperor Ferdiuand, and the emperor Charles who do so." Luther being entertained (Dec. 17th, 1538) in the house of a musical family, who played to him to his great delight, he bursts out with, "If our Lord grants us such noble gifts in this life, which is but filth and misery, what will it be in the life everlasting? This is a fore-taste." "Singing is the best exercise; it has no concern with the word. . . . Therefore do I rejoice that God has refused to the peasants (*alluding, no doubt, to the peasants in revolt*) so great a gift and comfort. They do not understand music, and listen not to the word." He one day said to a harp-player, "My friend, play me such an air as David used to play. Were he to return to earth, I think he would be surprised to find such skilful players." "How happens it that we have now-a-days so many fine things of a worldly kind, and nothing but what is cold and indifferent of a spiritual (and he repeated some German songs)? I cannot agree with those who despise music, as do all dreamers and mystics." "... I will ask the prince to devote this money to the establishment of a musical academy." (April, 1541.)

On the 4th of October, 1530, he writes to Ludovic Senfel, a musician of the court of Bavaria, to ask him to set the *In pace in id ipsum* to music: "The love of music overpowers my fear of being refused, when you shall see a name which, no doubt, you hate. This same love also gives me the hope that my letters will involve you in no disagreeables. Who could reproach you on their account, even were he a Turk? . . . After theology, no art can be compared with music." Luther, introducing a painter named Sebastian to his friend Amsdorf, says: "I know not whether you want his services. I should like, however, to see your dwelling more tasteful and ornamented, on account of the flesh, which is the better for some recreation, provided it be sinless and unobjectionable." (Feb. 6th, 1542.)

Of Painting.—Luther's pamphlets against the pope were seldom published without symbolic engravings. "As for these three furies," he says, in explanation of one of these satirical engravings, "I had nothing else in my mind, when I applied them to the pope, than to express the atrocity of the papal abomination by these, the most forcible and most revolting figures known to the Latin tongue; for the Latins know not what Satan or the devil is, any more than the Greeks and other nations." (May 8th, 1545.) Lucas Cranaach was the designer of these figures. Luther says: "Master Lucas has little delicacy of feeling; he might have spared the other sex, in consideration of our mothers and of God's work; and he might have painted other forms, worthier of the pope, I mean more diabolical." (June 3rd, 1545.) "I will do my utmost, if I live, to make Lucas substitute a more decent painting for this obscene one." (June 15th.) Luther professed great admiration for

Albert Dürer; and, on hearing of his death, wrote: "It is painful, no doubt, to have lost him. Let us rejoice, however, that Christ has released him by so happy an end from this world of misery and of trouble, which soon, perhaps, will be desolated by greater troubles still. God has been unwilling to suffer him, who was born for happiness, to see such calamities. May he rest in peace with his fathers!" (April, 1528.)

Of Astronomy and Astrology.—"It is true that astrologers may predict the future to the ungodly, and announce the death which awaits them, for the devil knows the thoughts of the ungodly, and has them in his power." Mention being made of a new astronomer, who was for proving that it is the earth that revolves, and not the firmament, the sun, and the moon; it being the same, he said, with us as with men in a carriage or a ship, who think they see the shore and the trees moving past them*, Luther observed: "So it is with the world now-a-days; men, to be thought clever, won't content themselves with what others do and know. The fool wishes to change the whole art of astronomy; but, as holy Scripture saith, Joshua commanded the sun, not the earth, to 'stand still.'" "Astrologers are in the wrong in attributing to stars the evil influences which proceed from comets." "Master Philip (Melancthon) has often tried, but could never make me a believer in the art. He maintains it to be a real art; but that no professor of it is an adept." A nativity being shown him, Luther said: "It is a beautiful and pleasing fancy, and flattering to the understanding. You proceed regularly from one line to the other. . . . It is with astrology as with the art of the sophists, *de decem predicamentis realiter distinctis*; all is false and artificial: but, in this vain and factitious science, there is an admirable unity, and, notwithstanding the lapse of ages, and the diversity of sects that have arisen—Thomists, Albertists, Scotists—its followers have remained faithful to the same rules." "Sciences which have matter for their object are uncertain; for matter is without form, and is without qualities and properties. Now, astrology has matter for its object, &c." "The astrologers had predicted that there would be a deluge in 1524, and it did not take place until the following year, the epoch of the revolt of the peasants. Burgomaster Hendorf, however, had a quart of beer taken up to the top of his house, to wait for the deluge there." Master Philip said that the emperor Charles would live to be eighty-four. Dr. Luther replied: "The world will not last so long. Ezekiel is against it. If we drive out the Turk the prophecy of Daniel is fulfilled; and, of a certainty, the day of judgment is then at hand." A large red star, which had appeared in the sky, and which subsequently took the shape of a cross in 1516, appeared again, "but this time," says Luther, "the cross seemed to be broken, for the Gospel was obscured by sects and revolts. I see nothing certain in such signs; they are commonly diabolical and deceitful. We have seen many in these fifteen latter years."

Of Printing. "Printing is the best and highest gift, the *summum et postremum donum*, by which God advanceth the Gospel. It is the last flame which shines before the extinction of the world. Thanks to God that it hath come at last. *Holy fathers, now at rest, have desired to see this day of the*

* Alluding, no doubt, to Copernicus.

revealed Gospel." Being shown a writing of the Fuggers, in letters of fantastical shape, so that no one could read it, he said, "This is invented by able men, and men of forethought; but such an invention is the sign of a most corrupt age. We read that Julius Cæsar employed similar letters. It is said that the emperor, instructing his secretaries, makes them write, on matters of importance, in two contradictory manners, and that they know not to which of the two he shall affix his seal."

Of Banking. "A cardinal, bishop of Brixen, reputed very wealthy, having died at Rome, no money was found upon him, but only a small note in his sleeve. Pope Julius II., suspecting it to be a letter of change, sent instantly for the agent of the Fuggers at Rome, and inquired whether he knew the hand? 'Yes,' he replied, 'it is the acknowledgment of Fugger and Co. for three hundred thousand florins.' The pope asked him whether he could pay all this money? 'Directly,' was the reply. The pope then sent for the French and English cardinals, and asked them whether their kings could raise three tons of gold in an hour? They answered, 'No.' 'Well,' he said, 'a burgess of Augsburg can.'" "Fugger having one day to give in a return of his property to the council of Augsburg, told them that he could not say what he was worth, for that his money was out all over the world, in Turkey, Greece, Alexandria, France, Portugal, England, Poland, &c.; but that he could tell them what he had in Augsburg if they liked."

CHAPTER V.

OF PREACHING.—LUTHER'S STYLE.—HE ACKNOWLEDGES THE VIOLENCE OF HIS CHARACTER.

"Oh! how I trembled when I had to ascend the pulpit for the first time! But I was forced to preach, and to the brothers first of all. . . . Under this very pear-tree where we are now standing, I adduced fifteen arguments to Dr. Staupitz against my vocation for the pulpit: at last I said, 'Dr. Staupitz, you wish to kill me; I shall not live three months.' He answered me, 'Well, our Lord has great business on hand above, and wants able men.'" "I set about collecting my works into volumes, with but little zeal and ardour; I feel Saturn's hunger, and wish to devour all, for there are none of my books which please me, if I except the *Treatise on the Bondage of the Will*, and the *Catechism*." (July 9th, 1537.) "I do not like Philip to be present at my lectures or sermons; but I place the cross before me and say, 'Philip, Jonas, Pomer, and the rest, have nothing to do with the matter;' and then I endeavour to fancy that no one has sat in the pulpit abler than myself." Dr. Jonas said to him, "Sir doctor, I cannot at all follow you in your preaching." Luther replied, "I cannot myself; for my subject is often suggested either by something personal, or some private matter, according to times, circumstances, and hearers. Were I young, I should like to retrench many things in my sermons, for I have been too wordy." "I wish the people to be taught the Catechism well. I found myself upon it in all my sermons, and I preach as simply as possible. I want the common people, and children, and servants, to understand me. I do not enter the pulpit for the sake of the learned; they have my books."

Dr. Erasmus Alberus, being about to leave for the March, asked Luther how he should preach before the prince. "Your sermons," said he, "ought to be addressed, not to princes, but to the rude and simple people. If, in mine, I was thinking of Melancthon and the other doctors, I should do no good; but I preach solely for the ignorant, and that pleases all. Hebrew, Greek, and Latin I spare until we learned ones come together; and, then, 'we make it so curled and finical that God himself wondereth at us.'" "Albert Dürer, the famous painter of Nuremberg, used to say that he took no pleasure in paintings charged with colours, but in those of a less ambitious kind. I say the same of sermons." "Oh! how happy should I have been when I was in the monastery of Erfurth, if I could once, but once, have heard but one poor little word preached on the Gospel, or on the least of the Psalms." "Nothing is more acceptable or more useful to the general run of hearers, than to preach the law and examples. Sermons on grace and on justification are cold to their ears." Amongst the qualities which Luther desiderates in a preacher, is a fine person, and that he be such as to make himself loved by good women and maidens. In his *Treatise on Monastic Vows*, Luther asks pardon of the reader for saying many things, which are usually passed over in silence. "Why not dare to say what the Holy Ghost, for the instruction of men, has dictated to Moses? But we wish our ears to be purer than the mouth of the Holy Ghost."

To J. Brentius. "I seek not to flatter or to deceive thee, and I do not deceive myself when I say, that I prefer thy writings to my own. It is not Brentius whom I praise, but the Holy Ghost, who is gentler and easier in thee. Thy words flow pure and limpid. My style, rude and unskilful, vomits forth a deluge, a chaos of words, boisterous and impetuous as a wrestler contending with a thousand successive monsters; and, if I may presume to compare small things with great, methinks there has been vouchsafed me a portion of the four-fold spirit of Elijah, rapid as the wind and devouring as fire, which roots up mountains and dashes rocks to pieces; and to thee, on the contrary, the mild murmur of the light and refreshing breeze. I feel, however, comfort from the consideration that our common Father hath need, in this his immense family, of each servant; of the hard against the hard, the rough against the rough, to be used as a sharp wedge against hard knots. To clear the air and fertilize the soil, the rain which falls and sinks as the dew is not enough,—the thunder-storm is still required." (August 20th, 1530.) "I am far from believing myself without fault; but I can, at the least, glorify myself with St. Paul, that I cannot be accused of hypocrisy, and that I have always spoken the truth, perhaps, it is true, a little too harshly. But I would rather sin in disseminating the truth with hard words, than shamefully retain it captive. If great lords are hurt by them, they can go about their own business, without thinking of mine or of my doctrines. Have I done them any wrong or injustice? If I sin, it will be for God to pardon me." (Feb. 5th, 1522.)

To Spalatin. "I cannot deny that I was more violent than I need have been; but they knew it, and should not have provoked the dog. You can judge by yourself how difficult it is to moderate one's fire, and restrain one's pen. And hence I

have always hated appearing in public; but the more I hate, the more I am forced to it in my own despite." (Feb. 1520.) He often said, "I keep three savage dogs, *Ingratitude, Pride, and Envy*; he whom they bite is well-bitten." "When I die, the papists will discover the kind of adversary they have had in me. Other preachers will not observe the same measure, the same moderation. They have found this out with Münzer, Carlstadt, Zwingle, and the Anabaptists." "When roused to anger, I become firmer, and keener witted. All my temptations and enemies are put to flight. I never write or speak better than when in anger."

To Michael Marr. "Thou canst not think how

I love to see my adversaries daily rising up more against me. I am never haughtier or bolder than when I hear I have offended them. Doctors, bishops, princes, what are they to me? It is written: '*Why do the heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing? The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsel together against the Lord, and against his anointed!*' I have such a contempt for these Satans, that if I were not retained here, I would straight to Rome in my hate of the devil and all these furies. But I must have patience with the pope, with my disciples, with my servants, with Catherine von Bora, with every one; and my life is nothing else than patience."

BOOK THE FIFTH.

CHAPTER I.

DEATHS OF LUTHER'S FATHER, OF HIS DAUGHTER, &c.

"THERE is no union or society so sweet and happy as a well-assorted marriage. It is delightful to see a husband and wife living in unity and peace. But then nothing can be more bitter or more painful than the dissolution of the tie. Next in bitterness is the death of children; and this last sorrow, alas! I have experienced." "I am writing in a melancholy mood, for I have just heard of my father's death; that old Luther, so good and so beloved. And though, through me, he has had so peaceable and pious a death in Christ, and though delivered from the terrors of this world, he rests in everlasting peace, nevertheless, my bowels yearn, and I am moved to the soul—for was it not to him that, by God's will, I owed my being." In a letter the same day, to Melancthon: "I succeeded to his name, and now I am to my family the old Luther. It is now my turn and my right to follow him through death to that kingdom promised us by Christ, as we, with him, are miserable and despised among men. . . . How I rejoice that he lived in these times, and that he was enabled to see the light of the truth. To God be blessing and praise, and thanks for all his acts, and all his designs!" (5th June, 1530.)

"When the news came from Freyberg, that Master Hausmann was dead, we kept it from doctor Luther, and told him first that he was ill, then that he was confined to his bed, and then that he was sweetly asleep in Jesus. The doctor began to weep loudly, and said, 'These are perilous times; God is purging his floor and his garner; I pray him that my wife and children may not live long after me.' He remained sitting all the day, weeping and bemoaning himself. There were with him, doctor Jonas, Master Philip (Melancthon), Master Joachim Camerarius, and Gaspard von Keckeritz, and he sat amongst them, weeping piteously." (A.D. 1538.)

When he lost his daughter Madeleine, aged fourteen, his wife cried and lamented, but he said

to her, "My dear Catherine, think where she is gone; to a certainty she has made a happy exchange. The flesh bleeds, indeed; that is our nature; but the spirit exults and finds all as it should be. Young people think not of disputing; as we tell them, so they believe; with them all is natural. They pass away without regret or anguish, without the trials and temptations even of death itself, almost without bodily pain; just as if they fell asleep." . . . As his daughter lay very ill, he exclaimed, "I love her much! but, O my God! if it be thy will to take her hence, I would give her up to thee without one selfish murmur." And when she was on her death-bed, he said to her, "My dearest child, my own Madeleine, I know you would gladly stay with your father here, and you will equally be ready to go to your Father which is in heaven! will you not?" And she replied, "Oh yes, my dear father, as God wills." "Dear little girl," he continued, "the spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak." He walked to and fro perturbedly, and said, "Ah yes! I have loved this dear child too much. If the flesh is so strong, what becomes of the spirit?"

He said, amongst other things, "God has not given such good gifts these thousand years to any bishop as he has to me. We may glorify ourselves in the gifts of God. Alas! I hate myself that I cannot rejoice now as I ought to do, nor render sufficient thanks to God. I try to lift up my heart from time to time to our Lord in some little hymn, and to feel as I ought to do." "Well! whether we live or die, *domini sumus*, in the genitive or the nominative*. Come, sir doctor, be firm!"

"The night before Madeleine's death, her mother had a dream. She dreamed that she saw two fair youths beautifully attired, who came as if they wished to take Madeleine away with them, and conduct her to be married. When Philip Melancthon came the next morning and asked the lady

* A play upon the word *Dominus*. "*Domini sumus*" may signify (Domini being construed in the genitive), "We are the Lord's," or else (construed nominatively), "We are lords" (i. e. masters, teachers).—TRANSLATOR.

CHAPTER II.

OF EQUITY; OF LAW.—OPPOSITION OF THE THEOLOGIANS
TO THE JURISTS.

how it was with her daughter? she related her dream, at which he seemed frightened, and remarked to others, 'that the young men were two holy angels, sent to carry the maiden to the true nuptials of a heavenly kingdom.' She died that same day. When she was in the agony of death, her father threw himself on his knees by her bedside, and weeping bitterly, prayed to God that he would spare her. She breathed her last in her father's arms. Her mother was in the room, but not by the bed, on account of the violence of her grief. The doctor continued to repeat, 'God's will be done! My child has another Father in heaven?' Then master Philip observed, that the love of parents for their children was an image of the Divine love impressed on the hearts of men. God loves mankind no less than parents do their children. When they placed her on the bier, the father exclaimed, 'My poor, dear little Madeleine, you are at rest now.' Then, looking long and fixedly at her, he said, 'Yes! dear child, thou shalt rise again, shalt shine like a star! Yes! like the sun! . . . I am joyful in spirit; but oh! how sad in the flesh! It is a strange feeling this, to know she is so certainly at rest, that she is happy, and yet to be so sad.'

"And when the people came who were to help to carry the body, and said to him, as usual, how much they sympathized in his grief, he said to them, 'Ah! grieve no more for her, she is now a saint in heaven. Oh! that we may each experience such a death: such a death I would willingly die this moment.' While they were singing—'Lord, remember not our sins of old,' he added, 'not only our old sins, but those of to-day, this day; for we are greedy, covetous, &c. The scandal of the mass still exists.' On returning from the burial, he said, amongst other things,—'The fate of our children, and above all of girls, is ever a cause of uneasiness. I do not fear so much for boys; they can find a living anywhere, provided they know how to work. But it is different with girls; they, poor things, must search for employment staff in hand. A boy can enter the schools, and become a shining character (*ein feiner man*), but a girl cannot do much to advance herself, and she is easily led away by bad example, and is lost. . . . Therefore, I give up without regret this dear one to our Lord.'

To *Jonas*. "Report has, no doubt, informed you of the transplanting of my daughter Madeleine to the kingdom of Christ; and although my wife and I ought only to think of offering up joyful thanks to the Almighty for her happy deliverance and end, by which she has escaped from all the snares of the world, the flesh, the Turks, and the devil; nevertheless the force of instinct (*της σπουγης*) is so great, that I cannot forbear from tears, sighs, and groans,—say rather, my very heart dies within me. I feel engraven on my inmost soul her features, her words, and actions; all that she was to me in life and health, and on her sick bed, my dear, my dutiful child. The death of Christ himself (and oh! what are all deaths in comparison?) cannot tear her from my thoughts, as it should. . . . She was, as you know, so sweet, so amiable, so full of tenderness." (September 23rd, 1542.)

"It is better to direct one's conduct by *natural reason than by the written law*, for reason is the soul and queen of law. But where are they who are endowed with such an understanding? You can scarcely meet with one in a century. Our gracious lord, the elector Frederick, was such a man. There was his councillor, too, Fabian von Feilitzsch, a layman, who had not studied and who yet argued better on the points and the marrow of the law (*super apices et medullam juris*), than the jurists from their books. Master Philip Melancthon so teaches the liberal arts, as to lend them more light than he derives from them. I myself, too, take my art into books, and do not draw it from them. He who should seek to imitate the four men of whom I have just spoken, would do well to abandon the idea, and content himself with learning and listening. Such prodigies are rare. The written law is for the people and the common herd of men. Natural reason and all-piercing thought for such men as those I have mentioned." "An eternal combat goes on between the jurists and the theologians; there is the same opposition betwixt the law and grace." "The law is a lovely bride, as long as she remains in her nuptial bed. If she goes to another bed, and wishes to domineer over theology, she is a great —. Law should doff her cap to theology."

To *Melancthon*. "I am of the same opinion that I always was with regard to the right of the sword. I think with you, that the Gospel has taught and counselled nothing with regard to this right, and that it could not possibly do so, because the Gospel is the law of will and liberties, which have nothing to do with the sword or the right of the sword. But this right is not abolished by the Gospel, but is even confirmed and recommended; which is not the case with respect to things that are simply permitted." "Before me, there has been no jurist who has known what the law is, in relation to God; what they know, they have from me. We do not find in the Gospel that we are to adore jurists. If our Lord God will be our judge, what are jurists to him? As to the concerns of this world, I leave them masters. But in the things which concern God, they must be under me. My psalm, my own psalm is, *Be wise now, therefore, O ye kings*; if one of the two must perish, perish the law, reign Christ!"

"*The kings of the earth set themselves together.*" David himself says, 'Against his Son there will array themselves the power, the wisdom, the multitude of the world, and he will be alone against many, foolish against the wise, powerless against the powerful;' of a verity, a marvellous ordering of things. Our Lord God has all and every thing except the wise; but beyond this, there peals the terrible, 'Be wise now therefore, O ye kings; be instructed, ye judges of the earth.' "If the jurists will not pray for pardon for their sins, and receive the Gospel, I will so confound them that they shall not be able to extricate themselves. I understand nothing of law, but I am lord of the law in things touching the conscience. We are indebted to the jurists for having taught and for teaching to the world such countless equivocations, tricks, and calumnies, that their language has become more

confused than in Babel ; here, no one can comprehend the other ; there, no one will understand the other. O sycophants, O sophists, pests of mankind, I write to you, boiling over with passion, and I doubt whether I could teach you better were I cool and collected." (Feb. 6th, 1546.)

Alluding to a student's being admitted the following day as Doctor of Law, Luther said, "To-morrow a fresh viper will be created to sting the theologians."

"The saying is right, *A good jurist is a bad Christian*. In fact, the jurist esteems and vaunts the justice of works, as if we were justified by them before God. If he turn Christian, he is looked upon by his brother jurists as a monster, and has to beg his bread, being repudiated as seditious." "Strike at the conscience of the jurists, and they know not what to do. Münzer attacked them with the sword ; he was a madman." "Were I to study law for two years, I should become more learned than Dr. C., for I should speak of things just as they are, as being just or unjust, whilst he quibbles on words." "The doctrine of the jurists is nothing but a *nisi*, an *except*. Theology does not proceed on this wise, but has a firm foundation."

"The authority of theologians consists in their power of obscuring universals, and all connected with them. They can raise and lower. As soon as the word makes itself heard, Moses and the emperor must yield." "The law and laws of the Greeks and Persians are fallen into desuetude. The Roman or imperial law only holds by a thread. For if an empire or a kingdom fall, its laws and ordinances must likewise fall." "I leave cobbler, tailor, and jurist to their several callings. But let them not attack my pulpit !" . . . "Many believe that the theology which has been declared of our time, is naught. If this be the case whilst I live, what will it be after my death ? As a set off, many amongst us are big with this thought of which they will by and by be brought to bed, namely, that the law is naught."

Sermon against the Jurists, preached on Twelfth Day. "Look at our haughty jurists and knights at law of Wittemberg. . . . They do not read our books, call them cationic (for canonic), take no heed of our Lord, and do not attend church. Well ! since they do not recognize Dr. Pomer to be bishop of Wittemberg, or me to be preacher to this church, I no longer reckon them amongst my flock. But, say they, you go against the imperial law. I—this law which wrongs the poor." There follows a dialogue between a jurist and a litigant, in which the former promises for ten thalers to protract a law-suit for ten years. . . . "Good and pious folk like Reinicke Fuchs, in the poem of the Fox." . . . "Good people, these are the reasons that make me pursue the jurists so relentlessly. . . . They vaunt the canon law, the — of the pope, and represent it to be a magnificent thing, after our having with such trouble expelled it from our churches. . . . I warn you, jurist, to let the old dog to sleep. Once awakened, you will not easily get him back to his kennel ! The jurists are full of complaints and bitterness against me. What can I do ? Had I not to render an account of their souls, I would not chastise them." He subsequently states, that he excepts pious jurists.

CHAPTER III.

FAITH: THE LAW.

To Gerbellius. "In this tumult of scandals, fall not off from yourself. To sustain you, I render back the spouse (faith) that you formerly gave me ; I return her to you a spotless virgin. But what is most strange and admirable in her is, that she desires and attracts an infinity of rivals, and that she is all the more chaste for being the spouse of many. . . . Our rival, Philip Melancthon, salutes you. Adieu, be happy with the affianced bride of your youth." (January 23rd, 1523.)

To Melancthon. "Be a sinner, and be thy sins never so great, let thy faith be still greater, and rejoice thee in Christ, who is the conqueror of sin, of death, and of the world. We must sin, as long as we are here. This life is not the abode of righteousness ; no, 'we look,' as says St. Peter, 'for a new heaven, and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness.' . . . Pray earnestly, for thou art a great sinner." "I am just now deep in the doctrine of the remission of sins. I set at nought the law and all the devils. Whosoever can believe from his heart in the remission of sins, he shall be saved." "Just as it is impossible to meet in nature with the *mathematical, indivisible* point, so the righteousness demanded by the law is nowhere to be found. No man can entirely satisfy the law ; even lawyers themselves, spite of all their cunning, are very frequently obliged to have recourse to the remission of sins, for they cannot always hit the mark, and when they have given a wrong judgment, and the devil troubles their consciences, neither Bartolus nor Baldus, nor all their other doctors, are of any use to them. To bear up, they are forced to protect themselves with the *ἐπιεικεια* that is, with the remission of sins. They do their best to judge aright, and after that, all that remains for them, is to say : 'If I have given a wrong judgment, O my God, pardon me.' It is theology alone which possesses the mathematical point. She does not grope in the dark. She has the word, even God's word. She says, 'Jesus Christ is all righteousness ; whosoever lives in him, he is righteous.'"

"The law is, without doubt, necessary, but not for salvation ; for no man can fulfil it : but the pardon of sins consummates and fulfils it." "The law is a true labyrinth which does but perplex the conscience, and the righteousness of the law is a minotaur, that is to say, a pure fiction, which, instead of conducting us to heaven, leads us to hell."

Addition by Luther to a letter of Melancthon upon grace and the law. . . . "To set myself entirely out of sight of the law and works, I do not content myself with seeing in Jesus Christ my master, my lord, my benefactor, I would see in him my doctrine, my gift, so that in him I possess all things. He says, 'I am the way, the truth, and the life ;' not 'I show you, or give you the way, the truth, and the life ;' as if he only wrought this within me, and was himself nevertheless apart from me." . . . "Theology is summed up in one only point : true faith and trust in Jesus Christ. This article embraces all the rest. Our faith is 'a groan which cannot be uttered ;' and elsewhere, 'that we are in bondage under the law' (which means, that we imprison ourselves in our own works, instead of mounting on the wings of faith.)"

"The devil desires *active* righteousness only, a righteousness which we work out for ourselves, and in ourselves, whereas we have really only a *passive* and extrinsic one, which he takes from us. If we were limited to *active* righteousness, we should be lost, for it is defective in all men." An English doctor, Antony Barns, asked Doctor Luther, if Christians, justified by faith in Christ, had any merit in the good works which followed, for that this question was often debated in England. *Answer.* "1st. We are still sinners after justification. 2nd. God promises rewards to those who do well. Works do not merit heaven, but they adorn the faith which justifies us. It is his own gift to us, which God crowns."

"*Fidelis amine vox ad Christum. Ego sum tuum peccatum, tu mea iustitia; triumpho igitur securus*," &c. To bear up against despair, it is not sufficient to have vain words upon the lips, or barren and languishing faith; but we must stand erect, confirm our soul, and rely on Christ against sin, death, hell, the law, and an evil conscience. When the law accuses thee and reproaches thee with thy faults, thy conscience says to thee, 'Yea, God has given the law, and commanded it to be kept, under pain of eternal damnation: thou must therefore be damned.' To which thou shalt reply, 'I well know that God has given the law; but he has also given us the Gospel, by his Son, which says, "He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved." This Gospel is above the whole law; for the law is of the earth, and has been transmitted to us by man; the Gospel is from Heaven, and has been brought to us by the Son of God.' 'It matters not,' says conscience, 'thou hast sinned and transgressed the commandment of God; therefore, thou shalt be damned.' *Answer.* 'I know very well that I have sinned, but the Gospel frees me from my sins, because I believe in Jesus; and this Gospel is as high above the law as the heavens are high above the earth. This is the reason that the body must remain upon earth, to bear the burden of the law; but the soul ascends to the mountain with Isaac, and clings to the Gospel, which promises life eternal to all who believe in Christ Jesus.' 'It matters not,' again says conscience, 'thou shalt go to hell; thou hast not kept the law.' *Answer.* 'Yes, if Heaven had not come to my succour; but it has come to my succour, has been opened to me; our Saviour has said, "He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved." God said to Moses, "Thou shalt see my back, but thou shalt not see my face." The back was the law, the face is the Gospel.'

"The law does not endure grace, and, in its turn, grace does not endure the law. The law is only given for the haughty, the arrogant, nobles or peasants, for hypocrites, and those who delight in a multitude of laws. But grace is promised to poor suffering hearts, to the humble, to the afflicted, and for the pardon of sins. Master Nicholas Hausmann, Cordatus, Philip Melancthon, and I look for grace." "There is no writer, save St. Paul, who has written fully and unanswerably on the law, because reason is inadequate to judge of the law: it can only be judged by the Spirit." (August 15th, 1530.)

* "The cry of a faithful soul to Christ. I am thy sin, thou my righteousness; I rejoice, then, in safety," &c.

"Good and true divinity (theology) consists in practice, use, and exercise. Its foundation is Christ, whose passion, death, and resurrection are to be comprehended through faith. Some, in the present day, have devised a *speculative theology*, in accordance with reason. This belongs to the devil in hell. Thus, Zwingle and the sacramentarians *speculate* that the body of Christ is in the bread, but only in a spiritual sense. This is also the theology of Origen. David did not think thus; but he acknowledged his sins, and said, 'Have mercy upon me, O Lord.'"

"I saw lately two signs in the heavens. I looked from my window in the middle of the night, and I saw the stars and all the majestic vault of God, sustaining itself without my being able to perceive the pillars upon which the Creator had propped it. Nevertheless, it crumbled not away. There are those, however, who search for these pillars, and who would fain touch them with their hands; but, not being able to find them, they tremble, lament, and fear the heavens will fall. They might touch them, the heavens would never be moved. Again, I saw great and heavy clouds, floating over my head like an ocean. I perceived no prop which could sustain them, and still they fell not, but saluted us sadly, and passed on. And as they passed, I distinguished the arch which had upheld them—a splendid rainbow. Slight it was, without doubt, and delicate; one could not but tremble for it, under such a mass of clouds. Nevertheless, this airy line sufficed to support the load, and to protect us. There are those, however, who are alarmed at the weight of the clouds, and have no confidence in their frail prop. They would prove its strength, and not being able, they dread the clouds will dissolve and drown us with their floods. . . . Our rainbow is weak, their clouds are heavy; but the end will tell the strength of our bow." (August, 1530.)

CHAPTER IV.

OF INNOVATORS: THE MYSTICS, &c.

"CURIOSITY is our bane; it was the cause of Adam's fall. I fear two things—epicurism and enthusiasm, two sects which have still to reign. Take away the decalogue and heresy vanishes. The Holy Scriptures are the manual of all heretics."

Luther called seditious and presumptuous-minded men, "precocious saints, who, attacked by the worm before arriving at maturity, were blown by the slightest gust from the tree. Dreamers (*Schaeerner*) are like butterflies. At first, a grub which attaches itself to a wall, or builds itself a little house, is hatched by the warmth of the sun, and flies off a butterfly. The butterfly dies on a tree, and leaves a long train of eggs." Dr. Martin Luther said of false brothers and heretics, who fall away from us, that we ought to let them alone, and not be vexed about them. If they will not listen to us, we can send them, with all their fine bravado, to hell.

"When I began to write against indulgences, I lived for three years alone, without any holding forth their hand to me. Now they are all for claiming a share in the triumph. I suffer enough from my enemies, without the pain my good little

brothers give me. But who can bear up against all ! Here am I attacked by young men, all fresh and unworked, whilst I am old and worn with great sufferings and great labours. Osiander may well hector, he has an easy time of it ; he has only two sermons to deliver a week, and has four hundred florins a-year." "In 1521, I had a visit from one Marcus, one of the religionists of Zwickau, an agreeable-mannered man enough, but of empty opinions and life, in the view of conferring with me on the doctrine they profess. As he kept talking to me of things quite foreign from Scripture, I told him that I recognized the word of God alone, and that if he sought to establish anything else, he must at least prove his mission by miracles. His reply was, 'Miracles ! Ah ! you will see miracles, indeed, in seven years. God himself cannot take my faith from me.' He also said, 'I can see at once whether any one is of the elect or not.' After talking a long time about the *talent* which must not be hid, and about *purification*, *weariness*, *expectation*, I asked him who understood his language ? He answered that he preached only before believing and able disciples. 'How do you know that they are able ?' I asked. 'I have only to look at them,' he replied, 'to see their *talent*.' 'What *talent*, now, my friend, do you see in me ?' 'You are still,' he answered, 'in the first stage of mobility, but a time will come when you will be in the first of immobility like myself.' On this, I adduced to him several texts of Scripture, and we parted. Shortly after, he wrote me a very friendly letter, full of exhortations ; to which my sole answer was, 'Adieu, dear Marcus.'"

"Some time afterwards a turner came to me, who also called himself a prophet. He met me just as I was going out of my house, and said to me in a confident tone, 'Sir doctor, I bring you a message from my Father.' 'Who is thy Father ?' I said. 'Jesus Christ,' he replied. 'He is our common Father ; what hath he ordered thee to announce to me ?' 'That God's anger is kindled against the world.' 'Who told thee this ?' 'Yesterday, just as I had passed through the gate of Koswick, I saw a small cloud of fire in the air ; which is a clear sign of God's wrath.' He then mentioned another sign ; 'In the midst of a deep sleep,' he said, 'I saw drunkards seated at table, who said, Drink, drink, and God's hand was over them. Suddenly one of them poured some beer on my head, and I awoke.' 'Listen, my friend,' I then said to him, 'do not make free in this manner with God's name and orders,' and I gave him a severe reprimand. When he found what I thought of him, he went off in a passion, muttering, 'Of course, all who don't think with Luther are fools.'" "Another time, again, I had to do with a man from the Low Countries, who wished to argue with me, to use his own terms, *up to hell fire inclusively*. When I saw his ignorance, I said, 'Would it not be better to dispute over some cans of beer ?' He was nettled at this, and took himself off. The devil is a proud spirit, and can't bear contempt."

Master Stiefel came to Wittenberg to confer privily with Dr. Luther, and showed him his opinion on the Day of Judgment, in twenty articles. He believed that it would take place on St. Luke's day. He was bade to remain quiet, and to keep

his opinions to himself, which annoyed him exceedingly. "Dear sir doctor," he said, "I am surprised at your forbidding me to preach this, and at your not believing me. Still, I must speak, albeit unwillingly." Luther replied, "Dear master, you have managed to hold your tongue for ten years on this matter, during the reign of the papacy ; keep quiet the little time that remains." "But this very morning, as I was setting out early, I saw a beautiful rainbow, and thought of the coming of Christ." "There will be no rainbow when that day cometh ; the thunder-bolt will destroy every living creature instantaneously. A strong and powerful blast of the trumpet will arouse us all. They who are in the grave are not to be awakened by the piping of the shepherd's reed." (A.D. 1533.) "Michael Stiefel believes himself to be the seventh angel announcing the last day, and is giving away his books and his chattels, as he will soon have no more use for them." "Bileas is certainly damned, although he has had astounding revelations, no less than those of Daniel, for they embrace four empires too. 'Tis a fearful warning for the proud. Oh ! let us humble ourselves !"

Duke Henry of Saxony having come to Wittenberg, Dr. Martin Luther spoke twice to him against Dr. Jeckel, exhorting the prince to think of the evil days upon which the church had fallen. Jeckel had preached the following doctrine:—"Do what thou wilt, believe only, thou shalt be saved." He ought to have said: "When thou shalt be *born again*, and have become a new man, do then as thou art moved to do." . . . A pastor of Torgau having complained to Luther of Dr. Jeckel's insolence and hypocrisy, and of his having won over the nobility, the council, and even the prince himself, by his wiles, the doctor shuddered, sighed, spoke not, but he took himself to prayer. That very day he ordered that Eisleben (Agricola) should be required to make a public retraction, or that he should be publicly put down. "Dr. Luther, reproaching Jeckel for daring, with his limited experience and scanty skill in logic and rhetoric, to oppose his former masters and teachers, the latter replied: 'I ought to fear God more than my teachers. I have a God as well as you. . . .' Dr. Jeckel afterwards sat down at table to supper, but with a gloomy air. Dr. Luther eat heartily, as did the guests who had come from Freyberg. Then Luther broke out with, 'If I had made the court as pious as you the world, I should have laboured to some purpose,' &c. Jeckel still kept his eyes cast gloomily down, showing by his looks what was passing in his mind. At last Luther got up to take his leave, when Jeckel tried to detain him, and engage him in discussion ; but the doctor would have nothing more to say to him." "Dr. Jeckel is one of the Eisleben kind. He was courting my niece Anna ; but I said to him, 'Never, to all eternity.' And to the little girl: 'If thou wilt have him, take thyself from my sight for ever ; for never will I see or listen to thee more.'"

Of the Antinomians, and, in particular, of Eisleben. "Ah ! how painful it is to lose a good and dearly-loved friend ! This man used to be my guest, my companion, and would laugh and make merry with me. . . . And now, he turns against me ! . . . Such doctrine, however, must not be endured. Reject the law, without which there can be nor Church, nor government ! This is not tapping the

cask, but breaking it in. . . . Now is the time to resist. . . . Can I bear to hear him puffing himself up whilst I live, and seeking to be the master? It is no excuse for him to say that he has only spoken of Dr. Creuziger and of master Roerer. The Catechism, the Explanation of the Decalogue, and the Confession of Augsburg are mine, and not Creuziger's or Roerer's. . . . -He would base repentance on the love of justice, and so preaches the revelation of the divine wrath to the just and pious only. He does not preach for the wicked. Yet St. Paul says the law is for the ungodly. In short, by taking away the law, he takes away the Gospel, and he withdraws our belief from the firm support of conscience to subject it to the caprices of the flesh. Who could have dreamt of this sect of the Antinomians! . . . I have got over three cruel storms—Münzer, the Sacramentarians, and the Anabaptists. There is to be no end of writing, then. I do not wish to live long, for there is no peace to be hoped for." (A.D. 1538.)

Dr. Luther ordered master Ambrose Bernd to instruct the professors at the university to abstain from faction, and from paving the way for schism, and at the same time prohibited their electing master Eisleben dean. . . . "Tell that to your professors of faculties, and if they disregard it, I will denounce them from the pulpit." (A.D. 1539.) On the last day of November (A.D. 1538), as Luther was enjoying himself with his cousins, his brother, and sister, and some friends from Mansfeld, mention was made of master Grickele, and they interceded for him. The doctor replied, "I held that man to be my most faithful friend, but he has grossly deceived me. Let him beware; I shall soon write against him: there is no repentance in him." "Such was my confidence in that man (Eisleben), that, when I went to Smalkalde in 1537, I entrusted my pulpit to him, my church, my wife, my children, my house, and all that was dearest to me." Dr. Luther was reading over, in the evening of the last day of January, 1539, the propositions which Eisleben was going to maintain against him, and in which there were some absurdities about Saul and Jonathan, and there occurred the expression, "I have eat a little honey, and therefore I die." "Jonathan," said Luther, "is master Eisleben, who eats honey and preaches the Gospel; Saul is Luther. . . . Ah! Eisleben, art thou such a . . . Oh! God forgive thee thy rancour." "If the law be thus transferred from the church to the council, to the civil power, the latter will say in its turn, 'We, too, are faithful Christians; the law concerns not us;' and the executioners, at last, will say the same. All will be grace and sweetness, and then unbridled passions and crimes will follow. Münzer began on this wise."

In 1540, towards the close of an entertainment which Luther gave to some of the principal members of the university, and when all were in good humour, a goblet was produced, stained in rings of various colours. Luther filled it with wine, and emptied it to the health of his guests; and, in their turn, they all severally drained it to his health, until it came round to master Eisleben, when Luther said, as he held the glass out to him, "My friend, all in this glass, above the first ring, is the ten commandments; the *credo* (belief) comes next; then the *pater noster*; the catechism is at the bottom;" and then he quaffed it off, filled it again, and pre-

sented it to master Eisleben, who would not go beyond the first ring, but put the glass back on the table, and could not look at it without a kind of horror. Luther noticed this, and remarked to his guests, "I knew that master Eisleben would only drink off the commandments, and would leave the *credo*, the *pater noster*, and the catechism." Master Jobst, dining one day with Luther, showed him some propositions, according to which the law ought not to be preached, since we are not justified by it. Luther got angry, and exclaimed, "What, will my brethren propose such innovations even while I live? Ah! how ought not master Philip to be honoured, who teaches with clearness and truth the use and utility of the law. Count Albert von Mansfeld's prophecy is being realised. He wrote to me: '*There is a Münzer lurking behind that doctrine*;' and, indeed, he who pulls down the law, pulls down at the same time the whole framework of human polity and society (*politiam et economiam*). If the law be thrust out of the church, there will no longer be anything recognized as a sin in the world, since the Gospel defines and punishes sin only by recurring to the law." (A.D. 1541.)

"If, at the outset, I inveighed against the law, both from the pulpit and in my writings, the reason was, that the Christian Church was at the time overlaid with superstitions, under which Christ was altogether buried and hidden, and that I yearned to save and liberate pious God-fearing souls from this tyranny over the conscience. But I have never rejected the law."

CHAPTER V.

TEMPTATIONS.—REGRETS AND DOUBTS OF HIS FRIENDS
AND HIS WIFE.—LUTHER'S OWN DOUBTS.

MASTER Philip Melancthon one day told the following fable at Dr. Martin Luther's table:—"A man had caught a little bird, and the bird desiring its liberty, said to him, 'O my good friend, let me go, and I will show you a beautiful pearl, worth thousands of florins.' 'Thou art fooling me,' said the man." "Oh no, place confidence in me, come with me, and I will show it thee." The man lets the bird go, and it perches itself on a tree, and begins to sing, 'Trust little, keep what thou hast, trouble not thyself about what is irrecoverably lost.' (*Crede parvum, tua serua, et quæ perire, relinque.*) Now, was not that a beautiful pearl?" "Philip once asked me to glean a motto for him out of the Bible, which he would never be tired of. There is nothing you can give to man, which he will not grow tired of." "Had not Philip been so afflicted by temptations, he would have had strange ideas and opinions."

Luther's idea of Paradise is gross and material. He believes that in the new heaven, and in the new earth, there will be the useful animals as well as men. "I often ponder upon the life everlasting and its delights, but I cannot comprehend how we shall pass our time, for there will be no changes, no work, no drinking, no eating, nor business; but I conclude we shall have objects enough to contemplate. On this, Philip Melancthon said, very well, 'Master, show us the Father; that is enough.'" "The peasants do not deserve the fruits which the earth so lavishly brings forth. I return more thanks to our Lord for a tree, than all

the peasants for all the produce of their fields. 'Ah! *Domine Doctor*,' said Melancthon, 'except a few, as Adam, Noah, Abraham, Isaac.'

"Dr. Jonas said at supper, 'Ah! how magnificently St. Paul speaks of his death. I cannot, however, believe him!' 'It strikes me too,' said Dr. Luther, 'that St. Paul could not think on this subject as firmly as he spoke. I myself, unhappily, cannot make my faith equal to what I preach, speak, and write of the matter, or to what others suppose of me. And, perhaps, it were not good that we should be able to perform to the height of God's commands, or there would be an end of his divinity; he would be found a liar and his words would no more be believed.' "A wicked and horrible book against the holy Trinity was published in 1532, speaking of which, Dr. Luther said, 'Men of this chimerical turn of mind, do not think that others may have had temptations on this matter as well. But how oppose my own poor thoughts to the word of God and to the Holy Ghost? (*opponere meam cogitationem verbo Dei et Spiritui Sancto?*)' Such an opposition will not bear examination."

The doctor's wife said to him, "Sir doctor, how happens it that under the papacy, we prayed so often and so fervently, whilst now we pray so coldly and so seldom?" The doctor replied, "The devil is ever at his servants to make them diligent in their worship of him." Once, exhorting his wife to read and to learn carefully God's word, and particularly the Psalter, she answered, that she heard and read quite enough of it every day, and could even repeat many things out of it. The doctor sighed, and said, "Even so begins a dislike of God's word; 'tis the sign of an evil future. New books will appear, and Holy Scripture will be despised, cast into a corner, and be, as the phrase runs, thrown under the table." Luther asking his wife if she believed herself to be holy, she was all surprised, and said, "How can I be holy? I am a great sinner!" On which, he remarked, "You see, then, the horrid consequences of the papal doctrine; how it has injured men's hearts, and pre-occupied the whole inward man, so that they can no longer see anything except the piety, and the personal and outward sanctity of the works one does, even for one's own sake."

"The *Pater Noster* and faith give me confidence against the devil. My little Madeleine, and my little John too, pray for me, as well as many other Christians. . . . I love my Catherine, I love her more than myself, for I would die sooner than see any harm happen to her or her children. I love my lord Jesus Christ, too, who, through pure pity, has shed his blood for me. But my faith ought to be much greater and livelier than it is. O, my God! judge not thy servant!" "What contributes not a little to afflict and tempt me, is that God seems to be capricious and changeable. He gave Adam promises and ceremonies; and that came to an end with the rainbow and Noah's ark. To Abraham he gave circumcision, to Moses miraculous signs, to his people, the law; but to Christ, and through Christ, the Gospel, which we look upon as annulling all this. And here come the Turks to efface the Divine promise, and to say, 'Your law shall last yet a little, but shall be changed at last.' " (Luther subjoins no reflection).

CHAPTER VI.

THE DEVIL.—TEMPTATIONS.

"ONCE, in our monastery at Wittenberg, I distinctly heard the devil making a noise. As I was beginning to read the Psalter, after singing matins, and had sat down, and was about to study and write for my lecture, the devil came, and thrice made a noise behind my stove, as if he would have dragged it away. At last, as he would not give over, I put my little books by, and went to bed. . . . I heard him another night, in the room above my head, but, perceiving it was the devil, I paid no attention and went to sleep again." "A young girl, who was the mistress of the old miser at Wittenberg, falling ill, saw a vision—a fine and magnificent figure, that she took to be the Christ, and to which she accordingly addressed her prayers. They sent in all haste to the monastery for Dr. Luther. When he saw the figure, and that it was only a trick of the devil's, he exhorted the girl not to allow herself to be so cozened; and, indeed, as soon as she had spat in the phantom's face, the devil disappeared, and the figure changed into a great serpent, which suddenly bit the girl's ear, so that the blood flowed, and then disappeared. Dr. Luther saw this with his own eyes, together with many other persons." (The editor of Luther's conversations does not say that he had this anecdote from Luther himself.) A minister of Torgau complained to Luther that the devil made an extraordinary tumult and clatter in his house of a night, breaking his pots and pans, and then throwing them at his head, and laughing. This racket had gone on for a year, so that his wife and children insisted on leaving the house. Luther said to him: "Dear brother, be strong in the Lord; be not overcome by this murderous devil. If you have not invited this guest by your sins, you can say to him, 'I am here by divine authority, father of a family, and, by a heavenly call, pastor of the church; but thou, thou devil, glidest into this house as a thief and murderer. Why dost thou not stay in heaven? Who has asked thee here?'"

On a young girl possessed by an evil spirit. "Since this devil is a merry spirit, and makes a mock of us, we must first pray seriously for this young girl, who is a sufferer on account of our sins, and then flout the spirit, and treat it contemptuously, but not try it by exorcisms and other grave forms, because the devil's pride laughs at all that. Let us persevere in prayer for the maiden, and in scorn for the devil, until, with the grace of Christ, it withdraws. It would be well for the princes, too, to reform their vices, through which this evil spirit plainly triumphs. I pray thee, since the thing is worthy to be made public, to make diligent inquiry into all the circumstances; and, to guard against imposition, ascertain whether the coins which this girl swallows be really gold, and sterling money. For I have been made the prey of so many cheats, tricks, plots, lies, and artifices, as to incline me to withhold my belief from anything I have not seen or heard." (August 5th, 1536.) "Let the pastor not be troubled in conscience at having buried the woman who killed herself, if, indeed, she did kill herself. I know many similar instances, but have commonly supposed the sufferers to have been killed simply and immediately by the devil, as a

traveller is slain by a robber. For when it is evident that the suicide could not have taken place naturally; when we hear of a string, or a girdle, or (as in the case under consideration) of a loose veil, without any knot to be seen in it, and which would not be strong enough to kill a fly, we ought, in my opinion, to conclude it to be some fascination of the devil's, binding the sufferers to suppose they are doing something else, for instance, praying,—and then he kills them. Nevertheless, the civil power acts rightly in visiting such things severely, or Satan would grow bolder. The world deserves warnings of the kind, for it is growing epicurean, and thinks the devil nothing." (Dec. 1st, 1544.) "Satan has attempted our prior's life, by throwing down a large slip of wall upon him; but God miraculously preserved him." (July 4th, 1524.)

"The crazed, the halt, the blind, and the dumb, are all possessed with demons. Physicians who treat these infirmities as arising from natural causes, are fools, who know not the mighty power of the devil." (July 14th, 1528.) "There are places in many countries where devils have taken up their abode. Evil spirits abound in Prussia. In Switzerland, on a lofty mountain not far from Lucerne, is a lake, called Pilate's pool, where the devil has made a fearful settlement. There is a like pool in my country, into which if you cast a stone, a sudden tempest arises, and the whole surrounding country shakes. 'Tis the dwelling of imprisoned devils." "On Good Friday, at Sussen, the devil bore off three squires, who had sold themselves to him." (A.D. 1538.) On the occasion of a tempest, Luther said, "This is the devil's work; winds are nothing else than good and bad spirits. The devil puffs and blows." "Two noblemen had sworn to kill one another. The devil having killed one of them in his bed, with the other's sword, the survivor was brought forth into the market-place, where they dug up and carried off the ground covered by his shadow, and then banished him. This is called *civil death*. Dr. Gregory Bruck, chancellor of Saxony, told Luther this." Then come two stories of persons who were warned beforehand that they would be borne off by the devil, and who, notwithstanding they had received the holy sacrament, and that their friends watched by them with wax tapers, and in prayer, were borne off on the day and hour indicated. "The devil tormented our Lord himself. But, provided he bear not off the soul, all is well."

"The devil leads people about in their sleep, in such sort that they act exactly as if they were awake. The papists, formerly, in their superstition, said that such persons could not have been baptized, or that they must have been so by a drunken priest." "In the Low Countries, and in Saxony, there is a monstrous dog which smells out the dying, and prowls around the house. . . ." "Some monks were taking to their monastery one possessed. The devil that was in him said to the monks, '*O my brothers, what have I done to you?*' They were talking at Luther's table one day how one of a party of gentlemen, who were riding out, exclaimed, clapping spurs to his horse, '*The devil take the hindmost!*' He was left the last, and the devil snatched up horse and all, and bore them off. Luther observed, '*We should not ask Satan to our table. He comes without invitation. Devils swarm around us; and we ourselves, who are daily watching and praying, have enough to do with him.*'"

"An aged priest, at his prayers one day, heard the devil behind him, trying to hinder him, and grunting as loud as a whole drove of pigs. He turned round without manifesting the least alarm, and said, '*Master devil, you have caught what you deserved; you were a fine angel, and now you are a filthy hog.*' The grunting stopped at once, for the devil cannot bear to be mocked. . . . Faith makes him weak as a child." "The devil dreads God's word. He cannot bite it; it breaks his teeth."

"A young, ill-conditioned scapegrace was carousing in a tavern one day with some friends. Having drunk out his money, he said that he would sell his soul to any who would pay a good round score for him. Shortly after, a man entered the tavern, and sitting down to drink with him, asked if he really meant that he would sell his soul? He answered boldly, '*Yes;*' and the man paid for his drink the whole day. In the evening, when his victim was drunk, the unknown said to the others present, '*Gentlemen, what think you now; if I buy a horse, have I not a right to the saddle and bridle as well?*' They were exceedingly alarmed at these words; but, as the stranger pressed them, at last stammered out in the affirmative; upon which the devil (for it was he) seized the unfortunate wretch, and bore him off with him through the ceiling." "Another time, Luther told of a soldier who had entrusted his money to his landlord in the Brandenburg; but when he asked for it back, the latter denied ever having had it. The soldier in his rage assaulted him violently, and the knave had him taken up on a charge of having violated the *domestic peace* (Hausfriede). Whilst the soldier was in prison, the devil appeared to him, and said, '*To-morrow, thou wilt be condemned to death, and executed. If thou wilt sell me thy soul and body, I will set thee free.*' The soldier refusing, the devil said to him, '*If thou wilt not, at any rate take the advice I give thee. To-morrow, when thou shalt be brought up for trial, I will be near you in a blue cap with a white feather. Ask the judge to allow me to plead for thee, and I will get thee out of the scrape.*' The soldier did so; and, on the morrow, as his landlord persisted in denying all knowledge of the deposit, blue cap said to him, '*Friend, how canst thou perjure thyself so? The soldier's money is in thy bed under the bolster. Send some one to search, my lord judge, and the truth of what I say will be made manifest.*' Accordingly the money was found there, and brought into court. On this, blue cap said with a grin, '*I knew that I should have either the one or the other,*' and straightway twisted the landlord's neck, and bore him off." After telling this story, Luther added, that he disapproved of all swearing by the devil, as many were in the habit of doing: "For," he said, "the varlet is never far off; there is no need of painting him when he is always present."

"There were two students at Erfurth; one of whom was so passionately fond of a girl as to be like to lose his wits. The other, who was a sorcerer, though his companion knew nothing of it, said, '*If you will promise not to kiss her or take her in your arms, I will get her to come to you,*' and the interview took place. The lover, who was a fine young man, received her with so much passion, and spoke to her so tenderly, that the sorcerer was kept in a fever of fear lest he should embrace her, which, at last, unable to contain himself, he did:

on the moment, she fell down dead. They were greatly alarmed; but the sorcerer said, 'Let us try our last resource,' and then the devil, through his agency, reconveyed her home, where she continued to go about her usual occupations, but was deadly pale, and never uttered a word. After three days had passed thus, her parents sent for some godly ministers, who had no sooner interrogated the maid than the devil came out of her, and she fell down a stiff and offensive corpse." "Doctor Luke Gauric, the sorcerer you sent for from Italy, has often acknowledged to me that his master used to hold conversations with the devil." "The devil can take the form of either man or woman; so as to make a man think that he is lying with a woman of flesh and blood, when it is a vain form; for, as St. Paul says, the devil is on good terms with the sons of perdition. As children or devils are frequently the issue of such unions, commerce of the kind is revolting and horrible. Thus what we call the *nix*, lures women and virgins into the waters to procreate little devils. The devil, likewise, steals away children, during the first six weeks after their birth, and substitutes others in their place, called *supposititii*, and, by the Saxons, *kilkropff*."

"Eight years ago, I myself saw and touched a child at Dessau, that had no parents and had come of the devil. He was twelve years old, and altogether like any other child. He did nothing but eat; and would eat as much as any four working men. If any one touched him, he cried out as one possessed. If any thing went wrong in the house, he would laugh and be merry; but, when all went on well, he was always moping and in tears. I observed to the princes of Anhalt, 'Were I in authority here, I would have that child thrown into the Moldau, and run the risk of committing murder.' But the elector of Saxony and the princes thought differently. I then recommended them to have prayers offered up in the church, imploring the Lord to take away the demon; and prayers were daily put for a year, at the end of which time the child died." After the doctor had told this story, some one asked him, why he wished to have the child thrown into the river. "Because," he replied, "I believe children of this kind to be nothing else than a soulless lump of flesh. The devil is able to produce such things, just as he can deprive men of their senses by taking possession of their bodies: in the same manner that he enters men and makes them deaf and dumb for a time, so does he enter and animate these lumps of flesh. The devil must be very powerful to keep our spirits prisoners on this wise. Origen, as I conceive, has not thoroughly comprehended this power; otherwise, he would not have thought that the devil might obtain pardon on the last day. What a deadly sin to have rebelled, knowingly, as he did, against his God, his Creator!" "There was a man in Saxony, near Halberstadt, who had a *kilkropff*. This child could drain its mother and five other women of their milk, and would devour whatever was given it besides. The man was advised to make a pilgrimage to Holckelstadt to vow his *kilkropff* to the Virgin Mary, and to have it nursed there. So he bore off his child in a basket; but, as he crossed a bridge, another devil that was in the river began crying out, '*Kilkropff! kilckropff!*' The child in the basket, who had

never been known to utter a single word, answered, 'Oh! Oh! Oh!' The devil in the river then asked, 'Where are you going?' The child in the basket, who had never yet spoken a single word, answered, 'I am going to Holckelstadt, to our dearest mother, to nurse.' The man, in his alarm, tossed child and basket into the river; on which the two devils made off together, crying out, 'Oh! Oh! Oh!' and tumbling one over the other."

One Sunday as Luther was going out of church he was accosted by a landsknecht, who complained of being constantly tempted of the devil, and told how he often came to him, and threatened to bear him away. Whilst he was telling his tale, Dr. Pomer, who was passing by, joined Luther in giving him words of comfort. "Despair not," they said; "for despite the temptations of the devil, you are not his. Our Lord Jesus Christ was tempted of him as well, but by God's grace overcame him. Defend yourself, in like manner, by God's word and by prayer." Luther added, "When the devil torments you, and threatens to bear you off, answer, 'I am Jesus Christ's, my Lord's; in him I believe, and I shall one day be near him. He has himself said that no power can take Christians from his care.' Think more on God, who is in heaven, than on the devil; and be no longer alarmed by his wiles. I know that he would be glad to bear you off, but he cannot. He is like a thief who longs to lay his hand on a rich man's strong box; the will is not lacking, but the power. And even so, God will not allow the devil to do you any harm. Attend faithfully on the preaching of the divine word, pray fervently, work, avoid too much solitude, and you will see that God will deliver you from Satan, and preserve you of his fold." A farrier, a young man, asserted that a spectre constantly pursued him through the streets. Luther sent for him, and questioned him before many learned persons. The young man said that the spectre had reproached him with committing sacrilege, in having partaken the communion in both kinds, and had told him, "If you go back to your master's house, I will break your neck," and that he had therefore kept away for several days. The doctor, after much questioning, said, "Beware of lying, my friend; fear God, attend the preaching of his word; return to your master's; apply yourself to your work; and if Satan troubles you again, say to him, 'I will not obey you, I will only obey God, who has called me to this way of life; I will stick close to my work, and were an angel to come, he should not tempt me from it.'"

Dr. Luther, as he advanced in life, experienced few temptations from men; but, as he himself states, the devil would walk with him in the dormitory of the cloister, vex and tempt him. There were one or two devils who used to watch him, and when they could not reach his heart, they would clutch his head and torment it. . . . "These things happened to me often. If I happened to have a knife in my hand, evil thoughts would enter my mind. Frequently I could not pray: the devil would drive me out of the room. For we have to do with great devils, who are doctors of divinity. The Turks and the papists have devilkins, who are no doctors, but only lawyers." . . . "I know, thanks to God, that my cause is good and holy. If Christ is not in heaven, and is not Lord of the

world, I am in a bad predicament. The devil often presses me so hard in dispute, that I break out into a sweat. I am kept conscious of his constant animosity. He lies closer to me than my Catherine, and troubles me more than she joys me. . . . At times, he urges, 'The Law is also God's word; why always oppose the Gospel to it?' 'Yes,' say I in my turn, 'but it is as far from the Gospel as earth from heaven.'" "The devil, in truth, has not graduated full doctor, still he is very learned and deeply experienced; for he has been practising his trade these six thousand years. If the devil have sometimes come out of those possessed when conjured by monks and popish priests, leaving some sign after him, as a broken pane of glass, or a strip of wall thrown down, it was only to make people suppose that he had quitted the body, but, in reality, to take possession of the mind, and to confirm men in their superstitions."

In January, 1532, Luther fell dangerously ill; and the physician feared it would end in apoplectic seizure. Melancthon and Rozer, who were near his bed, happening to allude to the joy which the news of his death would occasion the papists, he said to them with an assured tone, "I know for a surety I shall not die yet. God will not at present confirm the abomination of papistry by my death. He will not, after those of Zwingle and Oecolampadius, grant the papists fresh cause for triumph. Satan's whole thought, it is true, is to make away with me; he never quits me. But it is not his will which will be fulfilled, but the Lord's!" "My illness—vertigoes and other attacks of the kind—is not natural. Whatever I take does me no good, although I am careful to observe my physician's advice." In 1536, he officiated at the marriage of duke Philip of Pomerania with the elector's sister, at Torgau. In the middle of the ceremony, the wedding-ring slipped from his hand and rolled on the ground. He was terror-struck for a moment, but recovered, saying, "Hearken, devil, this is no business of thine, 'tis trouble lost," and he went on with the service. "Whilst Dr. Luther was talking at table with some friends, his wife, who had gone out, fell into a swoon. When she came to herself, the doctor enquired what her thoughts had been like; and she related how she had experienced those peculiar temptations which are the certain signs of death, and which strike at the heart more surely than ball or arrow. . . . 'I advise,' he said, 'all who feel such temptations, to encourage lively thoughts, to take a cheerful draught, to take recreation, or else apply themselves to some honourable study; but the best remedy, is to believe in Jesus Christ.'" "When the devil finds me idle and inattentive to God's word, he then vexes me by suggesting scruples as to the lawfulness of my doctrine, as to my having humbled and reduced authority, and been the cause of so many scandals and disturbances. But when I lay hold on God's word again, then I win the match. I battle with the devil, and say, 'What is all the world to God, however great it may be! He has made his Son its lord and king. If the world seek to depose him, God will reduce it to ashes. *Kiss the Son, lest he be angry. . . . Be wise now, therefore, O ye kings, TAKE YOURSELVES TO TASK, ye judges of the earth,*' (the *erudimini, be instructed*, of the Vulgate, is less forcible). . . . Above all, the devil strives to

deprive me of my doctrine on the remission of sins. 'What?' he suggests, '*preach what no one has taught for all these centuries! Should it be offensive to God?*'" . . . "Of a night, when I awake, the devil soon comes and begins arguing with me, and putting strange thoughts into my head, until I fly into a passion, and say, 'Kiss my —; God is not as vexed with me as thou sayest!'" This morning when I awoke, the devil said to me, 'Thou art a sinner.' I answered, 'Tell me something new, demon, I knew that before. . . I have enow real sins to answer for without thy inventing others for me.' . . . He went on with, 'What hast thou done with the monasteries?' To which I replied, 'What's that to thee! Thou seest that thy accursed worship goes on as ever?'"

The conversation turning one evening at supper on the sorcerer Faustus, Luther said, in a serious manner, "The devil does not use enchanters against me. If he could injure me by their means, he would long since. He has often laid hold of me by the head, but has been forced to let me go. I have had ample experience what kind of companion the devil is. He has often squeezed me so hard, that I have not known whether I was dead or alive. At times, he has cast me into such despair, that I have not known whether there was a God, and have utterly doubted our dear Lord. But, with the aid of God's word," &c. "The devil sets the law, sin, and death, before my eyes, compels me to ponder on this trinity, and makes use of it to torment me." "The devil has sworn my death; but he will crack a hollow nut." "The temptation of the flesh is little; the remedy at hand. Eustochia would have cured St. Jerome. But God shield us from the great temptations which involve eternity! Tried by them, one knows not whether God be the devil, or the devil God. Such trials are not passing ones." "When I incline to think on worldly or family matters, I recur to a psalm, or some comfortable saying of St. Paul's, and sleep thereon. But the thoughts suggested by the devil are harder to be overcome; and I can only escape from them by some buffoonery or other." "The barleycorn suffers much from man. It is first cast into the earth to rot; then, when it is ripe, it is cut, threshed, dried, and steeped, in order to turn it into beer, for drunkards to swill. Flax is, also, a martyr in its way. When ripe, it is plucked up, steeped, dried, beaten, heckled, carded, spun, woven, and made up into cloth for shirts and shifts, &c. When these are worn out, the rags are used for lint, or for spreading plasters for sores, or for tinder, or are sold to the paper-maker, who bruises, dissolves, and then converts them into paper, which is devoted to writing, or to printing, or to making playing cards, and lastly, is torn up and applied to the vilest uses. These plants, as well as other creatures, which are very useful to us, have much to suffer. Even so, good and pious Christians have much to endure from the wicked and impious."

"When the devil comes to me of a night, I give him these and the like answers, and say, 'Devil! I must now sleep, for the same is God's command and ordinance, to labour by day, and to rest and sleep by night.' Then, if he charge me with being a sinner, I say to spite him, '*Holy Satan, pray for me;*' or else, '*Physician, cure thyself!*'" "If you

would comfort one who is tempted, you must kill Moses and stone him; if, on the contrary, he becomes himself again, and forgets his temptation, you must preach the law to him; for '*affliction is not to be added to the afflicted.*'" "The best way to expel the devil, if he will not depart for texts from Holy Scripture, is to jeer and flout him." "Those tried by temptations may be comforted by generous living; but this will not do for all, especially not for the young. As for myself, who am now in years, a cheerful cup will drive away my temptations, and give me a sound sleep." "The best cure for temptations is to begin talking about other matters, as of Marcolphus, the *Elenspiegel*, and other drolleries of the kind, &c. The devil is a melancholy spirit, and cheerful music soon puts him to flight."

The following important document is in a manner the history of the obstinate war which Satan waged upon Luther the whole of his life:

Preface written by Doctor Martin Luther before his death. "Whoever reads with attention ecclesiastical history, the books of the holy fathers, and particularly the Bible, will see clearly, that ever since the commencement of the Church events have always taken the same turn. Wherever the word of God has made itself heard, and God has brought together a band of the faithful, the devil has quickly perceived the divine ray, and has begun to chafe, and blow, and raise tempests from every quarter, trying, with all his might, to extinguish the same. In vain we stop up one or two rents; he will find another and another; still noise and ever mischief. There never yet has been an end to this, and there never will, till the day of judgment. I hold that I myself (let alone the ancients) have undergone more than twenty hurricanes, twenty different assaults of the devil. First, I had the papists against me. Every one knows, I suppose (pretty nearly), how many tempests of books and of bulls the devil has, through them, hurled against me, and in what a terrible manner they have devoured and torn me to pieces. It is true that I also sometimes blew, gently though, against them; but it was no good; they were the more irritated, and blew again more violently, vomiting forth flames and fire. It has been so, without interruption, to this present hour. I had begun to hope for a calm from these outbreaks of the devil, when he made a fresh attack through Münzer and his revolt, which failed though to extinguish the light. Christ himself healed that breach; when, lo! in the person of Carlstadt, he came and broke my window-panes. There he was, bellowing and storming, so that I thought he was come to put out light, wax, and tinder at once. But God was at hand to aid his poor little light, nor would he permit it to be extinguished. Then came the Sacramentarians and the Anabaptists, who broke open doors and windows to put out this light. Again it was in great danger, but, thanks be to God, their spite was again disappointed. Others, again, have raged against the old masters, against the pope, and Luther, all at once, as Servetus, Campanus. . . . As to those who have not assailed me publicly in printed books, but from whom I have borne in private letters and discourses filled with indignities, I shall not attempt to enumerate them here. It is enough to say that I have now learned, by experience (I would not believe

the accounts from history), that the Church, for the love of the word and of the blessed light, must never expect repose, but be ever on the look-out for fresh outrages from the devil; for so it has been from the beginning.

"And though I should live a hundred years longer, and should quiet all these storms, past, present, and to come, I see clearly that this would not secure rest for those who come after me, so long as the devil lives and reigns. Therefore it is that I pray God to grant me to live one short hour in a state of grace; I ask no longer life. You who come after us pray to God with fervour, and diligently walk in his commandments. Guard well the poor candle of the Lord, for the devil neither sleeps, rests, and will not die until the final judgment. You and I shall die; and, after we are gone, he will be the same that he has always been, ever raging against the Gospel. . . . I see him from afar, blowing, puffing, and swelling out his cheeks, till he becomes red in the face; but our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who, at the beginning, smote him on his audacious visage, still maintains the combat with him, and will for ever. He who cannot lie has said: 'I will be with you to the end of the world; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against thee.' And in St. John he says: 'My sheep shall never perish, neither shall any pluck them out of my hand.' And again, in St. Matthew, x.: 'All the hairs of your head are counted.' . . . 'Fear not, then, for those who can kill the body.' Nevertheless, it is commanded us to watch and keep this light as long as it is in us. It is said: '*Vigilate*'; the devil is as a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour.' Such was he when St. Peter pronounced this of him, and such he is and will be to the end of the world. . . ."

(Luther then reverts to the subject of succour from God, without which, all our efforts are vain, and he continues thus:) "You and I were nothing a thousand years ago, and yet the Church has been saved without us. It has been so through the power of him of whom it is said: '*Heri ut hodie*'. It is the same now; it is not we who preserve the Church, for we could not reach the devil who is in the pope, and in seditious and all wicked people. The Church would perish before our eyes, and we with her, was it not for some higher power that protects it. We must leave Him to act, of whom it is said, '*Qui erit heri, ut hodie*'. (The same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever.) It is a lamentable thing to see our pride and our audacity, after the terrible and shameful examples of those, who, in their vanity, have believed that the Church was built upon themselves. . . . To speak only of these times, how did Münzer end? he who thought the Church would fall if he were not here to support and govern it? And more recently still, have not the Anabaptists been a terrible and sufficient warning to us, to remind us how subtle a devil is at our elbow, how dangerous are our high thoughts, and how needful it is (as Isaiah says), that we look well into our hands when we pick up anything, to see if it be God or an idol, gold or clay? But all these warnings are lost upon us; we go on in full security. Yes, without doubt, the devil is far from us; we have none of the same flesh which was even in St. Paul, and from which he could not separate himself, spite of all his efforts. (Rom. vii.) But we, we are heroes; we need not trouble ourselves about

the flesh, and carnal thoughts; we are pure spirits, we hold captives at once the flesh and the devil, and whatever comes into our heads, is the immaculate inspiration of the Holy Ghost. And this all ends so well, that horse and rider both break their necks.

"The Papists, I know, will here tell me, 'Well! thou seest; it is thou that complainest of troubles and seditions! Who has caused them, if not thou and thy doctrine?' Behold the cunning artifice by which they think to overthrow Luther's doctrine from top to bottom. It matters not! let them calumniate; let them lie as much as they will; they must, at last, hold their peace. According to this grand argument, all the prophets also were heretical and seditions, for they were held as such by their own people; as such, they were persecuted, and mostly put to death. Jesus Christ, our Lord, was himself obliged to hear it said by the Jews, and in particular by the high priests, the pharisees, and scribes, &c., by those highest in power, that he had a devil, that he cast out devils by other devils, that he was a Samaritan, the companion of publicans and sinners. He was also, in the end, condemned to die upon the cross for blasphemy and sedition. 'Which of the prophets,' said St. Stephen to the Jews, who were about to stone him, 'which have not your fathers persecuted and slain? and you, their children, ye have sold and killed that Just One, whose coming those prophets foretold.' The apostles and the disciples have not fared better than their Master; and his predictions were fulfilled in them. . . If thus it must be, and Scripture assures us it must, why be astonished if we also, who in these terrible times preach Jesus, and declare ourselves his followers, are, like him, persecuted and condemned as heretics, and disturbers of the public peace! What are we compared with these sublime spirits, enlightened by the Holy Ghost, endowed with so many admirable gifts, and with so fervent a faith? . . . Let us, then, not be ashamed of the calumnies and injuries with which our enemies pursue us. Let all this be without terror for us. But let us regard it as our highest glory to receive from the world the same reward which the saints have had from the beginning, for their faithful services. Let us rejoice in God that we also, poor sinners, and despised of men, have been thought worthy to suffer ignominy for Christ's name's sake! . . .

"The papists, with their grand argument, are like a man who should say that if God had not created good angels, there would have been no devils; because, it was from among the good angels that they came. In like manner, Adam accused God of having given him the woman; as if, had God not created Adam and Eve, they would not have sinned. It would follow, from this fine reasoning, that God alone was the sinner, and that Adam and his children were all pure, and pious, and holy. From Luther's doctrine there have arisen many troublesome and rebellious spirits; therefore, they say Luther's doctrine is of the devil. But St. John says also (1 Ep. ii.): 'They went out from us, but are not of us.' Judas was one of Christ's disciples; then, according to their argument, Jesus Christ is a devil. No heretic has ever gone out from the pagans; they have gone out from the holy Christian Church; the Church, therefore, must be the work of the devil! It was

the same with the Bible under the pope; it was publicly denounced as an heretical book, and accused of giving countenance to the most damnable errors. And now the cry is 'The Church! the Church! against and above the Bible!' Emser, the wise Emser, did not know well what to say about the Bible being translated into German; perhaps he had not made up his mind whether it were right it should ever have been written in Hebrew, Greek, or Latin. The Bible and the Church do not agree too well together. If, then, the Bible, the book and the word of the Holy Ghost, has so much to endure from them, what have we to complain of their imputing to us the heresies and seditions which break out? The spider draws its poison from the sweet and lovely rose, where the bee finds only honey. Is it the fault of the flower, if its honey turns to poison in the spider?

"It is, as the proverb says, 'The dog we want to punish has stolen some meat;' or, as Æsop finely says, 'The sheep that the wolf would eat has troubled the waters, although standing at the bottom of the stream.' They who have filled the Church with errors, bloodshed, lies, and murder, are not the troublemakers of the waters; but we—who have withstood sedition and heresy. Wolf, eat; eat, my friend, and may a bone stick in thy throat. . . They cannot act differently; such is the world and its god. If they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, will they treat his servants better? And if the Holy Scriptures have been called heretical, how can we expect our books to be honoured? The living God is the judge of all; he will one day make it clear whether we are to believe the witness of this heretical book called the Holy Scriptures.

"May Jesus Christ, our beloved Saviour and keeper of our souls, bought by his precious blood, keep his little flock faithful to his holy word; to the end that it may increase, and grow in grace, in knowledge, and in faith. May he vouchsafe to support it against the temptations of Satan and this world, and to take pity on the profound lamentations and the agonizing longings with which it sighs for the happy day of the glorious coming of our Saviour, when the fury and murderous bites of the serpents shall cease at last; and for the children of God shall begin that revelation of liberty and heavenly bliss for which we hope, and for which we wait with longsuffering and patience. Amen. Amen."

CHAPTER VII.

HIS AILMENTS.—LONGINGS FOR DEATH AND JUDGMENT.—DEATH, A.D. 1546.

"Both tooth-ache and ear-ache are cruel ailments; I would rather have the plague or the—. When I was at Coburg, in 1530, I suffered much from a noise and whizzing in my ears, as if wind was escaping from my head. . . The devil had a hand in it." "When ill, one should eat well, and drink wine." He treated himself on this plan at Smalkalde, in 1537. A man complaining to him one day of the itch, Luther said, "I would give ten florins to change with you; you know not how distressing vertigo is. At this very moment, I am unable to read a letter through at once,

indeed, I cannot read more than two or three lines of my Psalter; for when I make the attempt, such a buzzing comes on in my ears, that I am often on the point of falling from my seat. The itch, on the contrary, is a useful thing," &c.

At dinner, after preaching at Smalkalde, he was attacked by a violent fit of the stone, and prayed fervently: "O my God, my Lord Jesus, thou knowest how zealously I have taught thy word. *If it be for the glory of thy name, come to my aid; if not, deign to close my eyes. I shall die the enemy of thy enemies*, and hating the accursed one, the pope, who has set himself above Christ." He then improvised four Latin verses on the subject. "My head swims so, and is so weak, that I can no longer read or write, especially fasting." (Feb. 9th, 1543.) "I am weak, and weary of life, and think of bidding farewell to the world, which is now wholly the devil's. May the Lord grant me favourable weather and a happy passage. Amen!" (March 14th.)

To Amsdorf. "I am writing to thee after supper; for, fasting, I cannot even look at a book without danger. I am much surprised at this illness of mine, and know not whether it be a buffet of Satan's, or a natural weakness." (August 18th.) "I believe my true malady to be old age; and, next to this, my overpowering labours and thoughts, but, mainly, the buffets of Satan; and all the physic in the world cannot cure me of these." (Nov. 7th, 1543.)

To Spalatin. "I must say, that in all my life, and all my cares about the Gospel, I have never gone through so troubled a year as that which has just ended. I have a tremendous quarrel on hand with the lawyers on the subject of private marriages; in those whom I had believed to be steadfast friends of the Gospel, I find cruel enemies. Dost thou think that this is no pain to me, dear Spalatin?" (Jan. 30th, 1544.) "I am idle, worn out, cold; that is to say, old and useless. I have finished my journey; it only remains for the Lord to gather me to my fathers, and to render unto corruption and the worms their share in me. I am satiated with life, if this be life. Pray for me, that my last moments may be salutary to myself and acceptable unto God. My only thoughts about the emperor and the empire are commending them to God in my prayers. The world seems to me to have arrived at its last hour, and, to use the psalmist's expression, to have grown old like a garment; and now is the time come that we must change it." (Dec. 5th, 1544.) "Had I known at the beginning what enemies men are to God's word, I should indisputably have been silent, and held my peace. I imagined they only sinned through ignorance."

He once said, "Nobles, citizens, peasants, I might add almost all men, think they know the Gospel better than Dr. Luther or St. Paul himself; and look down on pastors, rather on the Lord and Master of pastors. . . . The nobles seek to govern, and yet know not how. The pope knows how to govern, and does govern. The least papist is more capable of governing than—I cry them mercy—ten of our court nobles." Luther was one day told that there were six hundred rich cures vacant in the bishopric of Wurtzburg. "No good will come of this," he said. "It will be the same with us if we go on despising God's word and his servants. If I

desired to become rich, all I should have to do would be not to preach. . . . The ecclesiastical visitors asked the peasants wherefore they would not support their pastors, when they kept cowherds and swineherds? 'Oh!' they said, 'we want these; we cannot do without them.' They thought they could do without pastors."

For six months Luther preached in his house to his own family every Sunday, but not in the church. "I do this," he said to Dr. Jonas, "to clear my conscience, and discharge my duty as the father of a family. But I know and see that God's word will not be more minded here than in church." "You will have to succeed me as preacher, Dr. Jonas; think on it, and acquit yourself well." He walked out of church one day, in anger at the people's talking (A.D. 1545). On the 16th of February, 1546, Luther remarked that Aristotle had written no better book than the fifth of his *Ethica*, where he gives this beautiful definition, "The virtue of justice consists in moderation, as regulated by wisdom." (This eulogium on moderation in the last year of Luther's life is very remarkable.)

The count von Mansfeld's chancellor, on his return from the diet of Frankfort, said at Luther's table, at Eisleben, that the emperor and the pope were sudden in their proceedings against the bishop of Cologne, Herman, and were thinking of expelling him from his electorate. On this, Luther said, "They have lost the game. Unable to do aught against us with God's word and Holy Scripture, they are attacking us with wisdom, violence, craft, practising, deceit, force and arms (*ergo volunt sapientiâ, violentiâ, astutiâ, practiciâ, dolo, vi et armis pugnare*). What says our Lord to this? He sees that he is only a poor scholar, and he says, 'What will become of my son and I? . . . For me, when they shall kill me, they must first eat . . . I enjoy a great advantage; my lord is called *Schleffemini*; it is he who said, I will call ye up on the last day (*ego suscitabo vos in novissimo die*); and he will then say, Dr. Martin, Dr. Jonas, Sir Michael Caelius come to me, and he will call each of you by your own name, as the Lord Christ says in St. John, *And he calls them by their names*. Be ye, then, without fear. . . . God holds a fine hand of cards, which is composed only of kings, princes, &c. He shuffles the cards, for instance, the pope with Luther; and then he does as children, who, after having held the cards for a time in vain, tire of the game and throw them under the table." "The world is like a drunken peasant; put him up on his saddle on one side, he tumbles over on the other. No matter what way you set about it, you can't help him. The world will be the devil's."

Luther often said that it would be a great disgrace to the pope were he to die in his bed. "All of you, thou pope, thou devil, ye kings, princes, and lords, are Luther's enemies, and yet you can do him no harm. It was not so with John Huss. I take it that there has not been a man so hated as I for these hundred years. I, too, hate the world. In the whole round of life, there is nothing which gives me pleasure; I am sick of living. May our Lord then come quickly, and take me with him. May he, above all, come with his day of judgment. I would stretch forth my neck . . . so that he hurled his thunderbolt and I were at rest. . . ." He proceeds to console himself for the ingratitude

of the world, by reflecting on the fates of Moses, Samuel, St. Paul, and of Christ. A guest of his said, that if the world were to last fifty years, many things might yet turn up. "God forbid," exclaimed Luther, "it would be worse than all the past. There would arise many other sects, which are now hidden within the hearts of men. May the Lord come, and cut all this short, for there is no hope of improvement!" "Life will be such a burthen, that there will be one universal cry from all the corners of the earth, 'Good God! come with the day of judgment!' And, happening to have in his hand a chaplet of white agates, he added, 'God grant that day may soon come. I would eat this chaplet to have it to be to-morrow.'"

Speaking at his table of eclipses, and the little influence they appeared to have on the death of kings and other great people, the doctor replied, "You are right; eclipses no longer produce any sensible effects; and I think myself that our Saviour will come soon to veritable effects; and that ere long the judgment will put an end to all our cogitations, and all things else. I dreamt it was so the other day while I lay asleep in the afternoon, and I said then *in pace in id ipsum requiescam seu dormiam*. The day of judgment must soon come; for that the papal Church should reform is an impossibility, neither will the Turks and Jews. . . . In fact, there is no real improvement in the state of the empire; and see, for thirty years now have they assembled diets without deciding on any thing. . . . I often think when ruminating in my walks of what I ought to ask in my prayers for the diet. The bishop of Mentz is naught; the pope is lost for ever. I see nothing else to be done but to say, 'Lord, thy kingdom come!'"

"Poor, helpless creatures that we are, we eat our bread but in sin. Our first seven years of life we do nothing but eat, drink, sleep, and play. Thence to one-and-twenty, we go to school three or four hours a day; then follow as our passions lead—love or drink. After this, only, we begin seriously to work. Towards fifty, we have done, and turn children again! Add to all this that we sleep away half of our lives! Oh! out upon us! Out of our lives we do not give even a tithe to God; and do we think to merit Heaven by our good works? What have I been doing now? I have been prating for two hours, have been eating for three, and have been idle for four! *Ah! Domine, ne intres in iudicium cum seruo tuo*." (Oh! Lord, enter not into judgment with thy servant.) After detailing all his sufferings to Melancthon, he exclaims, "Please God to take my soul in the peace of Christ, by the grace of God I am ready to go; yea, desirous. I have lived and have finished the course marked out for me by God. . . . Oh may my soul, which is weary of its long pilgrimage, now be suffered to mount to heaven." (April 18th, 1541.)

"I have not much time, my dear Probst, to write, for I am overcome by fatigue and old age: *alt, kalt, ungestalt* (old, cold, mouldy), as they say. Nevertheless, rest I cannot have, best as I am by so many reasons and obligations to write. I know more than you can of the fatalities that await this age. The world is threatened with ruin; it is inevitable; the more the devil is allowed to roam, the more brutish the world becomes. There is but one consolation left us; it is that this

day is nigh. The world has been sated with God's word, and taken a strange antipathy to it. Fewer false prophets arise. Why raise up new heresies when there is an epicurean disdain of the world? Germany is dead; she will never again be what she has been. The nobles only think of extorting; the towns think but of themselves (and with reason): so that the kingdom is divided against itself, just when it ought to be confronting the legion of unchained devils which compose the Turkish army. We seem to care little if God be for or against us, and think we shall triumph by our own strength over Turks, the devils, God, and every thing: such are the overweening confidence and stupid security of expiring Germany! And we, what can we do in the matter? Complaints and tears are equally fruitless. All that is left for us to do is to reiterate the prayer, 'Thy will be done *' (March 26th, 1542.) "I see, in every one, an indomitable cupidity, which to me seems one sign of the approach of the last day. It is as if the world in its old age and at its last gasp, became delirious; as so often happens with the dying." (March 8th, 1544.) "I do believe that I am that great trumpet which prefaces and announces the coming of our Lord. Therefore, weak and failing as I may be, and small as may be the sound that I can make this world hear, my voice rings in the ears of the angels in heaven, who will take up the strain after us and complete the solemn call! Amen, and Amen." (August 6th, 1545.)

During the last years of Luther's life, his enemies often spread reports of his death; with the addition of the most singular and tragic circumstances. To refute these, Luther had printed in 1545, in German and Italian, a pamphlet entitled *Lies of the Goths, touching the death of Dr. Martin Luther*. "I tell Dr. Bucer beforehand, that whoever, after my death, shall despise the authority of this school and this church, will be a heretic and unbeliever; for it was here first that God purified his word and again made it known. . . . Who could do any thing twenty-five years since? Who was on my side twenty-one years ago?" "I often count, and find that I approach nearer and nearer to the forty years, at the end of which I believe all this will end. St. Paul only preached for forty years; and so the prophet Jeremiah, and St. Augustin. And when each of these forty years had come to an end, in which they had preached the word of God, it was no longer listened to, and great calamities followed."

The aged electress, when he was last at her table, wished him forty years more of life. "I would not have Heaven," said he, "on condition that I must live forty years longer. . . . I have nothing to do with doctors now. It seems they have settled that I am to live one year longer; so that I won't make my life a torment, but, in God's name, eat and drink what I please."—"I would my adversaries would put an end to me; for my death now would be of more service to the Church than my life." (February 16th, 1546.) The conversation running much on death and sickness,

* These sad and desponding reflections may almost be traced in the beautiful portrait of Luther, in the collection of Zimmer, the publisher of Heidelberg. This painting also expresses the strain produced by the continuation of long and anxious exertions.

during his last visit to Eisleben, he said, "If I return to Wittemberg, I shall soon be in my coffin, and then I shall give the worms a good meal on a fat doctor." Two days after this he died, at Eisleben.

Luther's impromptu on the frailty of life:—

"Dat vitrum vitro Jonæ (vitrum ipse) Lutherus,
Se similem ut fragili noscat uterque vitro."

We leave these verses in Latin, as they would lose all their merit in translation.

A Note written at Eisleben two days before his death:—

"No one can comprehend Virgil's *Bucolics*, who has not been five years a shepherd."

"No one can understand Virgil's *Georgics*, who has not been five years a husbandman."

"No one can comprehend Cicero's letters, if he has not lived twenty years a politician and statesman."

"Let no one imagine that he has mastered Holy Scripture, who has not, for a hundred years, governed the affairs of the Church, with Elias and Elisha, with John the Baptist, with Christ and his apostles."

"Hanc tu ne divinum *Æneida* tenta,
Sed vestigia pronus adora."

"We are all poor mendicants. . . . Hoc est verum. 16 Februarii, anno 1546."

Prediction of the reverend father, Doctor Martin Luther, written in his own hand, and found after his death, in his library, by those whom the most illustrious elector of Saxony, John Frederic I., had entrusted to select it.

"The time is arrived, at which, according to ancient predictions, there must arise after the appearing of Antichrist, men who will live without God in the world, every one after his own devices. The pope has long considered himself a god above God; and now all wish to do without God, and especially the Papists. Even we, now that we are free from the law of the pope, seek to deliver ourselves from the law of God, and follow only fickle politicians, and this only so far as our own caprice dictates. We imagine the times far off of which such things are predicted; but I say they are now at hand; these godless men are ourselves. There are amongst us some, who so impatiently desire the day of Man, as to have begun to exclude from the church the decalogue and the law; of these are Master Eisleben (*Agricola*), &c. I am not uneasy about the papists; they flatter the pope, out of hatred to us, and thereby to gain power until they will become a terror to the poor pope. . . . I feel great satisfaction when I see these flatterers laying snares for the pope, more to be dreaded by him than I myself, who am his declared enemy. It is the same with us; my own people give me far more care and trouble than all the whole papacy together, which henceforth is powerless against us. So true it is, that when an empire is about to fall to ruin, it is chiefly through its own preponderating weight. Rome, for instance,

"Mole ruit sua . . .

. . . Corpus magnum populumque potentem
In sua vitrici conversum viscera dextra."

Towards the latter end of his life, Luther took a dislike to Wittemberg. He wrote to his wife, in

July, 1545, from Leipzig, where he was staying: "Grace and peace to you, my dear Catherine! our John will tell you of our journey hither; Ernest von Schonfeldt received us very kindly at Lobnitz, and our friend Scherle still more warmly here. I would fain so manage as never to return to Wittemberg. I have no longer any affection for that town, and I do not like to live there any longer. I wish you to sell the cottage with the court and garden; I will give back to my gracious lord the large house he was so good as to give me, and we will settle ourselves at Zeilsdorf. We can put our land in good order by laying out my stipend upon it, as I think my lord will not fail to continue it at least for one year; the which, I firmly believe, will be the last I shall live. Wittemberg is become an actual Sodom, and I will not return thither. The day after to-morrow I am going to Merseburg, on count George's pressing invitation. I would rather pass my life on the high roads, or in begging my bread, than have my last moments tormented by the sight of the depravity of Wittemberg, where all my pains and labour are thrown away. You can communicate this to Philip and to Pomer, whom I beg to bless the town in my name. For my part, I can no longer live there." It required the most earnest entreaties of his friends, of the whole university, and of the elector, to make him renounce this resolution; he returned to Wittemberg on the 18th of August.

Luther was not allowed to die in peace; his last days were painfully employed in the endeavour to reconcile the two Counts von Mansfeld, whose subject he was born. He writes to count Albert, promising him to be at Eisleben: "Eight days more or less will not stop me, although I am much occupied elsewhere. I should rest in peace in my grave if I could first see my dear masters reconciled and made friends." (December 6th, 1545.)

(From Eisleben.) "To the very learned, and very profound lady Catherine Luther, my gracious wife. Dear Catherine, we are much tormented here, and should not be sorry to get home; however, we must, I think, remain another eight days. You can say to Master Philip, that he will not do amiss to correct his commentary on the Gospel, for in writing it, he did not know why our Lord, in the Gospel, calls riches, thorns. This is the school where such things are learnt. The Holy Scripture threatens everywhere the thorns of eternal fire; this terrifies me, and teaches me patience, for I must, with the help of God, make every effort to end well. . . ." (February 6th, 1546.)

"To the gracious lady Catherine Luther, my beloved wife, who torments herself by far too much. Grace and peace in the Lord. Dear Catherine! You must read St. John, and what is said in the catechism of the trust we ought to put in God. You alarm yourself as if God was not all powerful, and as if he could not make doctors Martin by dozens, if the first should be drowned in the Saal, or perish in any other manner. I have One that takes care of me better than thou, or any of the angels could do. One who is seated at the right hand of God Almighty. Be comforted then. Amen. . . . I intended setting out yesterday, in *irâ mea*: but the misery in which I find my native country detains me. Would you believe it? I am become a lawyer. However, it will not answer any great end; it would have been better had they left me

a theologian. They stand in singular need of having their pride humbled ; they talk and act as if they were gods ; but if they go on so, I fear they they will become devils. Lucifer was lost by his pride, &c. . . . Show this letter to Philip ; I have not time to write to him separately." (February 7th, 1546.)

"To my gentle and dear wife, Catherine Luther von Bora. Grace and peace in our Lord. Dear Catherine, God willing, we hope to return to you this week. He has shown the power of his grace in this affair. The lords are agreed upon all points, with the exception of one or two ; among others, upon the reconciliation of the two brothers, counts Gebhard and Albert. I am to dine with them to-day, and I shall endeavour to make them truly brothers again. They have written against each other with great bitterness, and have not exchanged a word during the conferences. However, our young lords are very gay, going about in sledges with the ladies, with bells tinkling at their horses' heads. God has heard our prayers ! I send you some trout, a present from the countess Albert. This lady is well pleased to see peace restored in her family. . . . The rumour runs here that the emperor is advancing towards Westphalia, and that the French are enlisting landsknechts, as well as the landgrave, &c. Let them talk, and invent news, we will wait God's will. I recommend you to his protection.—MARTIN LUTHER." (February 14th, 1546.)

Luther had arrived, the 28th January, at Eisleben, and though already ill, he joined in all the conferences until the 17th February. He preached also four times, and revised the ecclesiastical statutes for the earldom of Mansfeld. The 17th, he was so ill that the counts prayed him not to go out. At supper he spoke much of his approaching end, and some one asking him if he thought we should recognize each other in the other world, he replied that he thought so. On returning to his chamber with master Cælius and his two sons, he drew near the window, and remained there a long time in prayer. After that, he said to Aurifaber, who had just arrived, "I feel very weak, and my pains seem to increase:" on which they administered some medicine to him, and endeavoured to warm him by friction. He spoke a few words to count Albert, who had come to see him, and then laid himself down on the bed, saying, "If I could only sleep for half an hour, I think it would refresh me." He did sleep without waking for an hour and a half. This was about eleven o'clock. When he awoke, he said to those in attendance, "What, still sitting up by me: why do you not go to rest yourselves?" He then commenced praying, and said with fervor, "*In manus tuas commendo spiritum meum ; redemisti me, Domine, Deus veritatis.* (Into thy hands I commend my spirit ; thou art my redeemer, O God of truth.)" He also said to those about him, "All of you pray, my friends, for the Gospel of our Lord, that his reign may be extended, for the council of Trent and the pope threaten it greatly." He then slept again for about an hour, and when he awoke, doctor Jonas asking him how he felt, "O my God," he replied, "I feel myself very bad. I think, my dear Jonas, that I shall remain here at Eisleben, where I was born." He then took a few steps about the room, and laid himself down again on the bed, where they covered him with soft cushions.

Two doctors, and the count with his wife then arrived. Luther said to them, "I am dying ; I shall remain at Eisleben." And doctor Jonas expressing a hope that the perspiration would perhaps relieve him: "No, dear Jonas," replied he, "it is a cold and dry sweat, and the pain is worse." He then applied himself to prayer, and said, "O my God ! Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, thou the God of all consolation, I thank thee for having revealed to me thy well-beloved Son, in whom I believe ; whom I have preached and acknowledged ; whom I have loved and honoured ; and whom the pope and the ungodly persecute. I commend my soul to thee, O my Saviour Jesus Christ ! I shall leave this terrestrial body ; I shall be taken from this life ; but I know that I shall rest eternally with thee." He repeated three times following, "*In manus tuas commendo spiritum meum ; redemisti me, Domine veritatis.*" Suddenly his eyes closed and he fainted. Count Albert and his wife, as well as the doctors, used their utmost efforts to restore him to life, in which they with difficulty succeeded. Dr. Jonas then said to him, "Reverend father, do you die in constant reliance on the faith you have taught?" He replied distinctly, "Yes," and fell asleep again. Soon after he became alarmingly pale, then cold, and drawing one deep breath, he expired.

His body was borne to Wittemberg in a leaden coffin, where he was buried the 22nd of February, 1546, with the highest honours. His mortal remains lie in the church of the castle, at the foot of the pulpit. (Ukert, i. p. 327, sqq. *Extract from the account drawn up by Jonas and Cælius.*)

Will of Luther, dated January 6th, 1542. "I the undersigned, Martin Luther, doctor, acknowledge by these presents, to have given as jointure to my dear and faithful wife Catherine, to enjoy for the whole of her life as seems good to her, the estate of Zeilsdorf, such as I bought it, and have since made it ; the house *Brun*, which I bought under the name of Wolf ; my goblets, and other valuable things, such as rings, chains, medals in gold and silver, to the value of about a thousand florins. I have made this disposition, first, because she has ever been to me a pious and faithful wife, who has tenderly loved me, and, by the blessing of God, has given me and reared up five children happily, still living. Secondly, that she may take upon herself my debts, amounting to about four hundred and fifty florins, supposing that I do not discharge them before I die. Thirdly, and above all, because I would not that she should be dependent on her children, but rather that her children should depend upon her, honour her, and be subjected unto her, as God has commanded ; for I have often seen children, even pious children, excited by the devil to disobey this commandment, especially when the mothers were widows, and the sons had wives, the daughters husbands. Besides, I think that the mother will be the best manager of her children, and that she will not make use of this settlement to the detriment of her own flesh and blood, those whom she has carried at her breast. Whatever may become of her after my death (for I cannot limit the will of God), I have this confidence in her, that she will always conduct herself as a good mother to her children, and will share with them conscientiously whatever she possesses. At the same time, I pray all my friends

to be witnesses of the truth, and to defend my dear Catherine, if it should happen, as is possible, that she should be accused by evil persons of keeping money back for herself, and not sharing it with her children. I certify that we have neither ready money nor treasure of any kind. This need surprise no one, when it is considered that we have had no other income than my stipend and a few presents, and that we have, nevertheless, gone to the charge of building, and have borne the ex-

penses of a large household. I look on it also as a particular mercy from God, which I thank him for without ceasing, that we have had sufficient for our wants, and that our debts are not greater. . . .

"I also pray my gracious master, duke John Frederick, elector, to confirm and ratify this present deed, although it may not be in the form required by the lawyers. MARTIN LUTHER.

"Witnesses—MELANCHTHON, CRUZIGER, and BUGHENHAGEN."

ADDITIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS*.

PAGE 3, column 1. "*and there I was born.*"—Cochleus asserts that Luther was engendered by an incubus. When he was a monk, adds this writer, he was suspected of having dealings with the devil. One day while the Gospel was being read, at the part where it is said that Jesus forced a demon to come out of the body of one deaf and dumb, Luther fell on the ground, exclaiming, *Non sum, non sum* (It is not I, it is not I). Some Spaniards who were at the diet of Augsburg (A.D. 1530), seriously believed that Luther and his wife were to give birth to Antichrist. (Luth. Werke, t. i. p. 415.)

Julius-César Vanini, Cerdan, and Francis Junc-tius, discovered in the constellations that had accompanied the birth of Luther, that he was to be an arch-heretic and an arch-villain; Tycho-Brahe and Nicholas Prückner, on the contrary, declared he was born under a happy sign.

Page 3, col. 2. "*Martin Luther.*"—Lotharius, *lut-her, leute-herr?* Chief of Men, Head of the People!

Page 4, col. 2. "*Luther describes how these tem-pations,*" &c.—"When I was young, it happened that at Eisleben, on Corpus-Christi day, I was walking with the procession, in my priest's robes, when suddenly the sight of the holy sacrament, which was carried by doctor Staupitz, so terrified me, (thinking in my blindness that it was Jesus Christ himself the vicar-general was carrying, that Jesus Christ in person was there before me,) that a cold sweat covered my body, and I believed myself dying of terror. The procession finished, I confessed to doctor Staupitz, and related to him what had happened to me. He replied: 'Your thoughts are not of Christ; Christ never alarms; He comforts.' These words filled me with joy, and were a great consolation to me." (Tischreden, p. 133, verso.)

Doctor Martin Luther used to tell, that when he was in the monastery at Erfurth, he said once to doctor Staupitz: "Ah! dear sir doctor, our Lord God deals with us in a manner so terrible: who can serve him, if he humbles us thus to the dust? To which he answered me, 'Young man, learn

better how to judge God; if he did not act thus, how could proud hearts be humbled? Lofty trees must be watched, lest they reach the skies.'" (Tischreden, p. 150, verso.)

Luther had great difficulty in bearing the obligations imposed on him by monastic life; he tells how, in the commencement of the Reformation, he tried in vain to read his prayer-book regularly: "Though I shall have done no more than deliver men from this tyranny, they will owe me some gratitude." (Tischreden, p. 150.) This constant repetition, at fixed times, of the same meditations, this materialism of prayer, which weighed so much on the impatient spirit of Luther, Ignatius Loyola, the contemporary of the German reformer, laid the greatest stress upon, in his singular *Religious Exercises*.

At Erfurth, Luther read the greatest part of the works left us by the ancient Romans, Cicero, Virgil, Livy. . . . At the age of twenty he was honoured with the title of Master of Arts; and at the desire of his parents, he began the study of jurisprudence. . . . At the convent of Erfurth he excited admiration by his public exercises, and by the ease with which he extricated himself from the meshes of logic. . . . He read with avidity the prophets and the apostles, the books of Saint Augustin, his *Explanation of the Psalms*, and his book *On the Spirit and the Letter*, and learnt almost by heart the treatises of Gabriel Biel and of Pierre d'Ailly, bishop of Cambrai, and was a diligent student of the writings of Occam, whose logic he preferred to that of Thomas or Scot. He was likewise a great reader of Gerson's writings, and above all, of those of Saint Augustin." (Life of Luther, by Melancthon.)

Page 7, col. 1. "*The Dominican, Tetzel, an im-pudent mountebank.*"—He preached, that if any one had violated the holy virgin, his sin would be pardoned by virtue of the indulgences; that the red cross which he had set up in churches had as much efficacy as that of Jesus Christ; that he had saved more souls by his indulgences than St. Peter by his discourses; and that the Saxons had only to give money, and their mountains would become mines of silver, &c. (Luther *adv. Brunsvic.*, Seckendorf, Hist. Lutheranismi, l. i. § 16, &c.)

By way of indirect concession, the Catholics gave up Tetzel; and Miltitz relates, in a letter to Pfeffinger (Seckendorf, l. i. p. 62), that he can prove,

* The "Life of Luther" has been given entire; but with regard to the somewhat heterogeneous "Additions," the translator has exercised his discretion in condensing and retrenching; scrupulously, however, retaining every passage illustrative of the great Reformer's life and doctrines.

through an agent of the Fuggers, the great bankers of Augsburg, that he (Tetzl) made free with the money he received from the sale of indulgences. "I will write the pope a full account," he says, "and await his sentence."

Page 7, col. 1. "*he was seized with indignation.*"—"When I undertook to write against the gross error of indulgences, doctor Jerome Schurf stopped me and said: 'Would you then write against the pope? What are you about? It will not be allowed.' 'What,' replied I; 'what, if they must allow it?'" (Tischreden, 384, verso.)

Page 8, col. 1. "*the sermon in the vulgar tongue, which Luther delivered.*" He states in a clear, forcible manner, the doctrine of St. Thomas in the five first paragraphs, and especially in the sixth, which is very mystical. He then proceeds to show, from Scripture, in opposition to this doctrine, that the sinner's repentance and conversion can alone secure him pardon for his sins.—(§ ix.) "Though the church were to declare that indulgences efface sins better than works of atonement, it would be a thousand times better for a Christian not to buy them, but rather to do the works and suffer the penalties; for indulgences are, and only can be, dispensations from good works and salutary pains."—(§ xv.) "It is better and safer to give towards the building of St. Peter's, than to buy the indulgences sold for this end. You ought, above all, to give to your poor neighbour; and if there should be none in your town who need your assistance, you ought to give towards your own churches. . . . My counsel to all is, Buy not these indulgences; leave them to be purchased by bad Christians. Let each follow his own path. . . ."—(§ xviii.) "I know nothing about souls being drawn out of purgatory by the efficacy of indulgences; I don't believe they can. The safer way is to have recourse to prayer. . . . Leave the schoolmen to be schoolmen. All put together, they cannot stamp a doctrine with authority."

These would seem to be rather notes, to serve as heads of a discourse, than the sermon itself. (Luther, Werke, vii. p. 1.)

Page 8, col. 2. "*It is said that Leo X. believed the whole to be a matter of professional jealousy.*"—"The pope was formerly extremely proud, and despised every one. The cardinal-legate Caietano said to me at Augsburg, 'What? do you think that the pope cares about Germany? The pope's little finger is more powerful than all your princes.' When my first propositions upon indulgences were presented to the pope, 'This is a drunken German's doing,' he said, 'leave him to get sober, and he will talk differently.' It was in this jeering tone that he spoke of every one."

Luther did not leave all the contempt to the Italians, but returned it to them with interest. "If this Sylvester continues to provoke me by these fooleries, I will put an end to the game, and, giving the reins to my mind and my pen, I will show him that there are men in Germany who can see through his tricks, and those of Rome; and God grant the time was come. The juggling Italians, with their evasions and their subtleties, have too long amused themselves at our expense, as if we were fools and buffoons." (September 1st, 1518.)

"I am delighted that Philip (Melancthon) has proved for himself the Italian character. These phi-

losophers will believe nothing without experience. For my part, there is not one Italian I would trust any longer, not even the emperor's confessor. My dear Caietano loved me with so true a friendship, that he would have shed for me every drop of blood in . . . my own veins. They are queer fellows. The Italian, if good, is really good; but is a prodigy, a black swan." (July 21st, 1530.)

"I want Sadolet to believe that God is the Father of all men, even out of Italy; but this is beyond an Italian's mind." (October 14th, 1539.) "The Italians," says Hutten, "who accused us of being unable to produce any work of genius, are now forced to admire our Albert Durer; and so strong is this admiration, that they even put his name on their own works in order to sell them." (Hutten, iii. 76.)

Page 9, col. 1. "*Either out of regard for his new university.*"—The university of Wittemberg wrote to the elector, praying that he would extend his protection to the most illustrious of her members (p. 55, Seckendorf). Luther's increasing celebrity attracted an immense concourse of students to Wittemberg. Luther himself says, "*Studium nostrum more fornicarum fervet*" (Our study is as busy as an ant's nest). A writer, almost contemporary with him, says, "I have heard my tutors say that students flocked to Wittemberg from all countries to hear Luther and Melancthon; and that, as soon as they descried the city from a distance, they used to return thanks to God with up-lifted hands, for that from Wittemberg, as formerly from Jerusalem, there came out the light of Gospel truth, to be spread unto the furthest corners of the earth." (Scultetus in Annalibus, anno 1517, p. 16, 17; quoted by Seckendorf, p. 59.)

From a letter of Luther's, bearing date Nov. 1st, 1524, the elector would appear to have been but parsimonious towards his favourite university. "I beg you," he writes, "dear Spalatin, to ask the prince whether he means to allow this academy to crumble away and perish?"

Page 9, col. 1. "*this prince had always taken him under his special protection.*" The elector himself writes to Spalatin: "Our Martin's affair goes on well; Pfefferinger is full of hope." (Seckendorf, p. 53.)

Page 9, col. 1. "*that Holy Scripture speaks with such majesty.*"—Schenk had been charged to buy relics for the church of Wittemberg; but, in 1520, the commission was recalled, and the relics were sent back to Italy, to be sold at any price they could fetch. "For here," writes Spalatin, "the lowest orders despise them, in the firm and true persuasion, that it suffices to learn from Holy Scripture to have faith and confidence in God, and to love one's neighbour." (Maccræe, p. 37, from Schlegel's Life of Spalatin, p. 59. Seckendorf, i. p. 223.)

Page 10, col. 1. "*Caietano de Vio, the legate, was certainly a judge not much to be feared.*"—Extract from an account of the conferences between cardinal Caietano and Luther:—Luther having declared that the pope had no power but *salvæ Scripturæ*, the cardinal laughed at his words, and said to him, "Dost thou not know that the pope is above councils? has he not recently condemned and punished the council of Bâle?" Luther. "But the Paris university has appealed from him." The Cardinal. "And Paris shall be equally punished." Again, Luther having quoted Gerson, the cardinal answered him, "What are the Gersonites

to me?" Upon which Luther asked him, in return, "And who then are the Gersonites?" "Oh, let us quit this subject," said the cardinal, and began to talk of other things. The cardinal sent Luther's answers to the pope, by an extraordinary express. He also sent word to Luther, by doctor Wenceslaus, that, provided he was willing to revoke what he had advanced on the subject of indulgences, all might be arranged. "For," added he "the article on the faith necessary for the Holy Sacrament may very well bear a twist into a different sense."

Luther said, on his return from Augsburg, "that if he had four hundred heads, he would rather lose them all, than revoke his article on faith." "No man in Germany," says Hutten, "despises death more than Luther."

He offered Caietano to submit his opinions to the judgment of the three universities of Bâle, of Eriburg (in Brisgau), and of Louvain, and, if required, to that of the university of Paris, "esteemed of all time the most Christian and most learned."

In a letter of Luther's to the elector of Saxony (Nov. 19th, 1518), he expressly rebuts Caietano's charge, that his attack on indulgences had been instigated by the elector, and states that none among his dearest friends were privy to his design, "save my lords the archbishop of Magdeburg, and the bishop of Brandenburg."

Page 11, col. 2. "required an inquiry into the matter by disinterested judges."—The legates, nevertheless, confined their demands to requiring that Luther's works should be burnt. "The pope," they said, "will not soil his hands with the blood of Luther." (Luther, Opera, ii.)

Page 11, col. 2. last line. "Miltitz changed his tone."—In 1520, Luther's opponents were divided into two parties, represented by Eck and Miltitz. Eck, having held a public disputation against Luther, conceived that his repute as a theologian would be compromised unless he could either reduce him to retract, or procure his formal condemnation from the pope, and therefore he resorted to violent measures; whilst Miltitz, on the contrary, as the direct agent of the Holy See, sought only to hush up matters, admitting everything that Luther advanced, spoke as freely as himself of the pope-dom, and only required him to promise silence.

On the 20th of October, 1520, he writes to the elector to suggest the feasibility of the latter's sending two or three golden pieces, bearing his effigy, and as many silver ones, to the young cardinals, the pope's relatives, in order to propitiate them, and begs for himself as well. He had written on the 14th, to say, that Luther had promised to be silent, on condition that his adversaries would be silent too; and assures the elector that he will baulk Eck and his faction.

Miltitz seems to have been a boon companion. He writes to the elector, that spending his evening joyously at Stolpa, with the bishop of Misnia, a pamphlet of Luther's was brought in, in which the official of Stolpa was attacked; and that while the bishop fumed, and the official swore, he and duke George did nothing but laugh. (A.D. 1520. Seckendorf, l. i. p. 98.) He and Luther passed some time together, making good cheer at Lichtenberg. (Ibid. p. 99.)

Miltitz met with a fitting end; having tumbled into the Rhine, near Mentz, after copious libations, and being drowned. He had five hundred gold pieces about him. (Id. ibid. p. 117.)

Page 12, col. 1. "owned that he had got the whole world with him away from the pope."—Luther's works were already highly popular. John Froben, the celebrated printer of Bâle, wrote to him, on the 14th of February, 1519, that his books were read and approved, even at Paris, and even in the Sorbonne; that he had not a single copy left of all those he had reprinted, and that they were dispersed over Italy, Spain, and elsewhere, and every where approved by the doctors. (Seckendorf, l. i. p. 68.)

Page 12, col. 1. "not content with repairing to Leipsic, to plead in his own defence."—Luther's journey to Leipsic: "First there was Carlstadt, alone in a chariot, preceding all the others; but a wheel coming off near to the church of Saint Paul, he fell, and this fall was considered a bad omen for him. Next came the chariot of Barnim, prince of Pomerania, who was then studying at Wittenberg, and bore the title of honorary rector. By his side were Luther and Melancthon. A great number of armed scholars from Wittenberg accompanied the carriage." (June 19th, 1519.) (Seckendorf, l. i. p. 92.)

Page 12, col. 1. "with the authority of the prince, his protector."—Luther needed not any longer doubt the protection of the elector, when Spalatin, that prince's confidential adviser, translated and published in Germany his book, entitled *Consolation to all Christians*." (February, 1520.)

Page 12, col. 1. "to issue a solemn summons . . . to a disputation." At this period Luther, still somewhat unsettled in his ideas of reform, sought to clear up his doubts by argument, and demanded and prayed for public conferences. On the 15th January, 1520, he writes to the emperor: "It will now soon be three years since I have had to endure anger without end and outrageous wrongs, since I have been exposed to a thousand perils, and a prey to all the calumnies my enemies could devise against me. In vain have I asked pardon for what I have said; in vain have I offered to keep silence; in vain have I proposed conditions of peace; in vain have I entreated to be enlightened, if in error. Not a word has been listened to: one only object has been kept in view—my ruin and that of the Gospel. Since I have, up to this present moment, tried everything in vain, I will, after the example of Saint Athanasius, invoke the imperial majesty. I humbly, then, implore your majesty, Charles, prince of the kings of the earth, to take pity, not on me, but on the cause of truth, for which alone it has been given you to bear the sword. Let me be allowed to prove my doctrine. Either I shall conquer or I shall be conquered; and if I am found impious or heretical, I ask neither protection nor mercy." (Opera Latina Lutheri, Witem. ii. 42.)

Page 12, col. 2, near the end. "When the bull of condemnation reached Germany."—The universities of Louvain and Cologne approved the pope's bull, and, consequently, drew down the attacks of Luther. He accused them of having unjustly condemned Occam, Pico de la Mirandola, Laurentius Valla, John Reuchlin. And to weaken (says

Cochleus) the authority of these universities, he attacked them unceasingly in his books, putting in the margin, whenever he met with a barbarism, or anything badly written, as they say at Louvain, as they say at Cologne, '*Lovanialiter, Colonialiter*;' &c. (Cochleus, p. 22.) At Cologne and Mentz, and in all the hereditary states of Charles V., Luther's works were burnt from the year 1520. (Cochleus, p. 25.)

Page 13, col. 1. "*not one of them has said it more eloquently than he himself*."—He wrote on the 29th November, 1521, to the Austin friars of Wittenberg: "I daily feel how difficult it is to divest oneself of scruples long entertained. Oh! the pain it has cost me, though with the Scriptures before me, to justify myself to myself, for daring singly to set myself up against the pope and hold him as Antichrist! What tribulations have I not suffered! How often have I not addressed to myself in bitterness of spirit the argument of the papists, 'Art thou alone wise? are all others in error? can they have been so many years deceived? What if thou deceivest thyself, and draggest along with thee in thy error so many souls to everlasting damnation?' Thus I used to argue within myself until Jesus Christ with his own, his infallible word, fortified me, and strengthened my soul against such arguments, as a rock raised above the waves, laughs their fury to scorn." . . . (Luth. Briefe, t. ii. p. 107.)

P. 14, col. 1. "*He took his stand at this time on St. John*."—"It is necessary to take the Gospel of St. John in a very different point of view from the other evangelists. The idea of this evangelist is, that man can do nothing, has nothing of himself; that he owes every thing to the Divine mercy. . . . I repeat, and I will repeat, whoever would raise his thoughts to a salutary consideration of the Almighty, ought to make every thing subordinate to the humanity of Christ; ought to keep it ever before him, both in his life and in his Passion, till his heart is softened. Then, let him not rest there, but let him develope and extend the thought still further. It is not of his own will, but of the will of God the Father, that Jesus did and suffered this or that. It is then that he will begin to taste the infinite sweetness of the will of the Father revealed in the humanity of Christ."

Page 14, col. 2. "*his smallest pamphlets were emulously caught up*."—The celebrated painter, Lucas Cranach, made designs for Luther's smaller works.—(Seekendorf, p. 148.)

Page 14, col. 2. "*if any printer more conscientious than the rest*."—The same at Augsburg. The confession of Augsburg was printed and spread all over Germany before even the end of the diet; the refutation of the catholics, which the emperor had ordered to be printed, was sent to the printers, but never appeared. Luther, ridiculing the catholics for not daring to publish this refutation, calls it a nightbird, *an owl*, a bat (*noctua et resperitilio*).—(Cochleus, p. 202.)

Page 14, col. 2. "*it was to the nobles that Luther had chiefly appealed*."—"To his imperial majesty and to the Christian nobles of the German nation—Dr. Martin Luther (A.D. 1520).

"To the grace and glory of our Lord Jesus. . . . The Romanists have cleverly surrounded themselves with three walls, by means of which they have up

to this time shut out the Reformation, to the great prejudice of Christianity. First, they pretend that spiritual power is above temporal power; next, that it belongs to the pope alone to interpret the Bible; and thirdly, that the pope only has the right to call a council.

"May it please God to come to our aid here, and to give us those trumpets which formerly overthrew the walls of Jericho, that we may blow down these walls of paper and rubbish, bring to light the artifices and lies of the devil, and win back, by repentance and amendment, the grace of God. Let us begin with the first wall.

"*First Wall*. . . . All Christians are spiritually of the same condition, and there is no difference between them, but that which results from their different functions, according to the words of the Apostle (1 Cor. xii.), who says that we 'be many members, yet but one body;' but that each member has an office peculiar to itself, by which it is useful to others. We have all the same baptism, the same Gospel, the same faith, and as Christians we are all equal. . . . It is with the priest as with the bailli, whilst in office he is above the rest; but when he has laid it down, he becomes that which he was—a mere citizen. *Indelible characters* are but a chimera. . . . The secular power being instituted of God, in order that the wicked may be punished, the good protected, its ministry ought to extend to all Christians, without consideration of person, pope, bishop, monk, nun, or others, it matters not. . . . Has a priest been killed, all the country is laid under interdict. Why is it not so when a peasant has been murdered? Whence this difference between Christians whom Jesus Christ calls equal? Simply from the laws and inventions of men. . . .

"*Second Wall*. . . . We are priests—does not the apostle say it (1 Cor. ii.): 'He that is spiritual judgeth all things, yet he himself is judged of no man?' We have all, by faith, the same Spirit, says also the apostle; wherefore should we not be sensible as well as popes, who are often infidels, of what is conformable to the faith, what contrary to it?

"*Third Wall*. . . . The first councils were not convened by the popes; the council of Nice, itself, was convoked by the emperor Constantine. . . . If enemies surprised a town, the honour would be to him who should first cry 'to arms,' let him be burgomaster or not. Why should it not be the same for him who stands sentinel against our enemies, the powers of darkness, and who, seeing them advance, should be first to assemble the band of Christians against them? Must he be pope to do this? . . ."

The following is the summary of the reformations proposed by Luther:—That the pope shall retrench the luxury of his court, and approximate more to the poverty of Christ. His court absorbs immense sums; it is calculated that more than three hundred thousand florins leave Germany every year for Rome. Twelve cardinals would be sufficient, and they should be maintained by the pope. Why do the Germans allow themselves to be despoiled by the cardinals, who seize all their rich foundations, and spend the revenues at Rome? The French do not suffer this. That no more contributions be levied to be employed against the Turks; which is but a lure, a miserable pretext for getting our money. That the pope's right of investiture be no longer acknowledged. Rome

draws all to itself by the most impudent practices. There is in this city a simple courtier, who is possessed of twenty-two curacies, seven priories, forty-four prebends, &c. That the secular authorities send no more *annats* to Rome—as has been the custom for a century past. That it suffice for the installation of bishops, that they be confirmed by the two nearest bishops, or by their archbishop, conformably to the council of Nice. “In proposing these changes, my object is to induce reflection in such as are disposed to aid Germany in becoming Christian, and to free herself from the deplorable government of the pope, a government which is Antichristian.”

That there be fewer pilgrimages to Italy. The orders of mendicants to be allowed to die away; they are degenerated, and do not fulfil the intention of their founders. The marriage of priests to be permitted. Many of the holidays to be suppressed, or made to fall on Sundays. Fêtes of patrons, so prejudicial to morals, to be abolished. Fasts to be suppressed. “Many things, formerly useful, are not so now.” Begging to be put down. Each community to be held responsible for the care of its poor. The founding of private masses to be forbidden. Further inquiry to be made into the doctrine of the Bohemians, and to join them in resisting the court of Rome. The Decretals to be abolished. Houses of ill-fame to be suppressed.

“I know yet another song to sing to the court of Rome and the Romanists; and if their ears itch for it, they shall have it, and to the last stave (highest octave?). You understand, Rome? (Luther, Werke, vi. 544–568.)

Page 15, col. 1. “*I would not have violence and murder employed in the cause of the Gospel.*”—He wished Germany to separate itself peaceably from the holy see: it was with this view that he wrote in 1520 to Charles V. and to the German nobles, to induce them to renounce obedience to Rome. “The emperor,” said he, “has equal power over the clergy and over the laity; the difference between these two classes is but fictitious, since by baptism we all become priests.” (Lutheri Opera, ii. p. 20.)

Nevertheless, if one can believe the authority, suspicious enough we must allow, of Cochläus, he was at this very time preaching war against Rome. Cochläus makes him say, “If we have gibbets for thieves, axes for brigands, fires for heretics, wherefore not arms against these masters of sedition, these cardinals, these popes, against all this slime of the Roman Sodom, which is corrupting the Church of Christ? Why not wash our hands in their blood?” I am not aware from what work of Luther’s Cochläus takes these words. (Cochläus, p. 22.)

Page 15, col. 1. “*Hütten . . . in order to strike a league between them and the nobles of the Rhine.*”—From the opening of the diet inquiries were made of Spalatin, as to the course the elector would pursue in case of war; there was reason to believe that he would support his theologian, the glory of his university. “Who does not know,” writes Luther to him, “that prince Frederick has become an example to princes for his patronage of literature?” your Wittemberg *Hebraizes and Hellenises* successfully; there Minerva governs the arts;

there the true theology of Christ triumphs.” He writes to Spalatin (October 3rd, 1520): “Many think that I ought to ask our good prince to obtain for me an edict from the emperor forbidding any sentence against me, unless I am convicted of error out of Scripture: consider whether this be advisable.” It appears by what follows that Luther thought he could count on the sympathy of the Italians. “Instead of books, I would rather living books could be multiplied, that is to say, preachers. I send you what has been written to me from Italy on this subject.” “If our prince were so inclined, I do not believe that he could undertake any work worthier of him; were the commonalty of Italy to join us our cause would be mightily strengthened: who knows? God perhaps will raise them up. He preserves our prince to us in order to make him the medium of spreading the divine word. Consider then what you can do in this quarter, for the cause of Christ.” Luther had not neglected to win the affection of the towns. We find him at the close of the year 1520, soliciting the elector to lower the taxes imposed on the town of Kemberg. “The people,” he writes, “are drained even to misery by this detestable usury. . . . Fat livings are made fatter, religious ceremonies kept up, and even some fraternities enriched by this usury, rather by this sacrilegious taxation, this impious theft.”

Page 15, col. 1. *Buntschuh* (shoe of alliance).—The sabot already served as a distinctive sign in the twelfth century. *Sabatati* was a name of the Vaudois. (See Dufresne, Glossar. at the word *Sabatati*.)

Page 16, col. 1. “*All this greatly added to my consideration.*”—Spalatin relates in his annals (p. 50) that the second day Luther appeared, the elector of Saxony on returning from the town-hall, sent for Spalatin to his chamber, and expressed to him the surprise he felt; “Doctor Martin has spoken nobly before the emperor, and to the princes and states of the empire, only he was a little too bold.” (Marheinecke, History of the Reformation, i. 264.)

Page 18, col. 1. “*In the last conference the Archbishop of Trèves, &c.*—Luther ended this conference by saying, “In all that concerns the word of God and faith, every Christian can judge as well for himself as the pope; each must live and die according to his faith. The word of God is the peculiar property of each individual of the community; and each member must interpret it for himself. I cited in confirmation of this,” continues Luther, “the passage of St. Paul, 1st Corinthians xiv., where he says, ‘If anything be revealed to another that is sitting by, let the first hold his peace.’ This text clearly proves that the master should follow his disciple, if the latter understand God’s word better. They could not refute this testimony, and we broke up.” (Luth. Werke, ix. p. 117.)

Page 19, col. 2, near the end. “*Luther found few books at Wartburg.—He set ardently about the study of Greek and Hebrew.*” It was here he began his translation of the Bible. Several versions in German had been already published at Nuremberg, in 1477, 1483, 1490, and at Augsburg, in 1518; but none of them were made for the people, being forbidden to be read, and also infamously printed.” (Nec legi permittebantur, nec ob styli typorum horriditatem satisfacere poterant.) Seckendorf, lib. i. 204.

Before the end of the fifteenth century, Germany possessed at least twelve editions of the Bible in the vulgar tongue, while Italy had but two, and France only one. (*Jung, Hist. de la Réforme, à Strasbourg.*)

The adversaries of the Reformation themselves contributed to increase the number of Bibles in the vulgar tongue. Thus, Jerome Emser published a translation of the Scriptures to oppose that of Luther. (Cochleus, 50.) Luther's did not appear complete until 1534.

Canstein's printing-office at Halle alone printed, in the space of a century, two millions of Bibles, one million of New Testaments, and as many Psalters. (Ukert, t. ii. p. 339.)

"I was twenty years of age," says Luther himself, "before I had ever seen the Bible. I believed that no other Gospels or Epistles existed than those in the sermon books. At last, I found a Bible in the library of Erfurth, and I often read out of it to Stanpitz with great wonder." (Tischreden, p. 255.)

Under the papacy, the Bible was all but unknown. Carlstadt began to read it after he had taken his doctor's degree eight years. (Tischreden, p. 6, verso.)

At the diet of Augsburg (A.D. 1530), as the bishop of Meutz was looking over the Bible one day, one of his counsellors happened to come in, who said to him, "Gracious lord, what does your electoral grace make of this book?" To which he replied, "I know not what to make of it, save that all I find in it is against us." "Doctor Usingen, an Augustin monk, who was my preceptor at the convent of Erfurth, used to say to me when he saw me reading the Bible with such devotion, 'Ah! brother Martin, what is there in the Bible? It is better to read the ancient doctors, who have sucked the honey of the truth. The Bible is the cause of all troubles.'" (Tisch., p. 7.)

Selneccer, a contemporary of Luther's, relates that the monks would murmur at seeing Luther read the Holy Scriptures so assiduously, and tell him it was not in study of that kind, but by begging and collecting bread, meat, fish, eggs, and money, that he could be of any service to the community. . . . His noviciate was extremely hard; inside the monastery, the lowest and most laborious offices were given to him; and outside, the begging with the sack. (Almanach des Protestants pour Nov. 1810, p. 43.)

Luther states that, when he was first a student, "the pagan Aristotle was held in such honour, that whoever had disputed his authority, would have been condemned at Cologne as a rank heretic;" but that he was so little understood, that a monk, preaching on the Passion, favoured his hearers with a two hours' discussion of the question, "Whether quality were really distinct from substance," stating, as an instance, "I could pass my head through that hole, but not the size of my head." (Tischreden, p. 15, verso.)

"My brothers of the convent would say to me when I was studying, 'Sic tibi, sic mihi, saccum per naccum,' (Come, we are all alike here, put the bag round your neck.)" (Tischred. p. 272.)

Page 19, col. 2, last line. "*He translated into German Melancthon's Apology.*"—He says, "Tuam in asinos Parisienses apologiam cum illorum insaniam statui vernaculè dare adjectis annotationibus." (I

am going to translate into German, with notes of my own, your Apology to the Paris asses, and to prove their insanity.)

Page 22, col. 2. "*This reason was, the alarming character assumed by the Reformation.*"—Before quitting his retreat, he often tried by letters to prevent his followers from going too far. To the inhabitants of Wittemberg. . . "You attack masses, images, and other trifles, while you overlook faith and charity, of which you have so much need. You have, by your scandals, afflicted many pious souls, perhaps better than yourselves. You have forgotten what was due to the weak. If the strong run as fast as they are able, must not the weak, left behind, faint by the way?"

"God has granted you great grace, has given you the word in all its purity. Nevertheless, I see not a grain of charity in you; you do not even bear with those who have never heard the word. You have no care for our brothers and sisters of Leipsic, and of Meissen, and of so many other countries, whom we ought to save with ourselves. . . . You have thrown yourselves headlong into this business, neither looking to the right nor to the left. Do not count therefore upon me; I shall deny you. You have begun without me, you must end the same. . ." (December, 1521.)

Page 24, col. 1. "*the confusion that had arisen in his flock.*"—On his return to Wittemberg, he preached eight days running. These sermons effectually restored order in the town.

Page 24, col. 1. "*I myself no longer know Luther.*"—"A charitable exhortation of doctor Martin Luther to all Christians, to keep them from the spirit of revolt and disturbance." (A.D. 1524.)

"In the first place, I pray you to leave my name alone, and not to call yourselves Lutherans, but Christians. Who is Luther? My doctrine is not mine! I have not been crucified for any one. St. Paul (1 Corinthians iii.) would not that any one should call themselves of Paul, nor of Peter, but of Christ. How then does it befit me, a miserable bag of dust and ashes, to give my name to the children of Christ? Cease, my dear friends, to cling to these party names and distinctions; away with them all; and let us call ourselves only Christians, after him from whom our doctrine comes.

"It is quite just that the papists should bear the name of their party; because they are not content with the name and doctrine of Jesus Christ, they will be papists besides. Well, let them own the pope, as he is their master. For me, I neither am nor wish to be master of any one. I and mine will contend for the sole and whole doctrine of Christ, who is our sole Master." (Luth. Werke, ii. p. 4.)

Page 24, col. 2. "*Never had any private man, before him, addressed a monarch.*"—At this very time he was exceeding all bounds in his attacks on the holy see. In his reply to pope Adrian's briefs, he says, "I grieve to be obliged to write such good German in reply to this pitiful kitchen Latin. But God wills to confound Antichrist in all things. . . . It is a disgrace to offer reasonable beings so stupid and absurd an interpretation of Scripture."

"I would make one bundle of pope and cardinals, and fling the whole into our little ditch of the

Tuscan Sea. Such a bath, I pledge my word, and back it with Jesus Christ as security, would cure them."

"My little Paul, my little pope, my little donkey, trot gently; it is slippery, you will break a leg, you will injure yourself, and folk will cry out, 'What the devil's this? How our little popeling is injured?'" (A.D. 1542? Bossuet's translation in his *Variations*, i. 45, 46.)

Interpretation of the Monachovitulus (monk-calf) and of two horrible popeling monsters found in the Tiber, at Rome, in the year 1496; published at Friburg, in Misnia, in 1523, by Philip Melancthon and Martin Luther.—"In all times God has manifested by evident signs his wrath or his mercy. Even so his prophet Daniel foretold the coming of Antichrist, in order that the faithful, being warned, might be on their guard against his blasphemies and idolatry.

"During this reign of tyranny, God has given many signs, and, lately, the horrible popeling monster, found dead in the Tiber in the year 1496. . . . First, the ass's head signifieth the pope; for the Church is a spiritual body, which neither ought, nor can have any visible head. Christ alone is lord and head of the Church. The pope has sought, in opposition to God, to make himself the visible head of the Church; therefore this ass's head, attached to a human body, can signify none but he. Indeed, an ass's head fits the human body better than the pope the Church! As great as is the difference between an ass's brain and human intellect and reason, so great is the difference between the papal doctrine and the doctrine of Christ. . . .

"He has not only an ass's head as regards Scripture, but as regards natural law and human judgment. The jurists of the empire say that a true canonist is a true ass.

"The monster's right hand, like to an elephant's foot, signifieth that he crushes the timid and fearful. And so he crushes and bruises souls by his decrees, which, without cause or reason, terrify consciences with a thousand sins of his invention, and the names of which even are not understood.

"The left hand signifieth the pope's temporal power; who, in opposition to Christ's word, has become the lord of kings and princes. Not one of them has excited or entered into so many wars; not one has shed so much blood. Busied with worldly matters, he neglects the preaching of the word, and deserts the Church.

"The right foot, like to an ox's hoof, signifieth the ministers of spiritual authority, who support and defend this tyrannical power to the oppression of souls; to wit, pontifical doctors, confessors, the swarms of monks and nuns, and, above all, the school divines,—all of whom go on extending the pope's intolerable laws, and so holding consciences prisoners under the elephant's foot.

"The left foot, which ends in a griffin's claws, signifieth the ministers of the civil power. Just as the griffin's claws do not readily let go what they have once seized, so the pope's satellites have seized by the books of the canons the goods of all Europe, and retain them so stubbornly that one cannot force them back.

"The belly and the woman's breast signify the pope's body, that is, the cardinals, bishops, priests, monks, all the sacro-saint martyrs, all the pam-

pered hogs of Epicurus's sty, who think only of eating, drinking, and voluptuous pleasures of every kind, and all this, not only freely, but with a reserve of peculiar privileges. . . .

"Their eyes full of adultery, their hearts of avarice, these sons of perdition have abandoned the right road to follow Balaam, seeking the reward of his iniquity."

Page 25, col. 1. "*they have not had the courage to face Luther alone.*"—According to Luther's own confession, this violent answer scandalized numbers of his own party. King Christiern got him to write a letter of apology to Henry VIII., assuring him that that monarch was about to introduce the Reformation into England, in which he states, by way of excuse, that he had been informed that the work was not his, and offers "to sing a palinode" (*palinodiam cantare*). Sept. 1st, 1525. His letter had no effect on the irritated Henry; so, some months after, he breaks out with, "These womanly-hearted tyrants have but an impotent and sordid mind. . . . But, by God's grace, I am sufficiently avenged by the contempt I feel for them, and for Satan, their God." (Dec. 1525.)

Page 26, col. 1. "*Attempts at organization.*"—When Luther felt the necessity of introducing some order and regularity into the new Church, finding himself called upon every day to judge matrimonial causes, and to decide on all the relations between the church and the laity, he set himself to study the canon laws.

"In this matter of marriage which has been submitted to me, I have decided according to the decrees of the popes. I have begun to read the regulations of the papists, and I find that they do not by any means follow them." (March 30th, 1529.)

"I would give my left hand for the papists to be obliged to observe their own canons. They would cry out more loudly against them than against Luther."

"The Decretals are like the monster; the head, a woman's; the body, that of a devouring lion; the tail, a serpent's; nothing but falsehoods and deceit. Behold the image of the popedom."—(Tischreden, p. 277, folio et verso.)

Page 26, col. i. "*The answers he returns to the multitude that come to consult him.*"—(October 11th, 1533.) *To the community of Esslingen*:—"It is true, that I have said confession is good; in the same way that I forbid no one to fast, to keep holy days, to go on pilgrimages, &c. But I wish all these things to be done freely, and at every person's choice; not as if it was a mortal sin to omit them. . . . But, as there are many consciences captive to the laws of the pope, you will do well not to eat meat in the presence of those men still weak in the faith. This abstinence on your part becomes a work of charity; in that it spares the conscience of your neighbour. . . ."

(October 16th, 1523.) *To Michael Vander Strassen*, tax-gatherer, at Borna (concerning a preacher of Oelsnitz, who exaggerated Luther's principles):—"You have seen what my opinion is by my book *On Confession and on Mass*, where I show that confession is good when a matter of choice, and that the mass, though neither a sacrifice nor a good work, is yet a testimony of religion, &c. Your preacher's

fault is that he flies too high, and throws away his old shoes before he has new ones. He should begin by instructing the people in faith and charity. In a year or so, when they shall thoroughly understand Jesus Christ, it will be time to approach the points that he is now moot. . . . I preached three years at Wittenberg before coming to these questions, and men of this stamp wish to do all in an hour. These hasty spirits work much harm. . . . Let him refrain from prohibiting and punishing confession. . . ."

Page 27, col. 1. "*As to mass.*"—"Please God, I will try to do away with these masses. I can no longer bear the tricks and plots of these three demi-canons against the unity of our Church." (November 27th, 1524.)

"I have at last stirred up our canons to consent to the abrogation of masses." (December 2nd, 1544.)

"These two words, *mass* and *sacrament*, are as far from each other as light and darkness, as heaven and hell, as God and devil. . . ."

"Questions were frequently put to him with regard to the baptism of children *before delivery*:—"I have often hindered our midwives from baptizing children before they were brought into the world. They used to baptize the fetus as soon as the head appeared. Why not baptize over the mother's belly, or, better still, baptize the belly itself?" (March 13th, 1531.)

Page 27, col. 2. "*De Ministris Ecclesie Institutionis*" (Instructions to the Ministers of Wittenberg):—"To dismiss unworthy ministers; to abrogate all masses and purchased vigils; in the morning, instead of mass, *Te Deum*, lecture and exhortation; in the evening, lecture and exposition; complines after supper. One mass only to be said on Sundays and holidays."—(Briefe, August 19th, 1523.)

In 1520, he published a catechism; and ten years afterwards, another; in which he only kept baptism and the communion, and did away entirely with confession; at the same time exhorting to a frequent recurrence to the pastor's advice.

He wished to preserve tithes in order to render ministers independent of the civil power. "Tithes seem to me the justest thing in the world. Would to God that all taxes were abolished, save tithes, or ninths, or eighths; what do I say? The Egyptians gave the fifth, and yet could live!" (June 15th, 1524.)

Page 27, col. 2. "*that the priest is invested with an indestructible character.*"—"Pastors and preachers who give cause for scandal, ought to be suspended and imprisoned; and the elector has resolved to erect a prison for this purpose." . . . "The doctor then alluded to John Sturm, whom he had often visited in the castle of Wittenberg, and who, persisting in holding the opinion that Christ had only died for the example's sake, was imprisoned in the tower of Schwinitz, where he died."—(Tischred. p. 196.)

"Luther said that the Anabaptists were to be punished only inasmuch as they were seditious."—(Tischred. p. 298.)

Page 28, col. 1. "*he yet exercised a sort of supremacy and controul.*"—He decides that canons are obliged to share the public charges with the citi-

zens. (*Letter to the Council of Stettin, January 12th, 1523*). Applications were often made to him for church livings:

"Put your mind at rest about having a parish. There is everywhere a great dearth of faithful pastors; so much so, that we are forced to institute and ordain ministers with a rite of our own, without tonsure, without unction, without mitre, or staff, without gloves or censer, in fine, without bishops." (December 16th, 1530.)

(A.D. 1531.) The inhabitants of Riga, and the prince Albert of Prussia, ask Luther to send them ministers.

The king of Sweden, Gustavus the First, asks him also for a preceptor for his son. (April 1539.)

Page 28, col. 2. "*the abolition of the monastic vows.*"—In his treatise *De Vitandâ Hominum Doctrinâ*, he says of the bishops and dignitaries of the church, "Let these hardened and impure ones, who have incessantly in their mouths 'Christianity, Christianity,' learn that it is not for them that I have written on the necessity of eating meat, of abstaining from confession, and breaking images; not for them, who are like the unclean that polluted the camp of Israel. If I have taught these things, it is to deliver the captive consciences of those unhappy monks, who doubt if they can break such vows without sin." (Seckendorf, lib. i. sect. 50, p. 202.)

Page 29, col. 1. "*Nine nuns came to me yesterday.*"—Nine nuns had been carried off from their convent, and brought to Wittenberg. "They call me a ravisher," says Luther; "yes, and a thrice happy one like Christ, who also was a ravisher on earth, when, by his death, he took from the prince of this world his weapons and his power, and carried him away captive." (Cochlæus, p. 73.)

Page 30, col. 1. "*His old friend Carlstadt.*"—Carlstadt was canon and archdeacon of the collegiate church of All Saints, and was its dean when Luther entered as doctor in 1512. (Seckendorf, l. i. p. 72.)

Page 30, col. 1, last line but one. "*Beyond Carlstadt, glimpses might be seen of Münster.*"—Letter of doctor Martin to the Christians of Antwerp. "We believed, during the reign of the pope, that the spirits which make a noise and disturbance in the night, were those of the souls of men, who after death, return and wander about in expiation of their sins. This error, thank God, has been discovered by the Gospel, and it is known at present, that they are not the souls of men, but nothing else than those malicious devils who used to deceive men by false answers. It is they that have brought so much idolatry into the world.

"The devil seeing that this sort of disturbance could not last, has devised a new one; and begins to rage in his members, I mean in the ungodly, through whom he makes his way in all sorts of chimerical follies and extravagant doctrines. This won't have baptism, that denies the efficacy of the Lord's supper; a third, puts a world between this and the last judgment; others teach that Jesus Christ is not God; some say this, others that; and there are almost as many sects and beliefs as there are heads.

"I must cite one instance, by way of exemplification, for I have plenty to do with these sort of

spirits. There is not one of them that does think himself more learned than Luther; they all try to win their spurs against me; and would to heaven that they were all such as they think themselves, and that I were nothing! The one of whom I speak assured me, amongst other things, that he was sent to me by the God of heaven and earth, and talked most magnificently, but the clown peeped through all. At last, he ordered me to read the books of Moses. I asked for a sign in confirmation of this order, 'It is,' said he, 'written in the gospel of St. John.' By this time I had heard enough, and I told him, to come again, for that we should not have time, just now, to read the books of Moses. . . .

"I have plenty to do in the course of the year with these poor people: the devil could not have found a better pretext for tormenting me. As yet the world had been full of those clamorous spirits without bodies, who oppressed the souls of men; now they have bodies, and give themselves out for living angels. . . .

"When the pope reigned we heard nothing of these troubles. The strong one (the devil) was in peace in his fortress; but now that a stronger one than he is come, and prevails against him and drives him out, as the Gospel says, he storms and comes forth with noise and fury.

"Dear friends, one of these spirits of disorder has come amongst you in flesh and blood; he would lead you astray with the inventions of his pride: beware of him.

"First, he tells you that all men have the Holy Ghost. Secondly, that the Holy Ghost is nothing more than our reason and our understanding. Thirdly, that all men have faith. Fourthly, that there is no hell, that at least the flesh only will be damned. Fifthly, that all souls will enjoy eternal life. Sixthly, that nature itself teaches us to do to our neighbour what we would he should do to us; this he calls faith. Seventhly, that the law is not violated by concupiscence, so long as we are not consenting to the pleasure. Eighthly, that he that has not the Holy Ghost, is also without sin, for he is destitute of reason.

"All these are audacious propositions, vain imaginations; if we except the seventh, the others are not worthy of reply. . . .

"It is sufficient for us to know that God wills no sin. As to his sufferance of sin, we ought not to approach the question. The servant is not to know his master's secrets, simply his master's orders: how much less should a poor creature attempt to scrutinize or sound the mysteries and the majesty of the Creator? . . .

"To learn the law of God, and to know his son Jesus Christ, is sufficient to absorb the whole of life. . . . A.D. 1525." (Luth. Werke, tom. ii. p. 61, sqq.)

Page 31, col. 1. "*Luther obtained an order from the elector for Carlstadt's expulsion.*"—"As to Carlstadt's reproach, that I have driven him away, I should not much trouble myself if the complaint were well founded; but with God's help I hope I can justify myself in the matter. At all events I am very glad that he is no longer in our country, and I would wish he were not in yours."

"Basing himself on one of his writings, he would have almost persuaded me not to confound the spirit that animated him, with the seditious and

homicidal one of Alstet (Münzer's residence); but when at my sovereign's command I went myself among Carlstadt's good christians, I found but too surely what seeds he had been sowing; and I thank God I was not stoned or pelted with mud there, for the common form of benediction with which they greeted me was this: 'Get you gone, in the name of a thousand devils, and may you break your neck before you get out of the town.'" (Letter to the Strasburghers. Luther, Werke, t. ii. p. 58.)

"In the disputations at Leipsig Carlstadt insisted on speaking before me; he left me though to combat Eck's propositions on the supremacy of the pope, and on John Huss. . . . He is a poor disputer, with a dull and opinated head of his own, . . . but he had, however, a very merry Mary.

"These subjects of scandal do much harm to the cause of the gospel. A French spy once told me that his king knew all about us; for he had heard that we no longer respected either religion or laws, or even marriage itself, but that with us, it was like the beasts that perish. (Tischreden, p. 417, 422.)

Carlstadt's Death. "I wish to know whether Carlstadt died repentant or not. . . ."

"They tell a story of Carlstadt's having been killed by the devil. A man of gigantic stature is said to have entered the church where Carlstadt was preaching, and to have afterwards gone to Carlstadt's house, where he caught up his son as if to dash out his brains against the floor, but set him down, and bade him tell his father that he would return in three days to bear him off. Carlstadt died the third day. . . . I think it likely that he was seized with sudden terrors, and that he was killed by the fear of death alone: for he had always the greatest dread of dying." (April 7th, 1542.)

Page 33, col. 2. "*The peasants first rose up in the Black Forest.*"—An important circumstance in the war of the peasants is, that it broke out while the troops of the empire were in Italy; otherwise the insurrection would have been more quickly suppressed. The peasants of count Sigismund von Lupffen, in Hegovia (A.D. 1524), began the revolt, on account of the burdens laid on them (not for the cause of Lutheranism). They declared this to William von Furstenberg, who was sent to reduce them. . . . This first insurrection was apparently suppressed, when Münzer roused the peasants of Thuringia to revolt.

The pious, the erudite, the peaceable Melancthon showed how accordant the demands of the peasants were to the word of God and to justice; and exhorted the princes to clemency. Luther thundered against both parties. (See the text.)

A Franconian song, composed after the war of the peasants, had for its burthen the verse—

"Look out, peasant, or my horse will be over thee."

This was the counterpart of the war-song of the *Dithmarsen*, after they had defeated the *black guard*,—

"Look out, horseman, the peasant's upon thee."

The common badge of the insurgent peasants, was a white cross. Some bodies had the wheel of fortune on their banners; others seals, on which were engraved a ploughshare, with a flail, a rake,

or a pitchfork, and a sabot placed cross-wise. (Gropp. *Chronique de Wurtzburg*, i. 97. Wachsmuth, p. 36.)

A violent pamphlet appeared anonymously, in 1525, inscribed "To the Assembly of all the Peasants." It bears a wheel of fortune on the title-page, with this inscription in German verses :

"Now is the time for the wheel of fortune,	
God knows beforehand who will keep uppermost—	
Peasants,	Romanists,
Good Christians.	Sophists."

And lower down—

"Who makes us sweat so?
The avarice of the nobles."

And at the bottom—

"Turn, turn, turn,
Will ye, nill ye, thou must turn."

(Strobel, *Memoirs on the Literature of the Sixteenth Century*, ii. p. 44. Wachsmuth, p. 55.)

After the taking of Weinsberg, the peasants passed a resolution in their general council, that no quarter was to be granted to any prince, count, baron, noble, knight, priest, or monk, "in a word, to no men who live in idleness," and committed the most frightful excesses of every kind. In Franconia alone, they laid in ruins two hundred and ninety-three monasteries or castles. They used to drain the contents of the wine-cellars, and divide amongst themselves the church ornaments and the clerical vestments. One of their amusements was making the nobles take off their hats to them. . . . The peasant women bore their share in the war, and marched under a banner of their own. (Jäger, *History of Heilbronn*, ii. p. 34.)

When the insurrection had been put down in Suabia, numbers of the peasants were crucified, others beheaded, &c. In Alsace, where the spirit of revolt had made great progress, duke Antony of Lorraine collected a body of troops, chiefly out of the scattered remains of the battle of Pavia, defeated the peasants in three encounters (A.D. 1525), and is said to have slain more than thirty thousand. He had three hundred prisoners beheaded. (D. Calmet, *Histoire de la Lorraine*, i. p. 495, &c.; Hottinger, *Hist. de la Suisse*, ii. p. 28 ; Sleidan, p. 115.)

Page 34, col. 2. "*Exhortation to Peace*."—"Dr. Martin Luther's sincere exhortation to all Christians, to beware of the spirit of rebellion, 1524.

"The man of the people, tempted beyond all measure, and crushed by intolerable burthens, neither will nor can endure any longer, and has good reasons for striking with flail and mace, as John of the Mattock threatens to do. . . . I am rejoiced to see the tyrants trembling. . . .

"It belongs to the secular power and the nobles to complete the work (the work of Reformation). What is done by the regular authorities cannot be set down as sedition."

After pointing out that a spiritual, not a temporal insurrection is required, he goes on to say: "Spread, then, spread the Holy Gospel; teach, write, preach that all human establishments are nothing; dissuade all from becoming priests, papists, monks, nuns; exhort all who are such to renounce their way of life and to make their escape; cease to give money for bulls, tapers, bells, pictures, churches; tell them that Christian life consists in faith and charity. Go on two years on this wise,

and you will see what will become of pope, bishops, cardinals, priesthood, monks, nuns, bells, church-towers, masses, vigils, surplices, copes, tonsures, rules, statutes, and the whole of this vermin, this buzzing swarm of the papal reign. The whole will have disappeared like smoke."

Page 38, col. 2. "*Thomas Münzer, the leader of the Thuringian peasants*."—Münzer laid down certain stages in the christian's state. First, purification (*Entgrobung*), or the state of renouncing the grosser sins; as gluttony, drunkenness, debauchery. Second, the studious state, or that in which the mind dwells on another life and labours to improve. Third, contemplation; that is, meditations on sin and on grace. Fourth, weariness; that is, the state in which fear of the law makes us hate ourselves and inspires us with regret at our sins. Fifth, suspension of grace; that is, either profound dejection, profound incredulity, and despair like that of Judas, or, on the contrary, the throwing ourself through faith on God, and leaving all to his disposal. . . . "He once wrote to me and Melancthon, 'I like you of Wittemberg attacking the pope; but your prostitutions, which you call marriages, like me not.'" He taught that a man ought not to sleep with his wife except assured beforehand, by a divine revelation, that their offspring would be holy; that else it was adultery.—(*Tischred*, p. 292, 293.)

Münzer professed to have received his doctrine by divine revelations, and to teach nothing but what was directly communicated by God. He had been expelled from Prague, and many other towns, when he took up his final residence at Alstet in Saxony, where he declaimed against the pope, and, what was more dangerous still, against Luther himself.

Scripture, said Münzer, promises that God will grant to him who asketh. Now, he cannot refuse a sign to him who seeks a true knowledge of his will. . . . He said that God manifested his will by dreams.—(*Gnodalius*, ap. *Rer. Germ. Scr.* ii. p. 151; *History of Münzer*, by Melancthon, *Luth. Werke*, t. ii. p. 405.)

Page 39, col. 2. "*One cannot but be surprised at the severity with which Luther speaks of their defeat*."

"The reason of my writing so violently against the peasants is my horror at seeing them forcing the timid into their ranks, and so dragging innocent sufferers under God's visitation. . . ."

To John Rühel, his brother-in-law:—"It is piteous to see the vengeance which has overtaken these poor people. But what was to be done? It is God's will to strike terror into them; otherwise, Satan would be doing worse than the princes are now doing. The lesser evil must be preferred to the greater. . . ." (May 23rd, 1525.)

Page 40, col. 2. "*The violence with which princes and bishops*."—"Good princes and lords, you are in too great a hurry to see me die, me, who am only a poor man; with my death you feel assured of victory. But if you had ears to hear, I would tell you strange things; and one is, that if Luther died, not a man of you would be sure of his life and dominions. . . . Go on merrily, kill, burn; but, with God's grace, I yield not an inch. I pray you, however, when you have killed me, not to call me to life in order to kill me again. . . . I have not to do, I see, with rational beings. All the wild beasts

of Germany are let loose upon me, like wolves or boars, to tear me in pieces. . . . I write to warn you, but to no purpose. God has struck you with blindness." (Cochleus, p. 87.)

Page 41, col. 1. "*Bucer . . . concealed his opinions for some time from Luther.*"—On the 14th of October, 1539, he wrote to Bucer, "Give my respectful regards to J. Sturm and J. Calvin, whose books I have perused with singular gratification."

Page 41, col. 1. "*Zwingle and Ecolampadius.*"—"*Ecolampadius and Zwingle said, 'We leave Luther in peace, because he is the first through whom God has vouchsafed us his Gospel; but after the death of Luther we will push our own opinions!'*" They knew not that they would die before Luther." (Tischred. p. 233.)

"At first, Ecolampadius was a fine-hearted being; but he subsequently became sour and embittered. Zwingle, too, was at first full of vivacity and agreeability; and he, too, turned morose and melancholy." (Ibid.)

"After hearing Zwingle at the conference of Marburg, I considered that he was an excellent man, and Ecolampadius as well. . . . I have been much annoyed at seeing you publish Zwingle's book to the *most Christian king*, with a host of favourable testimonies prefixed to it, although you were aware that it contained matter offensive to myself and to all pious persons. Not that I envy the honours paid to Zwingle, at whose death I grieved; but no consideration whatever should tempt any one to do aught prejudicial to purity of doctrine." (May 14th, 1538.)

Page 41, col. 1. "*I know enough, and more than enough of Bucer's iniquity.*" "Master Bucer formerly thought himself exceedingly learned. He never was; for he publishes that all people have but one and the same religion, and are so saved. This is madness with a vengeance." (Tischreden, p. 184.)

"Dr. Luther was shown a large book, written by one William Postel, a Frenchman, on *Unity in the World*, where he laboured to prove the articles of faith from reason and nature, in the view of converting the Turks and Jews, and bringing all men to one same belief. The doctor observes, 'We have had similar works on natural theology; and this writer proves the proverb—The French are lack-brains. We shall have visionaries arising who will undertake to reconcile all kinds of idolatry with a show of faith, and so extenuate idolatry.'" (Ibid. 68, verso.)

Bucer made many attempts to be on good terms again with Luther. The latter writes (A.D. 1532), "As far as I am personally concerned, I could easily forbear you; but there are crowds of men here (as you may have seen at Smalkalde) ready to rebel against my authority. I can in no wise allow you to pretend that you have not erred, or to say that we have mistaken each other. The best plan for you is to acknowledge the whole frankly, or to keep your peace, and teach henceforward sound doctrine only. There are some among us, as Amsdorf, Osiander, and others, who cannot away with your subterfuges."

After the revolt of the Anabaptists (A.D. 1535), fresh attempts were made to unite the reformed churches of Switzerland, Alsace, and Saxony under

one common confession of faith. Luther writes to Capito (Kepstein), Bucer's friend, and minister at Strasburg, "My Catherine thanks you for the gold ring you sent her;" then, after mentioning that it had been either lost or stolen, he says, "The poor woman is greatly distressed, because I had told her the present was a happy gage of the future concord of your church and ours." (July 9th, 1537.)

Page 42, col. 1. "*This forbearance could not last. The publication De Libero Arbitrio*" (Of the Freedom of the Will).—"You say less, but you grant more to freedom of the will than any one else; for you do not define free-will, and yet grant it every thing. I would prefer receiving the doctrine of the sophists and of their master, Peter Lombard; who tell us that free-will is no more than the faculty of distinguishing and choosing between good and evil, according as we are directed by grace or not. Peter Lombard believes with Augustin, that if free-will have nothing to direct it, it can only lead man to sin. So Augustin, in his second book against Julian, calls it the *slave will*, rather than *free will*." (De Servo Arbitrio, p. 477, verso.)

Page 42, col. 1, the last line but one. "*There is no longer God, nor Christ, nor Gospel.*"—"If God has foreknowledge; if Satan is the prince of this world; if original sin has lost us; if the Jews, seeking righteousness, have fallen into unrighteousness; whilst the Gentiles, seeking unrighteousness, have found righteousness (freely offered unto them); if Christ has redeemed us by his blood; there can be no free-will for men or for angels. Either Christ is superfluous; or we must admit that he has only redeemed the vilest part of man." (De Servo Arbitrio, p. 525, verso.)

Page 42, col. 2. "*The more Luther struggles.*"—Pushed hard by contradictions, Luther is reduced to maintain the following propositions:—"Grace is gratuitously given to the most unworthy and least deserving; it is not to be obtained by study, work, by any efforts, great or little; it is not even granted to the ardent zeal of the best and most virtuous of men, whose sole pursuit is righteousness." (De Servo Arbitrio, p. 520.)

Page 42, col. 2. "*And, to his latest day, the name of him.*"—"What you tell me of Erasmus's foaming against me, I can see in his letters. . . . He is a most trifling man, who laughs at all religions like his Lucian, and only writes seriously when he wishes to retort and annoy." (May 28th, 1529.)

"Erasmus shows a spirit worthy of himself by thus persecuting the name of Lutheran, which constitutes his safety. Why is he not off to his Hollanders, his Frenchmen, his Italians, his Englishmen, &c.? . . . He seeks by these flatterers to secure himself an asylum; but he will find none, and, betwixt two stools, will come to the ground. Had the Lutherans hated him as his own countrymen do, he would live at Bale at the risk of his life. But let Christ judge this atheist, this Epicurus." (March 7th, 1529.)

Page 43, col. 1. "*If I fight with dirt, &c.*"—The original epigram is as follows:—

"Hoc scio pro certo, quod si cum stercore certo,
Vincio vel vincor, semper ego maculor."

Page 43, col. 2. "*I have chosen to practise what I preached.*"—Luther, in preaching the marriage of priests, thought only of putting an end to the shameful lie they daily gave to their monastic vows. It never occurred to him at this time that a married priest would be led to prefer his family according to the flesh, to that entrusted to him by God and the Church. Yet he himself could not always withdraw himself from the selfish feelings of a father; and expressions sometimes escaped him, lamentably at variance with charity and devotion, as they are understood and frequently practised by Catholic priests.

"It is quite sufficient," he says in one of his charges to a pastor, "if the people communicate three or four times in the year, and that publicly. To administer the communion in private would become too heavy a burthen on ministers, especially in seasons of pestilence. Besides, the Church ought not to be rendered in this manner, as regards her sacraments, the slave of individuals, above all, of those who despise her, yet would, nevertheless, have the Church in all cases ever ready to administer to them, although they do nothing for the Church." (November 26th, 1539.)

He himself, however, acted upon very different maxims; displaying on serious emergencies all the heroism of charity.

"I have turned my house into a hospital, as all others were frightened. I have received the pastor into my house (his wife has just fallen a victim) and all his family." (November 4th, 1527.)

Doctor Luther, speaking of the death of Dr. Sébald and his wife, whom he had visited in their sickness and touched, said, "They died of sorrow and distress more than of the plague." He took their children into his house, and being told that he was tempting God's providence; "Ah!" said he, "mine has been a good schooling, which has taught me to tempt God in this way."

The plague being in two houses, they wanted to question a deacon who had entered them; Luther would not allow it, both from trust in God, and unwillingness to create alarm. (December, 1538. Tischreden, p. 356.)

Page 44, col. 1. "*Pre-occupied with household cares.*"—"We have excellent wine from the prince's cellar, and we should become perfect evangelists, if the Gospel fattened us equally." (March 8th, 1523.)

Luther usually concludes his letters, at this period, with such words as these: *Mea costa, Dominus meus, imperatrix mea Ketha, te salutat.* My dear rib, my master, my empress Ketha salutes thee.

"My lord Ketha was at her new kingdom at Zielsdorf (a small property belonging to Luther) when thy letters arrived."

He writes to Spalatin: "My Eve wishes for thy prayers to God to preserve to her her two infants, and to help her happily to conceive and become the mother of a third." (May 15th, 1528.)

Luther had three sons, John, Martin, Paul; and three daughters, Elizabeth, Madeleine, and Margaret; the two first daughters died young, one at the age of eight months, the other at thirteen years of age; on the tomb of the first, is written, *Hic dormit Elisabetha, filiola Lutheri.* The male line of Luther became extinct in 1759. (Ukert, i. p. 92.)

There is, in the church of Kieritzsch (a Saxon village), a likeness of Luther's wife, in plaster, bearing the following inscription: *Catarina Luther, geböhren von Bohrau, 1540.* This likeness had belonged to Luther. (Ukert, i. 364.)

Page 43, col. 2. "*Marks the end of this period of atony.*" He was exceedingly wrath with too vehement preachers. If N * * * cannot be more moderate, he writes to Hausmann, I shall get the prince to eject him.

"I have already begged you," he writes to this same preacher, "to preach more peaceably the word of God, abstaining from all personalities, and from whatever gives annoyance to the people without adequate results. . . . At the same time, you are too lukewarm about the sacrament, and are too long without communicating." (February 10th, 1528.)

"We have a preacher from Königsberg, who wants to introduce I know not how many regulations, touching bells, wax-tapers, and other things of the like sort. . . . It is not needful to preach so often. I hear that they give three sermons every Sunday, at Königsberg. Where is the use of that? two are quite enough; and for the whole week, two or three. Daily preaching takes one into the pulpit without sufficient meditation, and we preach whatever comes uppermost, whether to the purpose or beside it. For God's sake, moderate the temper and the zeal of our preachers. This Königsberg preacher is too vehement, and tragedies, and glooms and discourses about trifles." (July 16th, 1528.)

"Did I want to grow rich, I would give up preaching, and turn mountebank. I should find more ready to pay for seeing me, than I have hearers gratis now." (Tischred. p. 186.)

Page 43, col. 2. "*So let us honour marriage.*"—As early as the 25th of May 1524, he wrote to Capiton and Bucer: "I rejoice in the marriages you are contracting between the priests, monks, and nuns; I love this array of husbands against the bishops of Satan, and approve the choice you have made for the different parishes; in fact, there is nothing that you tell me but gives me the liveliest satisfaction: go on and prosper. . . . I will say yet more, we have of late years made concessions enough to the weak. Besides, since they harden themselves daily, we must speak and act with all freedom. . . . I am thinking myself of giving up the cowl, which I have worn so long for the support of the weak, and in mockery of the pope." (May 25th, 1524.)

Page 43, col. 2. "*I have not liked to refuse giving my father the hope of posterity.*"—"The affair of the peasants has emboldened the papists, and much injured the cause of the gospel; and so we christians must now lift up the head higher. It is to this end, and that it may not be said we preach the gospel without practising it, that I am going to marry a nun; my enemies were triumphing; they cried, Io! Io! I have wished to prove to them that I am not disposed to beat a retreat, though something old and infirm. And perhaps I may do yet something else, at least I hope so, to damp their joy and to strengthen my own words." (August 16th, 1525.)

Hardly was Luther married before his enemies spread the report that his wife was about to be

confined. Erasmus caught at the report with great eagerness, and hastened to spread it among all his correspondents, but he was compelled, at a subsequent period, to eat his words. (Ukert, i. 189—192.)

Eck and others attacked him with numerous satires on the occasion of his marriage, to which he replied in various pieces which were collected under the title of *the Fable of the Lion and the Ass*.

Page 44. col. 1, near the end. "*We are daily plunging deeper into debt.*"—In 1527, he was obliged to pledge three of his goblets for fifty florins, and at last sold one for twelve florins. His ordinary income never exceeded two hundred Misnia florins a year. . . . The publishers made him an offer of four hundred florins yearly, but he could not resolve on accepting it. In spite of his straitened means, his liberality was profuse; he gave to the poor the presents made to his children at their baptism. A poor scholar once asking him for a little money, he begged his wife to give him some; but, she replying that there was none in the house, Luther then took up a silver vase, and putting it into his hands desired him to go and sell it to some goldsmith for his own use. (Ukert, ii. p. 7.)

"Doctor Pomer brought Luther one day a hundred florins of which some nobleman had just made him a present, but he would not accept them; he instantly gave half of it to Philip, and wished Dr. Pomer to take back the rest, but he would not. (Tischr., p. 59.) "I have never asked a single farthing of my gracious lord." (Tischr., p. 53—60.)

Page 44. col. 2. "*asking them nothing for all my labour.*"—"A lawful gain has God's blessing, as when one gains one farthing out of twenty, but a dishonest profit will be accursed. Thus it shall be with the printer of * * * who gains one farthing out of every two . . . on the books he has had to print for me. The printer, John Grunenberger, said to me conscientiously, 'Sir doctor, this brings me in too much; I cannot supply copies enough.' This was a man fearing God, and he has been blessed." (Tischr. p. 62, verso.)

"You know, my dear Amsdorf, that I alone cannot supply all the presses, and yet they all come to me for this food; there are here nearly six hundred printers." (April 11th, 1525.)

Page 46, col. 2. "*Wherefore should I be provoked with the papists?*" It seems, however, that they attempted to make away with him by poison. (See letters written by him in Jan. and Feb., 1525; Cochleus, p. 25; Tischreden, p. 416, and p. 274, verso.)

Page 47, col. 1. "*A clandestine but most dangerous persecution.*"—"To the christians of Holland, of Brabant, and of Flanders (on the occasion of the torture of two Austin friars, who were burnt to death at Brussels).

"Oh! how shocking a death have these two poor men suffered. But what glory are they now enjoying in God's presence! It is a small thing to be despised and killed by this world, when we know that, as the Psalmist says (cxvi. 15), '*Precious in the sight of the Lord, is the death of his saints.*' And what is the world compared to God! . . . What joy, what delight must the angels have felt when they welcomed these two souls! God be praised and blessed to all eternity, who has permitted us, even us, to hear and to see true saints and real

martyrs. We, who have aforetime honoured so many false saints!" (July, 1523.)

"The noble lady Argula von Staufen, passes her life in continual suffering and peril. She is filled with the spirit, the word, and the knowledge of Christ. She has attacked the academy of Ingolstadt with her writings, because of their forcing a young man, named Arsacius, into a shameful revocation of his faith. Her husband, who is himself a tyrant, and who has just lost a post through her, is at a loss what to do. . . . As for her, though surrounded by so many dangers, she maintains a firm faith, although, when writing to me, she confesses her courage is sometimes shaken. She is a precious instrument in the hands of Christ. I mention her to you, that you may see how God can confound by this *weak vessel* the mighty of this world, and those who glorify themselves in their wisdom." (A.D. 1524.)

Luther's translation of the Bible inspired a general itch of disputation. Even women challenged theologians, and averred that all the doctors were in darkness. Some of them were for mounting the pulpits, and teaching in the churches. Had not Luther declared that by baptism we are all teachers, preachers, bishops, popes, &c.? (Cochleus, p. 51.)

Page 47, col. 1. "*and suffered to die of hunger.*"—One day, when some observations were made at Luther's table, on the little generosity shown to preachers, he said, "The world is incapable of giving anything with hearty will; it requires to be dealt with by clamour and importunity; and such impudence is brother Matthew's, who, by dint of begging, got the elector to promise that he would buy him a fur robe; but, as the prince's treasurer took no notice of it, brother Matthew called out in the middle of his sermon, as he was preaching before the elector, 'Where is my fur robe?' The order was repeated to the treasurer, but he again forgot it; so the preacher again referred to the gown in the elector's presence, saying this time, 'Alas! I have not yet seen my fur robe: where is it?' And upon this he finally obtained the promised boon." (Tischreden, p. 189, verso.)

Nevertheless, Luther constantly complains of the miserable state of the ministers generally. "Their salaries," he says, "are often grudged them; and those who formerly would squander millions of florins on a set of rogues and impostors, are unwilling in these days to spare one hundred to a preacher." (March 1st, 1531.)

"There is now established here (at Wittenberg) a consistorial court for questions relating to marriage, and to oblige the peasants to better discipline in regard to the payments of their pastors; a regulation which, perhaps, would be of equal benefit if observed towards some of the nobility and the magistracy." (January 12th, 1541.)

Page 47, col. 1. "*There is nothing certain with regard to the apparitions.*"—"Joachim writes me word, that a child has been born at Bamberg with a lion's head! but that it died almost instantly; and that there had also appeared the sign of the cross over the city; but the priests have taken care that these things should not be noticed abroad." (January 22nd, 1525.) "Princes die in great numbers this year, which perhaps may ac-

count for this number of signs." (September 6th, 1525.)

Page 47, col. 1. "*when the Turks encamped.*"—Luther's first idea seemed to have been that the Turks were a succour sent him from God. "They are," says he, "the instruments of divine vengeance." A.D. 1526. (*Præliari adversus Turcas est repugnare Deo visitanti iniquitates nostras per illos.*) He did not wish the Protestants to arm themselves against them in defence of Papists; for "these (he said) are no better than the Turks."

He says, in a preface which he prefixed to a book of doctor Jonas's, that the Turks equal the Papists, or rather surpass them, in those very things which the latter think so essential to salvation; such as alms-giving, fasts, macerations, pilgrimages, the monastic life, ceremonials, and all other external works; and that it is for this reason that the Papists are reserved touching the worship of the Mahomedans. He takes occasion from this to laud and elevate over these Mahomedan and Romanist practices, "that pure religion of the soul and spirit taught by the Holy Gospel."

Elsewhere he draws a parallel between the Turk and the pope, concluding thus: "If we must needs oppose the Turk, so must we in like manner oppose the pope." Nevertheless, when he found the Turks seriously menacing the independence and peace of Germany, he repeatedly recommended the maintenance of a permanent army upon the frontiers of Turkey, and often repeated that all who bore the name of Christians ought to be fervent in prayer to God for the success of the emperor's arms against the infidels.

Luther exhorted the elector, in a letter of the 29th of May, 1538, to take part in the war that was preparing against the Turks; and begged of him to forget the intestine quarrels of Germany, in order to turn all his forces against the common enemy.

A former ambassador in Turkey told Luther, one day, that the sultan had asked him, "Who is this Luther? and what is his age?" And that when he learnt he was forty-eight, he said, "I wish he was not so old; tell him, that in me he has a gracious lord." "May God preserve me from all such gracious lords!" said Luther, crossing himself. (Tischreden, p. 432, verso.)

Page 48, col. 1. "*the landgrave . . . believing himself to be menaced.*"—Luther, in a letter to chancellor Brück, speaking of the landgrave's preparations for war, says, "A similar aggression on our part would be a great reproach to the Gospel. It would not be a revolt of the peasants, but a revolt of princes, which would bring the most fearful evils on Germany. It is what Satan desires above all things." (May, 1528.)

Page 48, col. 1. "*duke George of Saxony.*"—"Pray with me, that it may please the God of mercy to convert duke George to his Gospel, or that, if he be not worthy of it, he may be taken out of the world." (March 27th, 1526.)

Luther writes to the elector, on the subject of his quarrels with duke George. (December 31st, 1528.) . . . "I pray your grace to abandon me entirely to the decision of the judges, supposing that duke George should insist upon it; for it becomes my duty to expose my own life, rather than that your grace should incur the least detriment. Jesus

Christ will, I feel sure, arm me with sufficient strength to resist Satan, singly."

Page 48, col. 1. "*this Moab, who exalts his pride.*"—Duke George was, after all, a good-tempered persecutor enough. Having expelled eighty-four Lutherans from Leipsic, he allowed them permission to retain their houses, to leave there their wives and children, and to visit them at the time of the yearly fair. In another instance, Luther having advised the Protestants of Leipsic to resist the orders of their duke, he (the duke) contented himself with praying the elector of Saxony to interdict all communication between Luther and his subjects. (Cochlæus, p. 230.)

Page 48, col. 2. "*the party of the Reformation broke out.*"—Luther still tried to restrain his favourers. On the 22nd of May, 1529, he wrote to the elector to dissuade him from entering into any league against the emperor, and to exhort him to put himself entirely in the hands of God.

Page 49, col. 2. "*the elector brought him as near as possible to Augsburg.*"—He left Torgau the 3rd of April, and arrived at Augsburg the 2nd of May. His suite was composed of one hundred and sixty horsemen. The theologians who accompanied him were Luther, Melancthon, Jonas, Agricola, Spalatin, and Osiander. Luther, excommunicated and proscribed the empire, remained at Coburg.—(Ukert, t. i. p. 232.)

Page 50, col. 1. "*all the comfort he got was rough rebuke.*"—Sometimes, however, he sympathised with him in his trials:—"You have confessed Christ, made peace-offerings, obeyed Cæsar, suffered injuries, endured blasphemies; you have never rendered evil for evil; in fact, you have been a worthy labourer in the Lord's vineyard, as becometh the godly. Rejoice, then, and be comforted in the Saviour. Man of long-suffering, look up, and raise your drooping head, for your redemption draweth nigh. I will canonize you as a faithful member of Christ; what more of glory would you seek?"—(September 15th, 1530.)

Page 50, col. 2, last line but four. "*The Protestant profession of faith.*"—"At the diet of Augsburg, duke William of Bavaria, who was strongly opposed to the reformers, having said to Dr. Eck, 'Cannot we refute these opinions by the Holy Scriptures?' 'No,' said he, 'but by the Fathers.' The bishop of Mentz then said, 'Mark! how famously our theologians defend us! The Lutherans show us their belief in Scripture, and we ours out of Scripture.' The same bishop then added, 'The Lutherans have one article which we cannot confute, whatever may be the case with the rest,—the one on marriage.'"—(Tischred. p. 99.)

Page 51, col. 1. "*If the emperor chooses to publish an edict.*"—Luther, conscious of his power, says, "If I were killed by the Papists, my death would protect those I leave behind; and these wild beasts would perhaps be more cruelly punished for it than even I could wish. For there is One who will say some day, *Where is thy brother Abel?* And He shall mark them on the forehead, and they shall be wanderers on the face of the earth. . . . Our race is now under the protection of our Lord God, who has written, 'I will show mercy unto thousands in them that love me and keep my com-

maudments.' And I believe in these words!" (June 30th, 1530.)

"If I were to be killed in any disturbance of the Papists, I should bear off with me such numbers of bishops, priests, and monks, that all would say, 'Dr. Martin Luther is followed to the tomb by a grand procession indeed. He must have been a great doctor, learned and good, beyond all bishops, priests, and monks; therefore they must all be at his internment, and, like him, on their backs.' So we should take our last journey together." (A.D. 1531. Cochläus, p. 211. Extract from the book of Luther, entitled, "Advice to the Germans.")

The Catholics, he was told, reproached him with many false interpretations in his translation of the Scriptures; he replied, "They have much too long ears! and their *hi-hau! hi-hau!* is too weak to be able to judge of a translation from Latin into German. . . . Tell them that it is Dr. Martin Luther's pleasure that an ass and a Papist should be one and the same thing."

"Sic volo, sic jubeo, sit pro ratione voluntas."

—(Passage cited by Cochläus, 201, verso.)

Page 51, col. 1. "*Let them restore to us Leonard Kiser.*"—"Not only the title of king, but also that of emperor is due to him, since he has conquered him who has no equal upon earth. He is not a priest only,—but a sovereign pontiff, and a true pope, who has just offered up his own body as a sacrifice unto God. With good reason was he called *Leonhard*,—that is to say, 'the strength of a lion.' He was a lion for force and intrepidity." (October 22nd, 1527.)

"If we, were to believe Cochläus, Luther was a persecutor in his turn. In 1532, a Lutheran having recanted, Luther had him taken up and carried to Wittenberg, where he was imprisoned, and a process commenced against him. The charge against him being insufficient, he was released, but was ever after persecuted in an underhand way by the Lutherans." (Cochläus, p. 218.)

Page 51, col. 2. "*They entered a protest . . . prepared for war.*"—Nevertheless, the issue of the struggle was so much feared on all hands, that, contrary to all expectation, peace was preserved. (June, 1531.)

The fear of a fresh rising of the peasants, greatly contributed to keep the princes in their pacific intentions. (July 19th, 1530.)

Page 51, col. 2. "*Luther was accused of having instigated the Protestants.*"—So far from it, he had ever since 1529 dissuaded the elector from entering into any league whatever against the emperor. . . . "We cannot approve of any such alliance. Should any evil result from it, say open war, all would fall upon our conscience; and we would prefer death a hundred times to the reproach of having shed blood for the Gospel's sake." (November 18th, 1529.)

Page 51, col. 2. "*I have not advised resistance to the emperor.*"—In the Book of the Table Talk (p. 397, verso), Luther speaks more explicitly. "There will be no fighting for religion's sake. The emperor has taken the bishoprics of Utrecht and of Liege, and has offered to allow the duke of Brunswick to seize that of Hildesheim. He hungers and thirsts for ecclesiastical property; he absolutely devours it. Our princes will not suffer this; they

will want to eat with him; on this they will come to buffets." (A.D. 1530.)

"I have often been asked by my gracious master, what I should do were a highwayman or murderer to attack me? I should resist, out of loyalty to the prince whose subject and servant I am. I might slay the thief, even with the sword, and still afterwards receive the sacrament. But if it were for the word of God, and as a preacher, that I was attacked, I ought to suffer, and leave vengeance to God. I do not take a sword with me into the pulpit, only on the road. The Anabaptists are knaves in despair; they carry no arms, and boast of their patience." (1539.) Luther answers, on the question of right of resistance, "That according to public law, the law of nature and reason, resistance to unjust authority is permissible: there is no difficulty but upon the ground of religion."

"The question would not have been difficult to resolve in the time of the apostles, for then all the authorities were pagans, not Christians. But now that all the princes are Christians, or pretend to be such, it is difficult to decide; for a prince and a Christian are near of kin. Whether a Christian may resist the powers that be, is a question pregnant with matter. . . . In fine, it is from the pope I wrest the sword, not from the emperor."

He thus sums up himself the arguments he might have addressed to the Germans, if he had exhorted them to resistance.

"1. The emperor has neither the right nor the power to give such orders; certain it is, if he does so order, we ought not to obey him.

"2. It is not I who excite disturbance; I prevent it, I am opposed to it. Let them consider whether they are not the beginners, who command that which is contrary to God.

"3. Do not make a jest of the matter: if you will make the fool drunk (*narren Luprian*) take care that he does not spit in your face; besides he is thirsty enough, and only desires to drink his fill.

"4. Well, then, you will fight? bend your heads then for a blessing: success attend you! may God give you the victory! I, doctor Martin Luther, your apostle, I have spoken, I have warned you as was my duty." . . .

"To kill tyrants is a thing not permitted to any man who is not in some public capacity; for the fifth commandment says: 'Thou shalt not kill.' But if I surprise a man with my wife or my daughter, although he be not a tyrant, I am justified in killing him. So, if he were to take by force such a man's wife, another man's daughter, or another's goods and estates, his citizens and subjects, sick of his violence and tyranny, might assemble and slay him as they would any other murderer or highway robber." (Tischreden, p. 397, verso, sqq.)

"The good and truly noble lord, Gaspard von Kokritz, has desired me, my dear John, to write to thee my opinion, in the event of Cæsar's making war on our princes on account of the Gospel, whether it be lawful for us to resist and defend ourselves. I had already written my opinion on this subject in the lifetime of duke John. It is now a little late to ask my advice, since the princes have decided that they may and will both resist and defend themselves, and that they will not abide by what I shall say. . . . Do not strengthen the arms of the ungodly against our princes; leave all to the wrath and

judgment of God, which they have, up to this day, sought with fury, with laughter and riotous joy. Nevertheless moderate our side, by the example of the Maccabees who would not follow those that fought against Antiochus, but, in their simplicity of heart, chose death rather." (8th February, 1539.)

In his book *De Seculari Potestate*, dedicated to the duke of Saxony, he says: "In Misnia, in Bavaria, and other places, the tyrants have issued an edict, commanding all to deliver up the New Testament to the magistrates. If their subjects obey this edict, it is not a book which at the peril of their souls they deliver up; it is Christ himself whom they give into the hands of Herod. However, if they are taken away by violence, it must be endured. Princes are of this world, and this world is the enemy of God."

"We must not obey Cæsar if he makes war against our party. The Turk does not attack his Alcoran, neither must the emperor attack his Gospel." (Cochläus, p. 210.)

Page 51, col. 2. "*My opinion, as a theologian, is . . .*"—The elector had asked Luther if he might resist the emperor sword in hand. Luther replied in the negative, only adding: "If, however, the emperor, not content with being the master of the states of princes, should go so far as to require of them to persecute, put to death, or banish their subjects on account of the Gospel, the princes, knowing that this would be acting in opposition to the will of God, ought to refuse obedience; otherwise, they would be doing violence to their faith, and rendering themselves the accomplices of crime. It is sufficient for them to suffer the emperor to take the matter into his own hands,—he will have to answer for it,—and to refrain from supporting their subjects against him." (March 6th, 1530.)

Page 52, col. 1. "*I care not about being accused of violence.*"—The elector had reprimanded Luther on account of two of his writings (*Warning to his beloved Germans*, and, *Glosses on the pretended Imperial Edict*), which he thought too violent. Luther replied to him (April 16th, 1531), "It was impossible for me to keep silence any longer in this affair, which concerns me more than any one else. If I were silent under such a public condemnation of my doctrine, would it not be equivalent to abandoning, to denying it? Rather than this, I would brave the anger of all the devils, and of the whole world, not to mention that of the imperial councillors."

Page 52, col. 2. "*Anabaptism was in the ascendant.*"—The Anabaptists had been for a long time spreading in Germany. "We have here a new kind of prophets, come from Antwerp, who pretend that the Holy Ghost is nothing more than the mind and natural reason." (March 27th, 1525.)

"There is nothing new, save that they say the Anabaptists are increasing and spreading in every direction." (December 28th, 1527.)

He writes to Link (May 12th, 1528): "Thou hast, I think, seen my *Antischwermerum* and my dissertation on the bigamy of the bishops. The courage of these Anabaptists, when they die, is like that of the Donatists, of whom Saint Augustin speaks, or the fury of the Jews in wasted Jerusalem. Holy martyrs, such as our Leonard Keiser, die in fear and humility, praying for their exe-

cutioners. The obstinacy of these people, on the contrary, when they are borne to execution, seems to increase with the indignation of their enemies."

Page 56, col. 1. "*were executed in the same horrible manner.*"—Extract from an old book of hymns used by the Anabaptists. "The words of Algrius are miracles. 'Here,' he says, 'others groan and weep, but I am full of joy. In my prison the army of heaven appears to me; thousands of martyrs are with me daily. In all the joy, all the delight, all the ecstasy of grace, I am shown my Lord upon his throne.'

"But thy country, thy friends, thy relatives, thy profession, canst thou voluntarily abandon them? He answered those sent to him: 'No man can banish me from my country; my country lies at the foot of the celestial throne; there, my enemies shall be my friends, and shall join in the same song.'

"Nor doctors, nor artists, nor workmen, can succeed here; he that has not strength from on high, has no strength.' The angry judges threatened him with the flames. 'In the might of the flames,' said Algrius, 'you shall acknowledge mine.'" (Wunderhorn, t. i.)

Page 56. ADDITIONS TO CHAPTER 2. BOOK III.

The following extracts from Ruchart (*History of the Reformation in Switzerland*) will serve to show the singular enthusiasm of the Anabaptists:—"In the year 1529, nine Anabaptists were apprehended and thrown into prison at Bâle. They were brought before the senate, which summoned the ministers to confer with them. Ecolampadius first briefly explained to them the Apostles' Creed and St. Athanasius's Creed, and showed them that the belief therein expounded was the true and indisputable Christian faith (doctrine) which Jesus Christ and his apostles had preached. Then the burgomaster, Adelbert Meyer, told the Anabaptists that they had just heard a sound exposition of the Christian faith, and that, since they complained of the ministers, they ought to speak out frankly and freely, and boldly explain in what they felt aggrieved! But no one answered a word, and they stood looking at each other. Then the clerk of the chamber said to one of them, who was by trade a turner, 'How comes it that you do not speak now, after having prated so much elsewhere, in the streets, in the shops, and in prison?' As they still remained silent, Mark Hedelin, the head tribesman, addressed their leader, asking, 'What answer, my brother, dost thou make to this proposition?' The Anabaptist replied, 'I do not recognize you as my brother.' 'Why?' said this nobleman to him. 'Because you are not a Christian. Repent first, reform, and quit the magistracy.' 'In what, then, do you think I sin so heavily?' said Hedelin. 'You know well enough,' replied the Anabaptist.

"The burgomaster then took up the word, exhorted him to reply in a modest and becoming manner, and earnestly pressed him to speak to the question proposed. On this he replied, 'That no Christian could belong to a worldly magistracy, because he who fights with the sword will perish with the sword; that the baptism of children proceedeth from the devil, and is an invention of the pope's; adults ought to be baptized, and not infants, according to Jesus Christ's commands.'

"Æcolampadius undertook to refute him with all possible gentleness, and to show him that the passages which he had quoted bore a very different interpretation, as all the ancient doctors testified. 'My dear friends,' he said, 'you do not understand Holy Scripture, and you handle it in a rude and insufficient manner.' And as he was proceeding to show them the sense of these passages, one of them, a miller by trade, interrupted him, accusing him of being a tempter, and an empty talker, saying, that his arguments had nothing to do with the subject; that they had in their hands God's pure and very word, that they would not forsake it their life long, and that the Holy Ghost spoke at the present day through it. At the same time, he apologized for his want of eloquence, saying, that he had not studied, that he had not belonged to any university, and that from his youth he had hated human wisdom, which is full of deceit; and that he was well aware of the tricks of the scribes who were for ever seeking to throw dust in the eyes of the simple. Whereupon, he began crying and weeping, saying, that after he had heard the word of God, he had forsaken his irregular course of life; and that now that, through baptism, he had received pardon for his sins, he was persecuted of all, whereas, whilst he was sunk in vice of every kind, no one had rebuked or imprisoned him, as was now the case. He had been confined in the gaol, like a murderer; what was his crime? &c. The conference having lasted to the hour of dinner, the senate broke up.

"The senate meeting again after dinner, the ministers began to question the Anabaptists on the subject of the magistracy; and when one of them had given very fair and satisfactory answers, the rest evidenced their discontent, declaring that he was a waverer, and interrupted him. 'Leave us to speak,' said they to him; 'we who understand Scripture better than thou, and can reply better touching these articles than thou, who art still a novice, and incapable of defending our doctrine against foxes.' Then the turner, beginning an argument, maintained that St. Paul (Rom. xiii.), when speaking of the superior powers, does not refer to the magistracy, but to the higher ecclesiastical authorities. This Æcolampadius denied, and asked in what part of the Bible he found it. The other said, 'Turn over the leaves of your Old and New Testament, and you will find that you are entitled to a salary. You are better off than I, who have to support myself with the labour of my hands, so as to be a burthen to no one.' This sally made the bystanders laugh. Æcolampadius remarked to them, 'Gentlemen, this is not a time for laughing; if I receive from the Church my means of support and existence, I can prove the reasonableness of this from Scripture. Language of the sort is seditious. Pray rather for the glory of the Lord that God may soften their hardened hearts, and illuminate their hearts with his grace.'

"After several other arguments, as the time of breaking up the sitting approached, one of them, who had said nothing the whole day, began howling and weeping. 'The last day is at hand,' he shouted forth; 'reform; the axe is already laid to the tree; do not, then, calumniate our doctrine on baptism. I pray you, for the love of Jesus Christ, persecute not honest folk. Of a verity, the just Judge will soon come, and will cause all the ungodly to perish.'

"The burgomaster interrupted him, to tell him there was no need of all this outcry, but that he should confine himself to reasoning on the points in question. Nevertheless, he attempted to persevere in the same strain, but was prevented. At last, the burgomaster undertook to justify the conduct of the senate towards the Anabaptists, and stated that they had been arrested, not on account of the Gospel, or on account of their good conduct, but on account of their irregularities, their perjuries, and their sedition; that one of them had committed murder, another had preached that tithes were unlawful, a third had excited disturbances, &c.; that it was for these crimes they had been arrested, until it had been settled what course should be pursued with them, &c.

"Hereupon, one of them began crying out, 'Brothers, resist not the ungodly; though the enemy should be at your gate, shut it not. Let them approach; they cannot harm us without the will of our Father, since the hairs of our head are numbered. More than this, I say, you must not even resist a robber in a wood. Think you not that God watches over you?' They forced him to desist from this outcry." (*Ruchart, Réforme Suisse*, p. 498.)

"Another disputation.—"The Zwinglian ministers spoke to them amicably and gently, proving to them that if they taught the truth, they were in the wrong to separate from the Church, and to preach in the woods and other solitary places. Then he briefly expounded to them the doctrine of the Church. One of the Anabaptists interrupted him with, 'We have received the Holy Ghost by baptism; we have no need of instruction!' One of the lords deputies then said, 'We are commissioned to tell you that the magistrates are pleased to allow you to depart without further punishment, provided you quit the country, and promise never to return, except you are minded to alter your way of life!' One of the Anabaptists exclaimed, 'What orders are these? The magistrates are not masters of the land, to order us to quit it, or go elsewhere. God has said, Dwell in the land. I choose to obey this commandment, and to remain in the country where I was born, where I was brought up, and no one has a right to hinder me!' He was now, however, taught the contrary." (*Idem*, t. iii. p. 102.)

"At Bale, an Anabaptist named *Conrad in Gasen* used to utter strange blasphemies; for instance, 'That Jesus Christ was not our Redeemer, that he was not God, and that he was not born of a virgin!' He made no account of prayer, and when it was pointed out to him that Jesus Christ had prayed on the Mount of Olives, he answered with brutal insolence, 'Who heard him?' Being found to be incorrigible, he was condemned to be beheaded. This impious fanatic reminds me of another of our own day, who persuaded certain of our neighbours, some years ago, that it behoved to use neither bread nor wine. And when it was objected to him one day at Geneva, that Christ's first miracle was changing water into wine, he answered, 'That Jesus Christ was still young at that time; and that it was a venial fault, which ought to be forgiven him.' " (*Idem*, t. iii. p. 104.)

The Reformation, born in Saxony, soon gained the banks of the Rhine, and proceeded up that stream to mingle, in Switzerland, with the rationalism of

the Vaudois; it even dared to cross into Catholic Italy. Melancthon, who kept up a correspondence with Bembo and Sadolet, both secretaries to the apostolic chamber, was at first better known than Luther to the Italian literati; and the glory of the first attacks on Rome was attributed to him. But Luther's reputation spreading with the importance of his reformation, the Italians soon learned to consider him the head of the Protestant party; and it is, as such, that Altieri addressed him, in 1542, in the name of the Protestant churches of the north-east of Italy (the churches of Venice, Vicenza, and Trevisa). . . . "Engage the most serene princes of Germany to intercede for us with the Venetian senate to relax the violent measures instituted against the Lord's flock, at the suggestion of the papal ministers. . . . You know the addition made here to your churches, and how wide is the gate open to the Gospel. . . . Aid, then, the common cause," (Seckendorf, c. iii. p. 401.)

Charles the Fifth himself contributed to spread the name and doctrines of Luther in the Italian peninsula, by constantly pouring into it from Germany new bands of *landsknechts*, among whom were many Protestants. It is well known that George Von Frundsberg, the leader of the Constable de Bourbon's German troops, swore that he would strangle the pope with the gold chain that hung round his neck. . . .

Luther himself was solemnly proclaimed: "A number of German soldiers assembled one day in the streets of Rome, mounted on horses and mules. One of them, named Grundwald, of remarkable stature, dressed himself up like the pope, placed a triple crown on his head, and mounted on a mule richly caparisoned. Others tricked themselves out as cardinals, with mitres on their heads, and in either scarlet or white robes, according to the personages they represented. They then set out in procession, with drums and fifes, followed by an immense crowd, and with all the pomp customary in pontifical processions. Whenever they passed a cardinal's house, Grundwald gave his benediction to the people. He at last alighted from his mule; and the soldiers, setting him in a chair, bore him on their shoulders. On reaching the castle of St. Angelo he takes a large cup, and drinks to Clement's health, and his comrades follow his example. He then tenders the oath to his cardinals, adding that he binds them to do homage to the emperor, as their lawful and only sovereign, and makes them promise that they will no more trouble the peace of the empire by their intrigues, but that, following the commands of Scripture, and the example of Jesus Christ and the apostles, they will be submissive to the civil power. After an harangue, in which he recapitulated the wars, parricides, and sacrileges of the popes, the mock pontiff volunteers a solemn promise to transfer, in form of a will, his powers and authority to Martin Luther, who alone, he said, could abolish all abuses of the kind, and repair the bark of St. Peter, so that it should no longer be the sport of winds and waves. Then raising his voice, he exclaimed: 'Let all who think with me lift up their hands.' The whole of the soldiery at once lifted up their hands, with shouts of 'Long live Pope Luther!' All this took place before the eyes of Clement VII." (Macree, *Ref. in Italy*, p. 66, 67.)

Zwingle's works, being written in Latin, had a

wider circulation in Italy than those of the reformers of the north of Germany, who did not always use the universal and learned language. No doubt this is one of the reasons for the peculiar bias taken by the reformation in Italy, particularly in the academy of Vienza—where Socinianism had its birth. On February 14th, 1519, the chief magistrate of that city writes to him:—"Blaise Salmonius, bookseller of Leipsic, has sent me some of your treatises. . . . I have had them printed, and have sent six hundred copies to France and Spain. . . . My friends assure me that even in the Sorbonne there are those who read and approve of them. The learned of this country have long desired to see theology treated in an independent spirit. Calvi, bookseller of Pavia, has undertaken to distribute great part of the edition through Italy. He also promises to collect and send all the epigrams composed in your honour by the learned of this country. Such is the favour your courage and zeal have won for you and for the cause of Christ."

On September 19th, 1520, Burchard Schenk writes from Venice to Spalatin:—"Luther has long been known to us by reputation; we say here, he must beware of the pope! Two months since, ten of his books were brought here and at once sold. . . . May God keep him in the path of truth and charity!" (Seckendorf, p. 115.)

Some of Luther's works found their way to Rome, and even into the Vatican, under the safeguard of some pious personage, whose name was substituted on the title-page for that of the heretical author. In this manner, many cardinals, to their great mortification, were entrapped into loud encomiums on the commentary *Upon the Epistle to the Romans*, and the *Treatise on Justification* of a certain cardinal Fregoso, who was no other than Luther.

Page 56, col. 2. "*The momentary union of the Catholics and Protestants against the Anabaptists.*"—To rebut the reproaches of the Catholics, who attributed the revolt of the Anabaptists to the Protestant preachers, the reformers of all sects made an effort at amalgamation. A conference took place at Wittenberg (A.D. 1536), to which Bucer, Capito, and others repaired in the month of May, to confer with the Saxon theologians. The conference lasted from the 22nd to the 25th; on which day the *Formula of Concord*, which had been drawn up by Melancthon, was agreed to and signed. Both Luther and Bucer preached, and proclaimed the union which had just been concluded between the parties. (Ukert, i. p. 307.)

Page 58, col. 1, top of the page. "*Green at Wittenberg.*"—We find in the Table-talk (p. 320), "The secret marriage of princes and of great lords is a true marriage before God; it is not without analogy to the concubineship of the patriarchs." (This may serve to explain the exception in favour of the landgrave.)

Page 58, col. 2. "*Our wine is poisoned.*"—In 1541, a citizen of Wittenberg, named Clémann Schober, followed Luther, harquebuss in hand, with the evident intention of killing him; he was arrested and punished. (Ukert, i. p. 323.)

Page 59, col. 1. "*Let us . . . seat ourselves at*

his table."—Here he was always surrounded by his children and his friends Melancthon, Jonas, Aurifaber, &c., who had supported him under his labours. A place at this table was an enviable privilege. "I would willingly," he writes to Gaspard Müller, "have received Kegel as one of my boarders, for many reasons; but, young Porse von Jena being about to return soon, my table will be full, and I cannot well dismiss my old and faithful companions. If, however, a place shall become vacant, which may occur after Easter, I will comply with your request with pleasure, unless my lord Catherine, which I cannot think, should refuse us her consent." (January 19th, 1536.) He often calls his wife, *Dominus Ketha*. He begins a letter thus, which he wrote on the 26th July, 1540: "To the rich and noble lady of Zeilsdorf*, Madam, the doctoress Catherine Luther, residing at Witttemberg, sometimes taking her pleasure at Zeilsdorf, my well-beloved spouse" . . .

Page 59, col. 1. "*father of a family.*"—*To Mark Cordel*.—"As we have agreed upon, my dear Mark, I send you my son John, that you may employ him in teaching children grammar and music, and, at the same time, that you may watch over him, and improve his manners. If your care succeeds with this one, you shall have, if I live, two others. I am in travail with theologians. I would also bring into the world grammarians and musicians." (August 26th, 1542.)

Doctor Jonas remarked, one day, that the curse of God on disobedient children was accomplished in the family of Luther, the young man of whom he spoke being always ill and a constant sufferer. Doctor Luther added, "It is the punishment of his disobedience. He almost killed me at one time, ever since which my strength has utterly failed me. Thanks to him, I now comprehend the passage where St. Paul speaks of children who kill their parents, not by the sword, but by disobedience. They do not live long, and have no real happiness. . . . O my God! how wicked this world is, and in what times we live! They are the times of which Jesus Christ has spoken: 'When the Son of man comes, thinkest thou He will find faith and charity?' Happy are they who die before such times." (Tischreden, p. 48.)

Page 59, col. 1. "*From women proceed children.*"—"Woman is the most precious of all gifts; she is full of charms and virtues; she is the guardian of the faith.

"Our first love is violent; it intoxicates us, and deprives us of reason. The madness passed away, the good retain a sober love, the ungodly retain none.

"My gracious Lord, if it be thy holy will that I live without a wife, sustain me against temptations; if otherwise, grant me a good and pious maiden, with whom I may pass my life sweetly and calmly, whom I may love, and of whom I may be loved in return." (Tischreden, p. 329–331.)

Page 59, col. 2. "*Take another.*"—Lucas Cranach, the elder, had made a portrait of Luther's wife. When the picture was hung up, the doctor said, on seeing it, "I will have the portrait of a man painted.

* Zeilsdorf, the name of a village near which Luther had a small property.

I will send both portraits to the council at Mantua, and ask the holy fathers whether they would not prefer the marriage state to the celibacy of the priests."

Page 60, col. 1. "*We find an image of marriage.*"—"A marriage which the authorities approve of, and which is not against the word of God, is a good marriage, whatever may be the degree of consanguinity." (Tischreden, p. 321.)

He was loud in his blame of those lawyers who, "against their own consciences, against natural law, and the divine and imperial, maintained as valid secret promises of marriage. Every one ought to be left to settle the matter with his own conscience: one cannot force love.

"Questions of dowry, nuptial presents, property, inheritance, &c., belong to the civil power; and I will refer all such to it. . . . We are pastors of consciences, not of bodies and goods." (Tischreden, p. 315.)

Consulted in a case of adultery, he says, "You shall summon them, and then separate them. Such cases belong exclusively to the civil power, for marriage is a temporal affair; and the Church is interested no further than the conscience is concerned." (Tischreden, p. 322.)

Page 60, col. 2. "*Ah! how my heart sighed after mine own*."—During the diet of Augsburg he wrote to his son John. . . . "I know a lovely garden, full of children with golden robes, who wander about, playing under the trees, having plenty of fine apples, pears, cherries, nuts, and plums. They sing, and frisk, and are all merriest. They have pretty little horses, with golden bridles and silver saddles. Passing before this garden, I asked the owner who those children were. He answered, 'Those who love to pray, to learn, and who are good.' Then I said, 'Dear friend, I, too, have a child, little John Luther. May not he come into this garden to eat these beautiful apples and pears, to ride these pretty little horses, and play with the other children?' The owner answered, 'If he is very good, and says his prayers, and attends to his lessons, he can come, and little Philip and little James with him. They will find here fifes, cymbals, and other fine instruments to play upon; and can dance, and shoot with little crossbows.' As he spake thus, the owner showed me, in the middle of the garden, a beautiful meadow for dancing, where were hung fifes, timbrels, and little crossbows. But as it was morning, and the children had not had their dinner, I could not wait to see the dancing. I then said to the owner, 'Dear sir, I shall write directly to my dear little John, to tell him to be good, to pray, and to learn, that he, too, may come into this garden; but he has an aunt Madeleine, whom he dearly loves, may he bring her with him?' The owner replied, 'Yes; they may come together.' Be, then, very good, my dear child, and tell Philip and James to be so, too, and you shall all come together to play in this fine garden.—I commend you to the care of God. Give my love and a kiss for me to aunt Madeleine. Your loving father, MARTIN LUTHER." (June 19th, 1530.)

Page 60, col. 2. "*It is touching to see how each thing that attracted his notice.*"—"Philip and I are overwhelmed with business and troubles. I, who

an old and *emeritus*, would prefer now to take an old man's pleasure in gardening, and in contemplating the wonders of God in trees, flowers, herbs, birds, &c.; and these pleasures, and this life of ease, would be mine, had I not deserved by my sins to be debarred them by these importunate and often useless matters." (April 8th, 1538.)

"Let us endure the difficulties which accompany our calling with equanimity, and hope for succour from Christ. See an emblem of our lot in these violets and daisies which you trample under foot, as you walk on your grassplots. We comfort the people (?) when we fill the church; here we find the robe of purple, the colour of afflictions, but in the background the golden flower recalls the faith which never fades.

"God knows all trades better than any one else. As tailor, he makes the deer a robe which lasts nine hundred years without tearing. As shoemaker, he gives him shoes which outlast himself. And is he not a skilful cook, who cooks and ripens everything by the fire of the sun? If our Lord were to sell the goods which he gives, he would turn a decent penny; but, because he gives them gratis, we set no store by them." (Tischr. p. 27.)

Page 61, col. 1. "*The decalogue is the doctrine of doctrines.*"—"I begin to understand that the decalogue is the logic of the Gospel, and the Gospel the rhetoric of the decalogue. Christ has all which is of Moses, but Moses has not all which is of Christ." (June 30th, 1530.)

Page 61, col. 2. "*There will be a new heaven and a new earth.*"—"The gnashing of teeth, spoken of in Scripture, is the last punishment which will fall on an evil conscience, the desolating certainty of being for ever cut off from God." (Tischr. p. 366.) Luther would thus seem to have entertained a more spiritual idea of hell than of paradise.

Page 61, col. 2. "*Men used to go on pilgrimages to the saints.*"—"The saints have often sinned and gone astray. What madness to be ever setting up their words and acts as infallible rules! Let these insensate sophists, ignorant pontiffs, impious priests, sacrilegious monks, and the pope with all his train know . . . that we were not baptized in the name of Augustin, of Bernard, of Gregory, of Peter, of Paul, nor in the name of the beneficent theological faculty of the Sodom (the Sorbonne) of Paris, nor in that of the Gomorrah of Louvain, but in the name of Jesus Christ, our master, alone." (*De Abrogandâ Missâ Privatâ*, Op. Lat. Lutheri, Witt. ii. p. 245.)

"The true saints are all authorities, all servants of the Church, all parents, all children who believe in Jesus Christ, who do no sin, and who fulfil, each in his way of life, the duties God requires of them." (Tischreden, 134, verso.)

"The legend of St. Christopher is a fine Christian poem. The Greeks, who were a learned, wise, and ingenious people, have wished to set forth by it what a Christian ought to be (*Christophoros*, he who bears Christ). So with the legend of St. George. That of St. Catherine is contrary to all Roman history, &c."

Page 61, col. 2. "*When we read attentively the prophets.*"—"I sweat blood and water to give the prophets in the vulgar tongue. Good God! what labour! how difficult to persuade these Jewish writers to

speak German. They will not forsake their Hebrew for our barbarous tongue. It is as if Philomel, losing her gracious melody, was obliged ever to sing with the cuckoo one monotonous strain." (June 14th, 1528.) He says, elsewhere, that whilst translating the Bible, he would often devote several weeks to elucidating the sense of a single word. (Ukert, ii. p. 337.)

Page 62, col. 1. "*With something from the Psalms.*"—From his dedication of his translation of Psalm cxviii. to the abbot Frederick of Nuremberg. . . .

"This is my psalm, my chosen psalm. I love them all; I love all holy Scripture, which is my consolation and my life. But this psalm is nearest my heart, and I have a peculiar right to call it mine. It has saved me from many a pressing danger, from which nor emperor, nor kings, nor sages, nor saints, could have saved me. It is my friend; dearer to me than all the honours and power of the earth. . . .

"But it may be objected, that this psalm is common to all; no one has a right to call it his own. Yes; but Christ is also common to all, and yet Christ is mine. I am not jealous of my property; I would divide it with the whole world. . . . And would to God that all men would claim the psalm as especially theirs! It would be the most touching quarrel, the most agreeable to God—a quarrel of union and perfect charity." (Coburg, July 1st, 1530.)

Page 62, col. 2. "*Of the Fathers.*"—At the beginning of the year 1519, he wrote to Jerome Dünkersheim a remarkable letter on the importance and authority of the fathers of the Church. "The bishop of Rome is above all the others in dignity. It is to him that we must address ourselves in all difficult cases and great needs: but I allow, nevertheless, that I cannot defend against the Greeks this supremacy that I accord to him. If I recognized the pope as the sole source of power in the Church, I must, as a consequence of this doctrine, treat as heretics, Jerome, Augustin, Athanasius, Cyprian, Gregory, and all the bishops of the east who were established neither by him nor under him. The Council of Nice was not called by his authority; he did not preside either in person or by a legate. What can I say of the decrees of this council? Is any one master of them? Can any one tell which among them to acknowledge? It is your custom and Eck's to believe any one's word, and to modify Scripture by the fathers, as if, of the two, they were to be preferred. For myself, I feel and act quite differently; like Saint Augustin and Saint Bernard, whilst respecting all authorities, I ascend from the rivulets to the river that gives them birth. (Here follow many examples of the errors into which some of the fathers had fallen. Luther criticises them philologically, showing that they had not understood the Hebrew text.) How many texts does not Jerome quote erroneously against Jovinian? and so Augustin against Pelagius? Thus Augustin says that the verse of Genesis: 'To make man in our own image,' is a proof of the Trinity, but there is in the Hebrew text, 'I will make man,' &c.—The *Magister Sententiarum* has set a fatal example by endeavouring to reconcile the opinions of the fathers. The consequence is, that we have become a laughing-stock to the heretics when we present ourselves before them with these obscure phrases

and double and doubtful meanings. Eck delights in being the champion of all these diverse and contrary opinions. And it is on this that our disputation will turn." (A.D. 1519.)

"I always marvel how, after the apostles, Jerome won the name of Doctor of the Church; and Origen, that of Master of the Churches. Their works would never make a single Christian. . . . So much are they led away by the pomp of works. Augustin himself would not have been a whit better, had not the Pelagians tried him and compelled him to defend the true faith." (August 26th, 1530.)

"He who dared to compare monkhood with baptism was completely mad, was more a stock than a brute. What! and would you believe Jerome when he speaks in so impious a way of God? when he actually lays it down, that, next to myself, one's relatives should command our cares? Would you listen to Jerome, so often in error, so often sinful? Would you, in short, believe in man rather than in God himself? Go, then, and believe, if you will, with Jerome, that you ought to break your parent's hearts in order to fly to the desert." (Letter to Severinus, an Austrian monk, October 6th, 1527.)

Page 63, col. 1. "*but consider that the schoolmen in general.*"—"Gregory of Rimini has convicted the schoolmen of a worse doctrine than that of the Pelagians. . . . For although the Pelagians think we can do a good work without grace, they do not affirm that we can obtain heaven without grace. The schoolmen speak like Pelagius when they teach that without grace we can do a good work, and not a meritorious work. But they out-herod the Pelagians when they add, that man, by inspiration of natural reason, may subdue the will, whilst the Pelagians allow that man is aided by the law of God." (A.D. 1519.)

Page 65, col. 1. "*I regret not having more time to devote.*"—"To Wenceslaus Link of Nuremberg:—"If it would not give you too much trouble, my dear Wenceslaus, I pray you to collect for me all the drawings, books, hymns, songs of the Meistersänger, and rhymes which have been written and printed in German this year in your town. Send me as many as you can collect; I am impatient to see them. Here, we can write works in Latin, but as to German books, we are but apprentices. Still, by dint of our earnest application, I hope we may soon succeed, so as to give you satisfaction." (March 20th, 1536.)

Page 65, col. 1. "*no better books than Æsop's fables.*"—In 1530, Luther translated a selection of Æsop's fables, and in the preface he says, that most likely there never was any man of that name, but that these fables were apparently collected from the mouths of the people. (Luth. Werke, ix. p. 455.)

Page 66, col. 1. "*Singing is the best exercise.*"—Heine, *Revue des deux Mondes*, March 1st, 1534:—"Not less curious or significant than Luther's prose writings, are his poems; those songs, which burst forth from him in his exigencies and difficulties—like the flower that struggles into existence from between the stones; a lunar ray shedding light on an angry ocean. Luther loved music passionately; he wrote a treatise on the art, and his own compositions are sweet and melodious. He obtained and merited the title of the swan of

Eisleben. But he was any thing but a gentle swan in those songs of his in which he rouses the courage of his followers, and lashes himself into a savage ardour. The song with which (for instance) he entered Worms, followed by his companions, was a true war-song. The old cathedral shook again at the strange sounds, and the ravens were disturbed in their nests on the summit of the towers. This hymn, the Marseillaise of the Reformation, has preserved to this day its powerful energy and expression, and may some day again startle us with its sonorous and iron-girt words in similar contests.

"Our God is a fortress,
A sword and a good armour;
He will deliver us from all the dangers
Which now threaten us.
The old wicked serpent
Is bent on our ruin this day;
He is armed with power and craft;
He has not his like in the world.

"Your power will avail not,
You will soon see your ruin;
The man of truth fights for us,
God has himself chosen him.
Seek you his name?
'Tis Jesus Christ,
The Lord of Sabaoth;
There is no other God but He,
He will keep his ground, He will give the victory.

"Were the world full of devils
Longing to devour us,
Let us not trouble ourselves about them;
Our undertaking will succeed.
The prince of this world,
Although he grins at us,
Will do us no harm.
He is sentenced—
One word will o'erthrow him.

"They will leave us the word,
We shall not thank them therefore:
The word is amongst us,
With its spirit and its gifts.
Let them take our bodies,
Our goods, honour, our children.
Let them go on—
They will be no gainers:
The empire will remain ours."

Page 66, col. 1. "*Of Painting.*"—The doctor was one day speaking of the talent and skill of the Italian painters. "They understand," said he, "how to imitate nature so wonderfully, that, besides giving the colouring and form, they express the very attitudes and sentiments to such a degree as to make their pictures seem living things. The Flemish painters follow in the track of Italy. The natives of the Low Countries, and, above all, the Flemings, are intelligent, and have an aptitude for learning foreign languages. It is a proverb, that if a Fleming were carried to Italy or France in a sack, he would, nevertheless, learn the language of the country." (Tischreden, p. 424, verso.)

Page 67, col. 1. "*Of Banking.*"—He says in his treatise de *Usuris*,—"I call usurers, those who lend at five and six per cent. The Scriptures forbid lending on interest; we ought to lend money as willingly as we would a vase to our neighbours. Even civil law prohibits usury. It is not an act of charity to exchange with any one,

and to gain by the exchange, but thieving. A usurer, then, is a thief worthy of the gallows. At the present day, in Leipsic, the usual interest is forty per cent. Promises to usurers need not be kept. They are not to be allowed to communicate, or to be buried in holy ground. . . . The last advice that I have to give to usurers is this:—They want money! gold! Well, let them apply to Him who will not give them ten or twenty per cent, but a hundred for every ten! His treasures are inexhaustible; he can give without being impoverished.” (Oper. Lat. Luth. Witt. i. 7, p. 419–447.)

Dr. Henning proposed this question to Luther, “If I had amassed money, and did not wish to part with it, and were asked to lend, could I then with a good conscience reply, I have no money?” “Yes,” said Luther, “you might so do with a safe conscience, for it would be the same as saying, I have no money to spare. . . . Christ, when he bids us give, does not mean to the prodigal and dissipated. . . . In this town, I reckon the most needy to be the scholars. Their poverty is great, but alas! their laziness is greater still. . . . And must I take the bread from the mouths of my wife and children, to give to those whom no help benefits? Certainly not.” (Tischreden, p. 64.)

Page 70, col. 1. “*The Roman, or imperial law only holds by a thread.*”—Still Luther preferred it to the Saxon law.

“Dr. Luther, speaking of the great barbarity and rudeness of the Saxon law, said that things would go on better, were the imperial law followed throughout the empire. But it is a settled belief at court that the change could not take place without great confusion and mischief.” (Tischreden, p. 412.)

Page 70, col. 1. “*to let the old dog sleep.*”—In his last letter but one to Melancthon, (February 6th, 1546,) he says, speaking of the legists, “O sycophants, O sophists, O pests of mankind! . . . I write to thee in wrath, but I know not that I could indite better, were I cool.”

Page 70, col. 1, last line. “*Pious jurists.*”—He wishes that their condition could be bettered.

“Doctors at law gain too little, and are obliged to turn attorneys. In Italy, a jurist has four hundred ducats, or more, yearly, whilst in Germany their salary is only a hundred. They ought to be ensured honourable pensions, as ought good and pious pastors and preachers. For lack of this, in order to support their families, they are obliged to apply to agriculture and domestic cares.” (Tischreden, p. 414.)

Page 71. ADDITIONS TO CHAPTER 3. BOOK V.—Confidential discussion between Luther and Melancthon. (A.D. 1536.)

MELANCTHON inclined to the opinion of Saint Augustin, who held “that we are justified by faith and regeneration;” and who, under the name of regeneration, includes all the graces and virtues that we derive from God*. “What is your opinion?” he asked of Luther; “do you hold with Saint Augustin, that men are justified by regeneration?”

LUTHER replies, “I hold so, and am certain that the true meaning of the Gospel and of the Apostles

is, that we are justified before God by faith *gratis*; i. e. only by God’s mere mercy, wherewith, and by reason whereof, he imputeth righteousness to us in Christ.”

MELANCTHON then inquires, “But will you not allow me to say, Sir, that man is justified *principaliter* (principally) by faith, and *minus principaliter* (in the least measure) by works? yet in such manner that faith supplieth that which is wanting in the law?”

LUTHER.—“The mercy of God is our sole justification. The righteousness of works is but external, and can by no means deliver us from God’s wrath, and sin, and death.”

MELANCTHON.—“I ask touching Saint Paul, after he was regenerated, how became he justified and rendered acceptable to God?”

LUTHER.—“Solely by reason of this same regeneration, by which he became justified by faith, and will remain so everlastingly.”

MELANCTHON.—“Was he justified by God’s mercy only? or *principally* by the mercy, and *less principally* by his virtues and works?”

LUTHER.—“No. His virtues and works were only pleasing to God because they were Saint Paul’s, who was justified; like as a work is pleasing or displeasing, good or evil, according to the person who performs it.”

MELANCTHON.—“Then it seems Saint Paul was not justified by mercy only. You yourself teach that the righteousness of works is necessary before God; and that Saint Paul, who had faith and who did good works, pleased God as he would not have done if he had not these good works, making our righteousness a little piece of the cause of our justification.”

LUTHER.—“Not at all. Good works are necessary, but not out of compulsion by the law, but out of the necessity of a willing mind. The sun must needs shine—that is a necessity; but it is not by reason of any law that he shines, but by his nature, by a quality inherent and immutable. It was created to shine. Even so one that is justified and regenerate doeth good works not by any law or constraint, but by an unchangeable necessity. And Saint Paul saith, ‘We are God’s workmanship, created in Christ Jesus to good works,’ &c.”

MELANCTHON.—“Sadolet accuses us of contradicting ourselves, in teaching that we are justified by faith—yet admitting the necessity of good works.”

LUTHER.—“It is, because the false brethren and hypocrites make a show, as if they believed that we require of them works, to confound them in their knavery.”

MELANCTHON.—“You say Saint Paul was justified by God’s mercy only; to which I reply, that if our obedience followeth not, then are we not saved, according to these words (1 Cor. ix.), ‘Woe is unto me, if I preach not the Gospel.’”

LUTHER.—“There is no want of any thing to add to faith. Faith is all-powerful, otherwise it is no faith. Therefore of what value soever the works are, the same they are through the power of faith, which undeniably is the sun or sunbeam of this shining.”

MELANCTHON.—“In Saint Augustin, works are directly excluded in the words *solâ fide*.”

LUTHER.—“Whether it be so or no, Saint Augustin plainly shows he is of our opinion when he

* Melancthon observes, that Saint Augustin does not express this opinion in his controversial works.

saith, 'I am afraid, but I do not despair, for I think upon the wounds of our Saviour;' and elsewhere, in his *Confessions*, he saith: 'Woe be to the life of that human creature (be it ever so good and praiseworthy) that disregardeth God's mercy.'"

MELANCHTHON.—"Is it proper to say that righteousness of works is necessary to salvation?"

LUTHER.—"Not in the sense that works procure salvation, but that they are the inseparable companions of the faith which justifieth, as I, of necessity, must be present at my salvation. . . . 'I shall be there as well as you,' said the man they were taking to be hanged, and who saw the people running as hard as they could towards the gallows. . . . The faith, which is the gift of God, is the beginning of righteousness; after that, the works are required which are commanded by the law, and which must be done after and besides faith. The works are not righteousness themselves in the sight of God, although they adorn the person accidentally, who doeth them; but they justify not the person, for we are all justified one way, in and by Christ. To conclude, a faithful person is a new creature, a new tree. Therefore all these speeches used in the law are not belonging to this case, as to say, a *faithful person must do good works, the sun must shine, a good tree must bring forth good fruit*, three and seven shall be ten. For the sun shall not shine, but it doth shine, by nature unbidden; likewise a good tree bringeth forth good fruit without bidding. Three and seven are already ten, not shall be; there is no need to command what is already done."

The following passage is more to the purpose still, "I use to think in this manner, as if my heart were no quality or virtue at all, called faith or love (as the sophists do dream of), but I set all on Christ, and say *mea formalis justitia*, that is, my sure, constant, and complete righteousness (in which is no want nor failing, but is before God as it ought to be) is Christ my Lord and Saviour." (Tischreden, p. 133.)

This passage is one of those which most strongly shows the intimate connexion of Luther's doctrine with the system of absolute identification. It is plain how the German philosophy ended in that of Schelling and Hegel.

Page 71, col. 1. "*good and true dicinity*."—The Papists threw great ridicule on the four new Gospels: that of Luther, who condemned works; that of Kuntius, who rebaptized adults; that of Otho de Brunfels, who regarded the Scripture only as a purely cabalistic recitation, *surda sine spiritu narratio*; and finally, that of the Mystics. (Cochlaus, p. 165.) They might have added that of Dr. Paulus Ricius, a Jewish doctor, who published, during the diet at Ratisbon, a little book in which Moses and St. Paul demonstrated in a dialogue how all the religious opinions, which excited such disputes, might be reconciled.

Page 72, col. 1. "*I saw a small cloud of fire in the air*."—"I incline to think from the comet, that some danger is threatening the emperor and Ferdinand. It turned its tail at first towards the north, then towards the south; thus pointing out the two brothers." (October, 1531.)

Page 72, col. 2. "*Michael Stiefel believes himself*."—"Michael Stiefel, with his seventh trumpet, pro-

phesies that the day of judgment will fall this year, about All Saints' Day." (August 26th, 1533.)

Page 77, col. 1. "*The devil, in truth, has not graduated*."—"It is a wonderful thing," says Bossuet, "to hear how solemnly and earnestly he describes his waking with a sudden start in the middle of the night—manifestly the work of the devil come to dispute with him. The alarm which seized him; the sweats; the tremblings; the horrible beatings of the heart in this combat; the pressing arguments of the demon, leaving the mind not one instant of rest; the tones of his powerful voice; the overwhelming manner of the dispute, in which question and answer were heard at one and the same moment. 'I now understand,' says he, 'how sudden deaths so often happen towards morning; it is, that not only the devil can kill and strangle men, but that he has the power to set them so beside themselves with these disputes, as to leave them half-dead, as I have several times experienced.'" (De Abrogandâ Missâ Privâtâ, t. vii. p. 222. Trad. de Bossuet, Variations, ii. p. 203.)

Page 80, col. 1. "*At dinner, after preaching at Snaalkalde*."—He wrote to his wife upon this illness, "I have been like to one dead. I recommended thee and our children to God and to our Saviour, believing that I should see you no more. I was much moved as I thought of you; I beheld myself in the tomb. The prayers and tears of pious people who love me, have found favour before God. This very night I have had a favourable crisis, and I feel a 'new man.'" (February 27th, 1537.)

Luther experienced a dangerous relapse at Wittenberg. Obligated to remain at Gotha, he thought himself dying, and dictated to Bugenhagen, who was with him, his last will. He declared that he had combated papacy according to his conscience, and asked pardon of Melanchthon, of Jonas, and of Creuziger, for the wrongs he might have done them. (Ükert, t. i. 325.)

Page 80, col. 1. "*I believe my true malady*."—Luther suffered early in life from stone; and was a martyr to it. He was operated upon the 27th of February, 1537. "By God's grace, I am getting convalescent, and have begun to eat and drink, though my legs, knees, and joints tremble so that I can with difficulty support myself. I am only, not to speak of infirmities and old age, a walking skeleton, cold and torpid." (December 6th, 1537.)

Page 82, col. 2. "*his last days were painfully employed*."—He had tried in vain to reconcile the counts of Mansfeld. "If," says he, "you would bring into your house a tree that has been cut down, you must not take it by the top, or the branches will stick in the doorway; take it by the root, and the branches will yield to the entrance." (Tischreden, p. 355.)

Page 84.—We here throw together several particulars relative to Luther.

Erasmus says of him: "His morals are unanimously praised; it is the highest testimony man can have, that his enemies even can find no flaw in them for calumny." (Ükert, t. ii. p. 5.)

Luther was fond of simple pleasures. He loved music, and would often bear his share in a friendly concert, or play a game of skittles with his friends. Melanchthon says of him, "Whoever has known him, and seen him often and familiarly, will allow

that he was a most excellent man, gentle and agreeable in society, not in the least obstinate or given to disputation, yet with all the gravity becoming his character. If he showed any great severity in combating the enemies of the true doctrine, it was from no malignity of nature, but from ardour and enthusiasm for the truth." (Ukert, t. ii. p. 12.)

"Although he was neither of small frame nor weak constitution, he was extremely temperate in eating and drinking. I have seen him, when in full health, pass four days together without taking any food, and often go a whole day with only a little bread and a herring." (*Life of Luther*, by Melancthon.)

Melancthon says, in his posthumous works: "I have myself often found him shedding bitter tears, and praying earnestly to God for the welfare of the Church. He devoted part of each day to reading the Psalms, and to invoking God with all the fervour of his soul." (Ukert, t. ii. p. 7.)

Luther says of himself: "If I were as eloquent and gifted as Erasmus, as good a Greek scholar as Joachim Camerarius, as learned in Hebrew as Forscher, and a little younger into the bargain, ah! what I would accomplish!" (Tischreden, p. 447.)

"Amsdorf, the licentiate, is a theologist by nature; doctors Creuziger and Jonas are so from study and reflection. But doctor Pomer and myself seldom lay ourselves open in argument." (Tischreden, p. 425.)

To Antoine Unruche, judge at Torgau. . . "I thank you with all my heart, dear Anthony, for having taken in hand the cause of Margaret Dorst, and for not having suffered those insolent country squires to take from the poor woman the little she has. Doctor Martin is, you know, not only theologian and defender of the faith, but also the supporter of the poor in their rights, who come to him from all quarters, for his counsel, and intervention with the authorities; he willingly aids the poor, as you do yourself, and all who resemble you. You are truly pious, you fear God, and love his word; therefore Jesus Christ will not forget you." . . . (June 22nd, 1538.)

Luther writes to his wife on the subject of an old servant who was about to quit their house: "Our old John must be honourably discharged; thou knowest that he has always served us faithfully, with zeal, and as became a Christian servant. How much have we not squandered on worthless people and ungrateful students, who have made a bad use of our money! We must not, therefore, be niggardly on this occasion, towards so honest a servant, on whom whatever we lay out will be laid out in a way pleasing to God. I well know we are not rich; I would willingly give him ten florins if I had them; in any case he must not have less than five, for he is not well clothed. Whatever more you can do for him, do it, I beg of you. It is true that he ought also to have something out of the city chest for the various offices he has filled in the Church; let them do as they will. Consider then how thou mayst raise this money; we have a silver goblet to place in pawn. God will not abandon us I feel sure. Adieu." (February 17th, 1532.)

"The prince has given me a gold ring; but in order that I may well understand that I was not

born to wear gold, the ring has already fallen off my finger (for it is a little too large). I said, 'Thou art but a worm of the earth, and no man: this gold would better have become Faber or Eck; for thee, lead, or a cord for thy neck, would suit thee better.'" (September 15th, 1530.)

The elector on levying a tax for the war against the Turks, had exempted Luther from it. The latter said he accepted this mark of favour for his two houses, one of which (the ancient convent) it had cost him much to keep up without bringing him in any thing; and for the other he had not yet paid. "But," continues he, "I pray your electoral grace, in all submission, to allow me to defray the assessment on my other possessions. I have a garden estimated to be worth five hundred florins, some land valued at ninety florins, and a small garden worth twenty. I prefer doing as the rest, fighting the Turks with my farthings, and not to be excluded from the army which is to save us. There are enough already who do not give willingly; I would not be a cause of jealousy. It is better to give no occasion for complaint, so that they cannot but say, 'Dr. Martin is also obliged to pay.'" (March 26th, 1542.)

To the Elector John. "Grace and peace in Jesus Christ. Most serene highness, I have long delayed to thank your grace for the robes you have been pleased to send me; I do so now with my whole heart. Nevertheless, I humbly pray your grace, not to believe those who represent me as in utter destitution. I am but too rich, as my conscience tells me; it does not behove me as a preacher to be in affluence; I neither desire, nor ask it. The repeated favours of your grace truly begin to alarm me. I should not wish to be of those to whom the Saviour says, 'Woe to you, ye rich, for you have received your consolation!' Neither would I be a burden upon your grace, whose purse must be in constant requisition for so many importunate objects. Already had your grace amply provided me by sending me the brown suit; but, not to appear ungrateful, I will also wear in honour of your grace the black suit, although too rich for me; if it had not been a present from your electoral grace, I should never have put on such a dress.

"I therefore pray your grace will have the goodness to wait until I take the liberty of asking for something. This kindness on your grace's part will deprive me of courage to intercede for others, who may be far more worthy of favour. That Jesus Christ may recompense your generous soul, is the prayer that I offer up with my whole heart. Amen." (August 17th, 1529.)

John the Constant made a present to Luther of the ancient convent of the Augustins at Wittemberg. The elector Augustus bought it back of his heirs in 1564, to give it to the university. (Ukert, t. i. p. 347.)

Places inhabited by Luther, and objects kept in veneration of his memory.—The house in which Luther was born, no longer exists; it was burnt in 1639. At Wartburg, they still show a stain of ink on the wall made by Luther in throwing his inkstand at the devil's head. The cell which he occupied at the convent of Wittemberg, has also been preserved with the different articles of furniture belonging to him. The walls of this cell are covered with the names of visitors: Peter the Great's name is to be seen written on the door.

At Coburg they show the room which he occupied during the diet of Augsburg (A. D. 1530).

Luther used to wear a gold ring, with a small death's head in enamel, and these words, *Mori sæpe cogita* (Think oft of death); round the setting was engraved, *O mors, ero mors tua* (Death, I will be thy death). This ring is preserved at Dresden, with the medal of silver-gilt worn by Luther's wife. On this medal is represented a serpent raising itself on the bodies of the Israelites, with these words: *Serpens exaltatus typus Christi crucifixi* (The serpent exalted typifies Christ crucified). The reverse represents Jesus Christ on the cross, with this motto: *Christus mortuus est pro peccatis nostris* (Christ died for our sins). On the one side one reads, *D. Mart. Luter. Caterinæ suæ dono D. H. F.* (A present from Dr. Martin Luther to his wife). And on the other, *Quæ nata est anno 1499, 29 Januarii* (Who was born Jan. 29th, 1499).

He had also a seal, which he has himself described to in a letter to Lazarus Spengler:—"Grace and peace in Jesus Christ. Dear Sir and friend,—You tell me I shall please you by explaining the meaning of what you see engraved upon my seal. I proceed, therefore, to acquaint you with what I have had engraved on it, as a symbol of my faith. First, there is a black cross, with a heart in the centre. This cross is to remind me that faith in

the Crucified is our salvation. Whosoever believes in him with all his soul, is justified. The cross is black, to signify mortification, the troubles through which the Christian must pass. The heart, however, preserves its natural colour, for the cross neither changes nature nor kills it; the cross gives life. *Justus fide vivit sed fide Crucifixi*. The heart is placed on a white rose, to indicate that faith gives consolation, joy, and peace; the rose is white, not red, because it is not the joy and peace of this world, but that of the angelic spirits. White is the colour of spirits and of angels. The rose is in an azure field, to show that this joy of the spirit and the faith is a beginning of that celestial happiness which awaits us, of which we already have the foretaste in the hope which we enjoy of it, but the consummation of which is yet to come. In the azure field you see a circle of pure gold, to indicate that the felicity of heaven is everlasting, and as superior to every other joy, all other good, as gold is to all other metals. May Jesus Christ, our Lord, be with you unto eternal life. Amen. From my desert at Coburg, July 8th, 1530."

At Altenburg they preserved for a long time the drinking-glass which was used by Luther the last time he visited his friend Spalatin. (Ukert, t. i. p. 245, et seqq.)

THE END.

RANKE'S HISTORY OF THE POPES, &c.

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OF

SOUTHERN EUROPE,

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CHIEFLY FROM UNPUBLISHED AMBASSADORS' REPORTS, BY

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NOW FIRST COMPLETELY

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE History of the Popes, &c., which has already appeared in this series, constitutes in the original German the last three of four volumes, entitled, collectively, "Sovereigns and Nations of Southern Europe in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." The first of these volumes comprises the two historical treatises which are now for the first time presented to the English reader. These will be found to be in every respect worthy of the industrious, conscientious, and judicious author of the first-named history. Whilst they possess a high intrinsic interest as substantive works, they must obviously be regarded also as in some degree necessary complements to the history of the Papacy. The relations between that power and the Most Catholic King in particular were so numerous and important in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, that the political history of the latter becomes in fact an integrant and prominent part of that of the popes.

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THERE was a time when the power, and, in a great measure, the civilization of Europe, seemed to have their chief seat in the South; a time when the Ottoman empire and the Spanish monarchy had grown up, face to face, to an overtopping greatness, dangerous to neighbouring and remote nations, and when no literature in the world could compare with that of Italy.

Another followed, in which the Spanish monarchy, far from asserting its force over friends or foes, was rent and sub-divided by foreign politics, in which Italy, as well as Spain, was pervaded by a civilization of no native growth; and in which the Ottomans ceased to be feared, and began themselves to fear. These changes, we know, constitute, in no small degree, the distinctive features that mark, respectively, two periods in modern history.

What then produced these changes? How did they arise? Was it through the loss of decisive battles, or the invasion of foreign nations, or the stroke of inevitable disasters? They were mainly the result of internal developments; and these are what the present work proposes to investigate. As it contemplates the period filled by the vigour and seeming bloom of the two nations in question, from 1540 to 1620, or thereabouts, it traces in the germ what succeeding times brought forth.

It will, I think, be admitted, that even the more authentic and pains-taking works on the history of late ages, engrossed, as they are, with the events of political or religious strife, which occurred from day to-day, afford us but little information respecting the gradual revolution in the inward organization and economy of nations. Had I relied on these works only, I should never have accomplished my own, imperfect as it is; nay, I should never have undertaken it. But fortunately I found other aids, which afforded a more complete body of information; aids, frequently, of extraordinary value, and yet still unknown, which it is a main object of this work to bring within the circle of general knowledge. I purpose going through them upon another occasion, singly and in detail; still I think it necessary to give a general description of them in this place.

If, after the numerous labours of able men, posterity still feels how short-coming are the historical works belonging to the period in question, this feeling must have been much more strongly experienced by contemporaries; above all, by those who were called on to take an active part in public affairs. These men soon turned from printed works, in which comprehensiveness of range and fluency of expression were the chief things aimed at, to manuscript documents of more veracity. We have essays recommending the formation and study of collections of this kind; we have such collections themselves in our possession. Among their contents the Venetian Relationi hold by far the most conspicuous place.

Placed repeatedly in the midst between two parties, having relations not only of politics, but still more of trade and commerce with half the world, not strong enough to rest wholly on her own strength, and yet not so weak as to be obliged inactively to wait what should be done by others, Venice had occasion enough to turn her eyes in every direction, and to form connexions in every quarter. She frequently sent her most experienced and able citizens to foreign courts. Not content with the despatches on current affairs regularly sent home every fourteen days, she further required of her ambassadors, when they returned, after an absence of two or three years, that they should give a circumstantial account of the court and the country they had been visiting. This was delivered in the council of the Pregadi, before men who had grown old in the service of the state, and who had, perhaps, themselves discharged the self-same embassies, or might soon be called on to do so. The reporter laboured to pourtray the person and character of the sovereign to whom he had been accredited, his court and his ministers, the state of his finances, his military force, his whole administration, the temper and feeling of his subjects, and, lastly, his relations with other states in general, and with Venice in particular. He then laid at the feet of his Signoria the present made him by the foreign potentate. Sometimes these reports were very minute, and occupied several evenings in the delivery: we can see how the reporter breaks off, when arrived at the end of some division of his subject, to take breath. Sometimes, at least in earlier times, they were delivered from memory: they are all interspersed with direct addresses to the Doge and the assembly: their style and matter every where shows the freshness of personal observation; every man strove to do his utmost; he had an audience worthy of a statesman. The Venetians are not unfrequent in their praises of this institution. "In this way we learn, respecting foreign states, what it is alike serviceable to know in peace, and when discord has broken out; we can draw also from their measures lessons for our own administration; and the inexperienced are thus forearmed and prepared for public

business. Whilst a scholar knows only the past, and a reconnoitrer can only communicate what is present, an ambassador, deriving credit from the importance of his country, and from his own, will easily make himself familiar with both, and be enabled to furnish satisfactory information." Others, on the contrary, not unfrequently found fault with the republic for this anatomy, as they called it, of foreign courts and states. They thought the Venetian ambassadors over-eager in prying into likings and dislikings, favour and disfavour, resources and designs of sovereigns, and far too liberal when the question was, how to discover secrets. Men who have taken an active part in business, and who have been personally privy to details, always possess a knowledge of existing things, and of the immediate past, of decisive positions and of ruling interests, which is hidden from the crowd, and which dies with themselves. The ambassadors of Venice gathered up no small stock of such knowledge in almost all the courts of Europe, for the behoof of their Signory. Their reports were inserted in the archives of the state.

How rich must these archives have been ! A law, passed as early as 1268, enjoins the ambassadors to note down and communicate whatever they could observe, that might be interesting to the government. The word "Relatione" came into use after 1465. Giovanni Casa, speaking of a report made by Gaspar Contarini, in 1526, says, that it was delivered after the usage of their predecessors. The republic continued this practice to the last days of her existence, and there is still extant a report of the Venetian embassy touching the commencement of the French revolution, which is full of striking and impartial revelations. But these performances obtained most note at the period the regular embassies came in vogue, and when Venice was strong and respectable in the eyes of other powers, namely, in the sixteenth century : between 1530 and 1620, we find them sometimes made use of, frequently alluded to, and continually copied and communicated. They constituted the chief part of the politico-historical collections we have spoken of.

But these contained many other important pieces besides. Similar reports were likewise called for, at times, by the Pope, the King of Spain, and the Dukes of Ferrara and Florence. Ex-ambassadors drew up instructions, full of detailed information for their successors. High functionaries and governors of provinces were inducted into their offices by their predecessors, or by others possessed of the necessary knowledge. There was a multitude of letters in circulation. All things of this kind were stored up in the above-mentioned collections, to afford materials for a conception of the then existing world. For us that world is long gone by : we can easily see how a consecutive series of such reports would necessarily become for us direct history, and that, too, such a one as we are now looking for ; one that deals not so much with individual occurrences as with the general aspect and condition of things, and with the development of inherent principles. But doubly valuable must these collections have been for contemporaries themselves : only the question presents itself, how could they have come into existence ? If, as we are assured, it was no very difficult matter to get hold of those same MSS., provided one spared neither money nor trouble, still, it may be asked, how did so singular a traffic in private state papers arise, and how did it become general ?

We have some information on this point too. In the year 1557, Paul IV. bestowed the cardinal's hat on Vitellozzo, of the house of Vitelli, a house that, for a considerable while, had been mixed up in all Italian movements. Vitellozzo himself had long in his hands all the papers of the Caraffeschi, who thought to revolutionize all Italy. He collected from Italian, French, and Spanish archives, invaluable memorials for the history of modern Rome. The popes esteemed him the best versed, of all men, in their affairs ; he was called the Interpreter of the Curia ; he always proved himself full of talent, apt, and docile. This cardinal was held to be the founder of the study of political MSS. " I will not omit to mention," says the author of an essay entitled, *Memoranda for the Roman See*, " that the endeavour to gain information from MSS. was principally introduced by Cardinal Vitellozzo, of glorious memory. If he was not the first to set up the practice, at least he gave it new animation. His excellency was exceedingly eager on this point ; he took the utmost pains to get together written pieces from various places, and spent a great deal of money for them. To such an extent did he push his exertions, that his archives were surpassingly rich, and commanded universal wonder." The practice came very speedily into vogue. Cardinals and papal nephews established archives of their own, for similar collections ; and we find instances of such-a-one being recommended to another as a man who had a quiet, noiseless way of going to work, and bringing together many fine things. Pallavicini found such collections in the possession of Cardinal Spada, in the Borghese Palace, and he employed them in the composition of his *History of the Council of Trent*. Cardinal Francesco Barberini deposited another, in a long series of volumes, in the library that still bears his family name. Another was kept in the library Della Vallicella, founded at the same period by San Filippo Neri. Collections similarly composed are to be found in the Vatican, and in the mansions of the Chigi and Altieri families. But why attempt to enumerate them ? Rome was full of them ; Rome (says one reporter), where every thing is known, and nothing kept silent ; Rome (says another), a registry of all state transactions. It will not be supposed that every collector went back to the first fountain-heads. One copy produced twenty others ; and Vitellozzo's collection will probably have been the mother of the rest. A lively movement was continually kept up in this range of pursuit by the addition of new pieces. How should it have been difficult for a reigning nephew, the ambassador of a powerful sovereign, or an influential cardinal, to get possession of state papers, which, after all, did not always contain the very secrets of current negotiations, but were merely drawn up for the advice and guidance of the rulers ? At any rate, the Venetian Relationi, to which the state historiographers unambiguously allude, and collections of which in foreign libraries Foscarini mentions without suspicion, bear the full stamp of genuine authenticity. Collectors seem to have assisted each other by mutual exchanges. When we consider the ample stock that is extant of these writings, the wide range, and the abundance of their contents, it almost seems as though, even after the

art of printing was in practice, there existed for the knowledge of modern history a literature apart, but only in manuscript; a literature declared secret, and yet so diffused that works newly circulated excited public attention, and called forth replies; a literature almost wholly unused, as regarded general knowledge, and yet rich, in manifold, instructive, well-written works.

These collections did not remain confined to Rome. The archduke Cosmo of Tuscany appointed a man expressly to bring together and obtain copies of everything that had appeared there for a long while. In Venice, Agostino Nani had a stock of similar manuscripts. The library of Paris has so ample a store of Venetian *Relazioni*, that it seems almost in a condition to supply the place of the Venetian archives. They have also found their way to Germany.

The royal library of Berlin contains a collection like those formerly made in Rome, and comprised in forty-eight vols. folio, of which forty-six are entitled *Informationi Politiche*. It is made up of writings of the same kind, reports, particularly of Venetian ambassadors, instructions, and memoranda for high functionaries entering on office, narratives of conclaves, letters, speeches, reflections, and notices. Each volume contains no small number of these, but not arranged in any order. The heads under which they might be ranged, such as the times and the places to which they relate, the languages in which they are composed (for though far the majority are written in Italian, some are in Spanish and some in Latin), have not been made the basis of any classification; no other order of succession is observed than that in which the copies came to hand; the same work recurs two or three times. The bulk however of what we find in this collection belongs to a definite and not very extensive circle. Some of the documents relate to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; but these are not many, and are already known: perhaps only two amongst them may be deserving of reconsideration. It is not till we come to the sixteenth century that we find ourselves presented with a more varied store year by year. Instructions, reports, and letters fall most thickly between 1550 and 1580. After this, single points of time of pre-eminent importance for the general politics of Europe, 1593, 1606, 1610, 1618, present us with extraordinary abundance of materials. As we proceed, we find them continually decrease in frequency. The last manuscript is of the year 1650. Most of them are fairly written, revised by a corrector, and pleasanter to read than many a printed work. They are of very various worth: it is unnecessary to state that there are many excellent pieces among them.

Twenty years ago Johann Müller had thoughts of publishing extracts and notices of the Berlin collection. He devoted himself with great animation to its study, particularly in September 1807, and an essay is extant in which he describes the general impression made on him by the first volume. But he left Berlin in the October of the same year. It was no more permitted him to carry out this design than others of greater magnitude with which his noble soul was filled.

The ducal library, too, at Gotha contains volumes of kindred matter. There are three large ones, and one smaller, in folio: they are the more important for us, as their contents are confined to Venetian *Relazioni*. When Frederick-William, a sovereign who participated vividly in the general movements of his times, kept his court as administrator of electoral Saxony between 1502 and 1601 on the Hartenfels at Torgau, George Köppen presented him with at least two out of those three volumes, which are marked as his property. Possibly he collected them when travelling in Italy.

I can never sufficiently extol the kindness with which I was allowed the use of these manuscripts. Along with a volume of just the same kind which fell into my own possession, I had before me fifty-three folio volumes full of the greatest variety of papers, comprising perhaps upwards of a thousand larger and smaller treatises, from which I was at liberty to select whatever seemed particularly suitable to my purposes. For these it was my good fortune to find them copious in materials.

In truth, these manuscripts relate to almost all Europe. The pope sends his nuncios now to Switzerland, now to Poland, and here we have their reports. The connexions of Venice stretch afar: we possess reports on Persia and Moscow, above all on England: they meet us however but sparingly, and one by one. It strikes me as singular, that neither in our own, nor as it seems in other collections, is there to be found a single report on Portugal by a Venetian ambassador*. As Rome and Venice constitute the centres of the politics here disclosed, so the manuscripts chiefly throw light on that southern Europe about the Mediterranean, with which those powers were most directly connected. Repeatedly do we accompany the bailo of the Venetians along the well known coasts to the capital of that Ottoman empire which was for them so formidable a neighbour, to the divan of the vizier, and to the audience hall of the sultan. Not unfrequently we accompany the ambassadors of the republic to the court of Spanish kings, whether they stood in the midst of an agitated world, in Flanders or in England, or kept their state in the quiet of Madrid. Piedmont, Tuscany, Urbino, and sometimes even Naples, are visited by special envoys; but these are most constantly to be encountered in the Vatican and the Belvedere at Rome, in confidential discourse with the pope, in close relation with the pope's nephews and with many a cardinal, always engaged in the most weighty affairs, which keep their attention alive to every turn of things in that changeful court. Here we can take our place. Here we have native works instructing us as to a host of individual circumstances. The nuncios return to Rome after defending the rights of papal camera in Naples or in Spain, or consulting perhaps with the Catholic king on enterprises of great moment. Here Venice in her turn is made the subject of report, and so closes this circle.

Were it but continuous and unbroken! But in the midst of wealth we are sensible of our poverty.

* (Note to the second edition.) There have since indeed been found a couple of *Relazioni* on Portugal, besides many others, with the aid of which the present work might have been considerably enlarged. But having engaged in studies that carry me far from this range of subject, I must make up my mind to leave the work unchanged in essentials. I beg the reader too to regard it for the future as a work of the year 1827. In the new edition, which I publish only to meet the demands of the public, I have merely sought to improve the style here and there.

As a whole there is much ; but when we look to particulars, great wants are apparent. Printed works, no doubt, by learned men, afford us welcome aid and manifold information : but still we remain in the dark on many points ; many questions arise and are not solved. We feel like a traveller who has roamed over even the less known heights and valleys of a country, and who then not only investigates individual points with more minuteness, but believes himself too to have acquired novel and true views of the whole, yet still feels the wants under which he labours even more sensibly it may be than the acquisitions he has made, and has now no more earnest wish than to return and make his inspection complete. Meanwhile he is allowed to communicate even his imperfect observations. The like permission I ask for myself and my attempts.

Let the reader then accompany me, in the times of which our manuscripts chiefly treat, to those southern nations and states which then maintained a pre-eminent position in Europe.

The diversity of the European nations was far more striking in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries than at present ; it was fully discernible in their systems of warfare. If the nations of Germanic and Roman origin every where furnished their territories with fortresses, and cultivated the use of artillery for the attack or defence of such strongholds ; if they took the field with no very numerous forces, and placed their chief reliance on their infantry ; the other nations on the contrary encountered each other on horseback in open and unfortified plains, and if a castle was any where to be seen, it served only to guard the treasures of the sovereign. Poland possessed so numerous a cavalry that it has been expressly computed that Germany, France, and Spain together would have been incapable of bringing a similar one into the field. The grand prince of Moscow could lead 150,000 mounted men to war ; the Szekler in Hungary alone were estimated at 60,000, the forces of the woiwodes of Transylvania, Moldavia, and Wallachia, at 50,000 horsemen ; to these were to be added the Tatar nations, whose lives were passed on horseback. It will at once be perceived that this difference must have inferred a thorough diversity upon all other points.

The supremacy among the second of these two classes of nations belonged to the Ottomans ; Hungary bore their yoke ; the principalities obeyed them ; and the Tatars yielded them military service. They belonged indeed essentially to the latter, but they had the advantage over them of the institution of their Porte. Among the first class the Spaniards were predominant. Not only were they rulers over a good portion of Italy, but Charles V. carried them also into Germany ; they maintained themselves in at least half the Netherlands ; Philip II. was once king of England ; another time he had his armies at once in Provence and Bretagne, in Picardy and Burgundy, and his garrison in Paris. To match with him, the Italians asserted not physical force indeed, but the only supremacy left them, that of talent and address. This was evinced, not merely on occasions such as when cardinal Pole, during his administration in England, consulted with none but the Italians who had accompanied him thither, or when the two Medicean queens filled France with their own countrymen, though this too had its significance ; but above all through their literature, the first of modern times which combined a deliberate cultivation and perfecting of form with scientific comprehension. To this were added accomplishments in various arts. We find that the only engineer in Poland, about the year 1560, was a Venetian ; that Tedali, a Florentine, offered to make the Dniester navigable for the dwellers on its banks, and that the grand prince of Moscow had the castle in his capital built by an Italian. We shall see that their commerce still embraced half the world.

Whilst these three nations made themselves formidable or conspicuous among the rest, they encountered each other directly in the Mediterranean ; they filled all its coasts and waters with life and motion, and formed there a peculiar circle of their own.

The Spaniards and the Italians were very closely knit together by the ties of church and state. By the former, because after the general departure from its communion, the dwellers alone beyond the Pyrenees and the Alps remained wholly faithful to the Roman see. By the latter, because Naples and Milan were Spanish. Often was Madrid the abode of young Italian princes, of the Roveri, the Medici, the Farnese, and Rome the residence of young Spaniards desirous of cultivating their minds. The Castilian poets adopted the forms of the Tuscan masters ; all the martial fame of the Italians was won in Spanish campaigns.

The Ottomans set themselves in violent contrast to both. The Spaniards they encountered victoriously on the African, the Italians on the Greek coasts. They threatened Oran ; they attacked Malta with their whole force ; they conquered Cyprus, and swarming round all the coasts they carried danger even into the haunts of peace. They were opposed therefore not alone by the old maritime powers of the two peninsulas ; in Tuscany and Piedmont new knightly orders were founded for this strife ; the pope himself yearly despatched his galleys in May from Civita Vecchia to cruise against them ; the whole force of the two nations took part in this contest. Those fair coasts and many named seas that beheld in their antique grandeur the rise, the rivalry, and the extinction of the Shemitic, and the Greco-Roman sea dominions, that saw the mastery won successively by Arabs and by German Christians, were witnesses to a third struggle, when Ottomans came forth instead of Arabs, when Spaniards and Italians (for no other people stood by them in this cause, and the French were often leagued with the foe) had need to put forth all their strength to uphold the Christian name on the Mediterranean. Hereby was formed for the most immediate and vivid exertion of all the powers of these nations, a circle in which they are most at home, and which is often the horizon involuntarily bounding the thoughts and the fancy of their authors. The strife gave their genius free and vigorous play. It contributed to work out in them that singular mixture their minds then exhibited ; a mixture of pride and cunning, of illusion and eagerness to discover the mystery of things, of romantic chivalry and insidious policy, of faith in the stars, and implicit devotion to religion.

Let us now enter into this circle, among these nations.

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

INTRODUCTION.

HUMBLE indeed is the description the Ottomans give of their own origin. They relate that Othman, the founder of their empire and name, himself followed the plough with his servants, and that when he wished to break off from work at noon he used to stick up a banner as a signal to call them home. These servants and none besides were his first followers in war, and they were marshalled beneath the same signal. But even he, they add, had in his day a forecasting of his house's future greatness, and in a dream he beheld a tree grow up out of his navel that overshadowed the whole earth*.

The new power that arose in Asia Minor having now established itself on its northern coasts, it chanced one day, as the story continues, that Soliman, the grandson of Othman, rode along the shores of the Hellespont, passing on through the ruins of ancient cities, and fell into a silent reverie. "What is my khan thinking of?" said one of his escort. "I am thinking," was the reply, "about our crossing over to Europe†." These followers of Soliman were the first who did cross over to Europe: they were successful; and Soliman's brother, Amurath I., was he who conquered Adrianople.

Thenceforth the Ottoman power spread on the further side of the Hellespont, east and west from Brusa, and from Adrianople on this side northwards and southwards. Bajazeth I., the great-grandson of Othman, was master here of Weddin and Wallachia, yonder of Caramania and Cæsarea.

Europe and Asia, both threatened by Bajazeth, rose up to resist him. Europe however fell prostrate at Nicopolis; and though Asia, for which Timur stood forth as champion, was victorious, still it did not destroy the dominion of Bajazeth. It was but fifty years after this defeat that Mahomet II. took Constantinople, the imperial city whose sway had once extended far over both quarters. The victor was not content with seeing the cities on the coasts of the Black Sea and the Adriatic own his supremacy; to bring the sea itself under subjection he built a fleet; he began to conquer the islands of the Ægean one after the other; and his troops showed themselves in Apulia.

There seemed to be no bounds to the career of victory. Though Bajazeth II. did not equal his

predecessors in valour, still his cavalry swept Friuli, his infantry captured fortresses in the Morea, and his fleets rode victorious in the Ionian Sea. But he was far outstripped by his son Selim and his grandson Soliman. Selim overcame the Mamelukes of Cairo, who had often been victorious over Bajazeth; and he caused the Chutbe or prayer to be pronounced in his noble name in the mosques of Syria and Egypt*. Soliman effected far more than he. One battle made him master of Hungary, and thenceforth he trod in that kingdom as in his own house. In the far east he portioned out the territory of Bagdad into sandshakates according to the banners of his troops. That Chaireddin Barbarossa, who boasted that his turban stuck on a pole scared the Christians and sent them flying for miles into the country, served him and made his name dreaded over the whole Mediterranean. With amazement and awe men reckoned up thirty kingdoms, and nearly 8000 miles of coast, that owned his sway. He styled himself emperor of emperors, prince of princes, distributor of the crowns of the world, God's shadow over both quarters of the globe, ruler of the Black and of the White Sea, of Asia and of Europe†.

Foundations of the Ottoman Power.

If we inquire what were the bases on which rested the essential strength and energy of this empire, and therewith the success of its efforts, our attention will be arrested by three things, viz. the feudal system, the institution of slavery, and the position of the supreme head.

Every country overrun by the Ottomans was immediately after its conquest parcelled out according to banners and scymitars into a multitude of fiefs. The design was, the protection of the country once well provided for within and without, to keep its original conquerors ever ready for new achievements. The great advantage of this system will be obvious, when it is considered that every possessor of the moderate income of 3000 aspers (sixty to a dollar) was required to hold a man and horse in

* Leunclavii *Historiæ Musulmanæ Turcorum* de monumentis ipsorum exscriptæ, iii. 113.

† Leunclavii *Annales Osmanidarum*, p. 10.

* See Selim's diploma of investiture in Hammer's *Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung des osmanischen Reichs*, Bd. i. § 195.

† Soliman's letter to Francis I. Garnier, *Histoire de France*, xxv. p. 407.

constant readiness for war, and another mounted soldier was to be furnished for every additional 5000 aspers; that in this way Europe could supply 80,000, Natolia 50,000 sipahi (the name of this cavalry); that to raise this force nothing more was requisite than an order to the two beglerbegs of the empire, from whom it found its way to the commanders of the banners, the sandshakbegs, and through them to the commanders of the squadrons, the alaiabegs, and so on to every possessor of a fief, large or small, of a siamet or a timar, whereupon the muster and the march followed forthwith*. Now comes the question how was the feudal system kept free from that principle of inheritance which has always prevailed in our feudal institutions? These fiefs conferred no title of nobility, neither were they properly entailed on sons. Soliman ordered that if a sandshakbeg with an income of 700,000 aspers left behind him a son a minor, the latter should receive nothing but a timar of 5000 aspers, with the express obligation of maintaining a mounted soldier out of the proceeds. There exist multitudes of similar ordinances appointing to the son of a sipahi a larger timar if his father died in the field, a smaller if he died at home, but in all cases but a small one†. "Therefore," says Barbaro, "there is among them neither nobility nor wealth; the children of men of rank, whose private treasures are taken possession of by other grandees, enjoy no personal distinction‡." Still there did exist even here a principle of inheritance, but an inheritance not so much of individuals as of all together, not of the son from the father but of generation from generation. It was a fundamental law that no one should obtain a timar but the son of a timarli§. Every one was obliged to begin his career from the lowest grade. Putting all this together we behold in the timarli a great community, tracing its origin essentially to the first companions of Othman, but afterwards numerous recruited by the events of war and by voluntary submission; a community void in itself of distinction of ranks, save such as is conferred by bravery, fortune, and the sultan's favour, which has imposed the sultan's yoke on the empire, and is ready to do the same by all the other realms of the world, and if possible to parcel them out in like manner among its own members.

This correlation must have unfolded itself by a natural process of development, out of that originally subsisting between the lord and his warlike servants, which, if I err not, much more resembled the personal subjection of the Mamelukes to the emirs, than the free allegiance owned by the hands of the west towards their condottieri||. But a

much more peculiar institution, for which I know not whether a parallel ever existed before or since, was the education of stolen children for soldiers or statesmen in the service of the sultan.

Every five years it was the practice to make a seizure of the children of the Christians in the empire. Small bands of soldiers, each under a captain furnished with a firman, marched from place to place. On their arrival the protogeros assembled the inhabitants with their sons. The captain was empowered to carry off all between the age of seven and that of manhood, who were distinguished for beauty or strength, or who possessed any peculiar talent or accomplishment. He brought them like a tithe, as it were, to the court of the grand signor. Others were carried thither from the campaigns, as the portion of the booty by law reserved to the sultan. No pacha returned from an expedition without bringing the sultan a present also on his own part of young slaves. Thus were there gathered together at the Porte children of various nations, the majority of them natives of the country, but besides them Poles likewise, Bohemians and Russians, Italians and Germans*. They were divided into two classes. One of these was sent, especially in earlier times, to Natolia, where they served among the peasants, and were trained up as Moslem; or they were kept in the serai, where they were employed in carrying water, in working in the gardens, in the barges, or in the buildings, being always under the inspection of an overseer, who kept them to their tasks with the stick. But the others, those who appeared to give evidence of superior qualities (many an honest German was persuaded that it was only by the help of evil spirits the fact was so happily discriminated), passed into one of the four serais, that of Adrianople or of Galata, or the old or the new serai of Stambul. Here they were lightly dressed in linen or in cloth of Salonichi; they wore caps of Brusa stuff; every morning they were visited by teachers, each paid eight aspers daily, who remained till evening instructing the children in reading the law and in writing†.

At the appointed age they were all circumcised. Those who were engaged in severer tasks became janissaries in process of time; those who were brought up in the serai were made either sipahi, (not feudatory but paid,) who served at the Porte, or higher state functionaries.

Both classes were kept under strict discipline. Soranzo's Relazione informs us how the first named class especially was exercised by day in every kind of self-denial as to food, drink, and comfortable

resemblance between Othman and a Sforza, which however is but a general one, but not their difference, which to me seems much stronger.

* All Relazioni, printed and unprinted, are full of the "scelta di piccoli giovanetti figliuoli di Christiani," as Barbaro expresses himself. Of the booty in war Morosini says, (Constantinople del 1584, MS.) "Vengono presentati quotidianamente al Gran Signore da suoi generali, così da terra come da mare, quando tornano dalla guerra."

† Morosini: "Sono posti nel serraglio proprio del Gran Signore, nel serraglio di Galata, in quello del hipodromo ed in quello d'Adrianopoli: nelli quali 4 serragli continuamente si trovano il numero di 5 o 6 mila giovani, quali non escono mai da detto serraglio, ma sotto una grandissima disciplina vengono ammaestrati et accostumati di buonissima creanza."

The rest is from Navagero.

* Relazione di Constantinopoli del C^l Sgr Bernardo Navagero, MS. "Li sanzaccchi sono obligati tener prima un allai-beg, che è un luogotenente del suo sanzacco, poi timarliovi o vero spahi, li quali sott' il governo d'allai-beg sono con lui insieme sottoposti all'obediencia del sanzacco." Later writers, Marsigli for instance, mention alaiabegs only on the frontiers.

† Canunname of Soliman to the beglerbeg Mustafa, Hammer, i. 349. Order of the same to Lutfi Pacha, ib. i. 364.

‡ Relazione del C^l Marcantonio Barbaro MS. "Li descendentii loro vanno totalmente declinando et restano affatto privi d'ogni minimo grado."

§ Canunname of Aini, Hammer, i. 372.

|| Schläzer's 7th section in the Orig. Osman, p. 150, with the motto "C'est tout comme chez nous," only points out the

clothing, in laborious hand labours, in shooting with the bow and the arquebus; how they passed the night in a long lighted hall, watched by an overseer who walked up and down continually and allowed them no rest *. Were they then enrolled among the janissaries; did they enter those convent-like barracks in which the various odas observed such strict community in their economy that their military ranks derived their names from mess and soup, they continued to practise obedience, not only the young in silence and subjection to their elders †, but all of them under such strict rules that none durst pass the night beyond the walls, and that whoever suffered punishment was bound to kiss the hand of the muffled individual who inflicted it upon him.

In no less strict discipline lived the young people in the serai, every ten of them under the inspection of an inexorable eunuch, and employed in similar exercises to the others, to which however were added literary and somewhat knightly tasks. Every three years the grand signor allowed their departure from the serai. Those who preferred remaining rose in the immediate service of their lord, according to their age, from chamber to chamber, with a constant increase of pay, till they reached perchance to one of the four great offices of the innermost chamber, whence the way lay open to the dignity of beglerbeg, of capitan deiri, i. e. admiral, or even of vizier. Those, on the other hand, who availed themselves of the permission were received, each in accordance with his previous rank, into the first four regiments of paid sipahi serving at the Porte, which were more trusted by the sultan than his other body guards ‡. Merrily did they scamper out through the gates, decked in their new finery and swinging the purse of gold they had received as a present from the grand signor.

A German philosopher once proposed a system of education for children, which was to be carried on apart from the parents in a special community, and in such a way that a new will should take the place of the old one. Here we have such an education. Here is total separation, strict community, the formation as it were of a new principle of life. The youths thus brought up forgot their childhood, their parents, their homes, knew no native land but the serai, no lord and father but the grand signor, no will but his, no hope but of his favour; they knew no life but one passed in rigid discipline and unconditional obedience, no occupation but war in his service, no personal purpose unless it were plunder in this life, and in death the paradise thrown open to him who fought for Islam. What the philosopher proposed in idea for the purpose of

training up youth in morality, religion, and communion, was here put in practical execution centuries before his day, to the development of a spirit at once slavish and warlike.

This institution perfectly fulfilled its intentions. Busbek, an Austrian ambassador at the court of Soliman, whose report is among the most celebrated and the best authenticated, cannot help overflowing with admiration as he describes the rigorous discipline of these janissaries, now seeming like monks, now like half statues, their extremely modest garb, the heron plume on their head-dress perhaps excepted, their frugal habits of life, and the way in which they season their carrots and turnips with hunger *. Under their discipline brave and dignified men were produced, to the amazement of all beholders, out of lads who had run away from an inn, a kitchen, or a convent school in some Christian country. They would suffer no one among them who had been brought up in the ease and softness of a parental dwelling. It cannot be denied that in decisive engagements they alone preserved the empire. The battle of Varna, one foundation of all the Ottoman greatness, would have been lost but for them †. At Cossowa the Rumelian and the Anatolian force had already taken to flight before the evil Jancu, as they called Johann Hunniades; but these janissaries won the victory ‡. They boasted that they had never fled in battle §. The fact is admitted by Lazarus Schwendi, long a German commander-in-chief against them ||. They are designated in all reports as the nerve and the core of the Ottoman forces. It is a highly remarkable fact, that this invincible infantry was formed in the east just at the time (since 1367) that in our side of Europe the Swiss, foot soldiers likewise, devised and practised their equally invincible order of battle. Only the former consisted solely of slaves, the latter of the freest men of the mountains.

The same discipline imposed on the janissaries was equally observed with the sipahi and the servants of the serai, who were to rise thence to higher dignities. Inwardly to resist this discipline, and to return, should occasion offer, to Christendom, was an effort that demanded the soul of a Scanderbeg. Hardly will another example be found of one of these youths returning to the parents from whose arms he had been torn and to his old home. And how should they? There was no hereditary aristocracy to interpose their claims, and dispute with them the rewards of their valour or their talents ¶: on the contrary they were themselves destined to fill all the highest dignities of the empire, all the sandshakates; the aga of the janissaries was taken from their body; not only the whole government of the country, but the command too of its armies was in their hands; every one saw before him a field of exertion, a career in life, with which before his eyes he might forget that he was a slave. Nay

* Soranzo, Viaggio MS. "Gli Azamogliani (Adahem Oglan) hanno un gran luogo, simile a un convitorio de frati: dove ciascuno la sera distende il suo stramazette et coperta; e vi si corica, havendo prima li guardiani accese per il lungo delle sala lampade."

† Soranzo: "Sono obligati i Giannizzeri nuovi a servire i più vecchi et anteriori nello spendere, apparecchiare et altri servitii."

‡ Morosini: "Quelli della stanza del tesoro escono spahi della prima compagnia con 20—22 aspri di paga; quelli della stanza grande e piccola del proprio serraglio, dove sta S. M., escono medesimamente spahi della prima e seconda compagnia con 18—20 aspri; quelli dell'altri tre serragli escono della 3 e 4 legione con aspri 10—14 di paga." Respecting these sipahi see also Libri fil delle Cose de' Turchi. Aldine press F. 15.

* Angerli Gisleii Busbequii legationis Turcicae Epistolae iv. Frankf. 1595, p. 200, 15, 78. Ejusdem de re militari contra Turcas instituenda Consilium, p. 352.

† Callimachus, Experiens de clade Varnensi, in Oporinus, p. 311.

‡ Leunclavii Historiae Musulmanae d. i. T. m. e., p. 519.

§ Paulus Jovius, Ordo militiae Turcicae, p. 221.

|| Lazari Suendii, Quomodo Turcis sit resistendum consilium, in Couring's collection. Helmst. 1664, p. 383.

¶ This is particularly dwelt on by Ubertus Folieta de causis magnitudinis imperii Turcici, Leips. 1595, p. 6.

on the very contrary the condition of these men seemed possessed of high charms in the estimation of those Christians who longed for adventures and brilliant promotion. Many voluntarily left their native land to seek their fortunes among these slaves. On their part they kept their own body rigorously aloof from foreign admixture, not suffering any born Turk, nor even the son of a grand vizier, though the father had risen from their own ranks, to become a sandshak*. Their sons entered the fifth and sixth corps of the paid soldiers, or into the number of the feudatory sipahi, or timarli, among whom the empire was portioned out, and continually augmented and reinvigorated that body.

Such was this institution of slaves. "It is in the highest degree remarkable," exclaims Barbaro, that "the wealth, the administration, the force, in short the whole body politic of the Ottoman empire reposes upon, and is intrusted to men born in the Christian faith, converted into slaves, and reared up Mahometans." On this institution depends the character and the form of government of the Turks.

If we have now made it clear that the power of this empire, so far as those constitute the true power whose activity is apparent, consisted of two corporations, the timarli and that twofold body of slaves, the larger moiety of which constituted the élite of the army on horseback and on foot, and the smaller had the administration and the executive in its hands, it is no less obvious that war was absolutely necessary to the empire on account of both these corporations; on account of the timarli, because their numbers grew continually by additions from among the slaves, and so there was a constant need of acquiring new timars; and on account of the janissaries and the paid sipahi that they might practise what they had learned, and not be spoiled by sitting down inactively at the serai†.

It is in war that we behold the physiology of this warlike state in all its genuine character. The timarli are seen marshalled beneath the banners of their respective corps; they carry bows and quivers, iron maces and daggers, scymitars and lances; they know how to use these various weapons at the right moment with the utmost dexterity; they are trained with rare skill to pursue and to retire, now to hang back in alert suspense, now to dash forward and scour the country. Their horses too claim attention; they come chiefly from Syria, where they have been reared with the utmost care, and fondled almost like children. Judges indeed remarked that they were somewhat ticklish to the stirrup, apt to swerve aside, and hard mouthed; this however was rather the fault of the riders, who used tight bits and short stirrups‡; otherwise the animals proved

tractable, serviceable, as well on mountainous and stony ground as on the plain, indefatigable, and always full of spirit. The most accomplished riders were furnished from many a district. It was surprising to see them hurl their maces before them, gallop after them, and catch them again ere they fell*. Turning slightly round, with the horse at full speed, they would discharge their arrows backwards with unerring aim. Next to these the Porte sent forth its paid sipahis and its janissaries. The former, in addition to their scymitars, were armed with those lances, by the small flags on which they were distinguished; some also were furnished with bows. A few were equipped with coats of mail and morions, but rather for show than for service; their round shields and their turbans seemed to them defence enough. The janissaries lastly marched in long flowing garments, armed with scymitar and arquebus, in their girdles the hand-jar and the small hatchet; dense in their array, their plumes like a forest.

It was as though the camp was the true home of this people. Not only was it kept in admirable order, so that not an oath or an altercation was to be heard, no drunken man, no gambling was to be seen in it; nor anything to be found in it that could offend either sight or smell†. It was also to be remarked that the life the soldier led at home was but meagre and sorry compared with the magnificence of the camp. For every ten janissaries the sultan maintained a horse to carry their baggage; every five and twenty had a tent that served them in common; in these they observed the regulations of their barracks, and the elder were waited on by the younger. No sipahi was so mean that he did not possess a tent of his own. How gallant and glittering was their array as they rode in their silken surcoats, their particoloured richly wrought shield on their left arms, their right hands grasping the costly mounted sword, feathers of all hues waving in their turbans. But surpassingly splendid was the appearance of their leaders. Jewels hung round their horses' ears; saddles and housings were studded with others; chains of gold hung from their bridles. The tents shone with Turkish and Persian decorations; here the booty was laid up; a numerous retinue of eunuchs and slaves was in attendance.

Religion and morals were in harmony with this martial tendency that pervaded the whole being of the nation. It has frequently been remarked how much Islamism promoted arms, how strongly the belief it inculcated in an inevitable destiny tended to inspire with courage in the fight. Besides this,

"Portano i morsi stretti, le selle piccole, le staffe large et corte." [The broad stirrup pointed on the inner side, serves the Turkish rider for a spur.—TRANSLATOR.]

* These accomplishments are best described in the Relation of 1637, though it remarks that they had then grown rare: "tanto che ridotti si trovano in rarità.—Ferendo in oltre così bene con l'arco che mentre corre velocemente il destriero, di saetta armauo l'arco,—et rivoltandosi a dietro con l'arco seguitato dall'occhio scoccano lo strale, e colpiscono dove disegnano ferire."

† See, for somewhat earlier times indeed, Cuspinianus de militari instituto etc. Turcorum in Caesaribus, p. 579, and for the times before us Busequius. Floriani: "Dalla grandezza e dalla commodità che ha il Turco in campagna, si vede chiaramente ch'egli è nella sua propria residenza, e che nelle terre egli è più tosto forestiero che cittadino."

* Barbaro: "Nè possono patire che nè un figliuolo de' primi visir sia fatto sangiacco."

† Valieri, Relatione di Constantinopoli, MS. "Si va discorrendo, che essendo stato quel imperio per suo instinto quasi continuamente lontano della pace non possi in alcun tempo star lungamente quieto, ma ad una guerra fa succeder l'altra, e per desiderio de nuovi acquisti e per la necessità che stimano d'havere d'impiegar la militia, la quale facilmente può causare seditioni, tumulti et novità. Li corpi grossi con mosso si mantengono e si fanno più robusti e con l'otio si impiumo di malo humore. . . . Li fiumi, che corrono, conservano l'acqua sana."

‡ See the Relatione of Floriani, MS., particularly p. 217.—

it was the opinion in the sixteenth century, that the numerous ablutions which prevented the uncleanness to which so many diseases owe their origin in camps, and even the prohibition of wine, were laudable and well considered measures. For in the first it cost inordinate trouble to procure wine and to convey it to the camp; and when it was there, how many disorders did it give rise to in western armies*. It was even thought that the daily habits of the Turks might be traced to the necessities of the camp. In Morosini's opinion the Turks sat on a plain carpet stretched on the ground, and ate on the ground, and slept where they had eaten, that they might find nothing strange which the life of the camp and the tent rendered indispensable†. Be this as it may, the Ottomans assuredly regarded themselves above all as warriors. In the edicts of Constantinople, by way of distinguishing them from the Christians, the latter are called citizens, while the former are styled soldiers, askery‡.

Now, taking into consideration all these facts, first, that all were slaves (and most so those who stood highest), trained unceasingly to unconditional obedience; that there was not a man among them possessed of any independent rights, of family property, jurisdiction, or retainers; that every career depended on the beck of the sultan, from whom his slave expected either magnificent rewards, or degradation and death; and lastly, that the whole system was thoroughly military in its organization, that the state was warlike and its business war;—taking all this into account, it is very clear that the sultan was the soul of this singularly constituted body, the origin of its very movement, and above all, that he too, if he would reign, must needs be of a warlike spirit. Bajazeth II. proved this by experience in his old age. When he could no longer take the field, disorder followed upon disorder, and he was at last compelled to give way to his martial son. Soliman, on the other hand, was altogether the ruler suited to that warlike state. Whilst his lofty stature, his manly features, and his large black eyes beneath his broad forehead, plainly bespoke the soldier§, he displayed all the vivacity, all the open-handedness and the justice that make a ruler beloved and feared. He would hardly ever have desisted from campaigns of conquest. It is very possible, indeed, that we shall never be able thoroughly to fathom his designs; but thus much we know, that the *Multeka*||, a law-book he caused to be compiled, most pressingly inculcates war against the unbelievers as an universal duty: they were to be called on to embrace Islam or pay the capitation tax, and if they refused both alternatives, they were to be pursued with arrows, and all implements of war, and with fire, their trees should be cut down, their crops laid waste. The fanatical book which is

* These remarks are made by Florian.

† "Quelli popoli, come quelli che hanno sempre fatto professione delle cose della guerra, hanno sempre usato il modo del viver nelle case loro che è conforme a quello che è necessario in campo."

‡ Muradæa d'Ohsson, from the decrees of Muhammed II Tableau de l'empire Ottoman, ii. 268.

§ Navagero 237. "Ha il fronte largo e un poco prominente, gli occhi grossi e neri, il naso aquilino e un poco grandetto a proportione delle altre fattezze, e ha il collo un poco lungo."

|| Extract from book xiii, of the *Multeka* in Hammer I. 163.

known unto us under the name of *Trumpet Peal* of the Holy War, a book which omits no exhortation, no promise, no command by which believers could be excited to the frenzy of a religious war, that bids the mussulman cling till death to the horse's forelock, and live in the shadow of the lances, till all men own the creed of Mahomet, was translated into Turkish towards the close of his reign*, probably for the immediate use of the youth of the serai.

Digression respecting the modern Greeks in the Sixteenth Century.

But whilst the Ottomans were disturbing and threatening the world, how lived they in whose country they had reared their empire?

Whilst the whole southern range of Asia, a native seat of civilization, no longer beheld aught but tyrannous rulers and peoples condemned in masses to hard servitude, the Ottoman transplanted this desolation to Europe. A state of things of this nature usually has two great epochs. As long as the dominant power is intrinsically strong, the conquered passively endure; flight itself is courage; the boldest retreat to inaccessible mountains. But as those grow weak, these rise up to isolated deeds of violence, to the wild retaliation of robbery and murder. So the Mahrattas rose against the Moguls, the Lores and Kurds against the Sofis, and the Wechabites, the children of the desert, against these same Ottomans.

The Greeks in Soliman's time were in the stage of obedience. They had no part in war, politics, or public life, save as renegades or serfs. Their charaz†, the wretched produce of their toil, where-with they purchased the right of existing, filled the treasury of the Ottoman. There is nothing a nation more needs than an abundance of noble men who devote themselves to the common weal! The Ottoman regularly carried off the flower of the Greek youth to the serai. On this institution he founded at once his own strength and subjection. He fed upon their marrow.

Many superior Greeks, to please their lords, accommodated themselves to this enervation. No few descendants of the noble families of Constantinople, which had in earlier days themselves been native oppressors, farmed the revenues of the sultan. Palaiologoi and Kantakuzenoi were remarked in the capital, Mamaloi and Notaradai in Peloponnesus, Batazidai, Chrysoloroi, and Azanaioi in the ports of the Black Sea. Such as combined with these employments those commercial pursuits in which we find the Greeks engaged now in Moscow and now in Antwerp, could speedily arrive at great wealth. Michael Kantakuzenos was able in the year 1571 to make a present of fifteen galleys to the sultan: when he rode on his mule through the streets, six servants ran before him, and seventeen followed him. These rich Greeks adopted oriental manners under the Ottomans, as they assumed those of Italy under the Venetians. They wore the turban, they imitated the domestic ar-

* Preface by Johann Müller to Hammer's translation of this book, p. 7.

† Navagero, Relatione: "Il carazzo è il tributo che pagano tutti li Christiani che habitano il paese, le persone un ducato per testa, le pecore aspro uno et mezzo per testa."—It was otherwise at a later period. For the manner in which the charaz was exacted from poor herdsmen in 1676, see Spou et Wheeler, Voyage de Grèce, ii. 41.

rangements of their conquerors; they delighted in gorgeous finery. Their women wrapped their hair in golden nets, and decked their foreheads with diadems of pearls; heavy jewelled drops hung from their ears; their bosoms were covered more with golden chains than with drapery*. It was as though every man was in haste to enjoy an uncertain prosperity, as though he felt the hand of the tyrannous ruler suspended over him. Michael Kantakuzenos was in vain so submissive, nay, so liberal handed, to the sultan: the latter at last sent his capidji bashi, had him hanged before the door of the stately house he had built himself at Achilo, and his treasures carried to the serai †.

The poorer people dragged on their days in want and servitude. A great part of the country was waste, depopulated, and ruined. What could thrive in the land where every sandshak strove to extort double the income assigned him, where rapacious contractors often filled his place‡, and where every Osmanli bore himself as unlimited lord and master? The people of the islands were decidedly better off. We find Lemnos and Lesbos very well cultivated in the year 1548. We see the people tilling their fields, planting their vines, attending to their springs and watercourses, and cultivating their gardens. Here they remained true to themselves.

The people still manifested the noble qualities of their native stock. The sweet tone of Homeric words still lived in Chios: they still counted in those days fourteen villages of the Læcœnians in Peloponnesus, where a Greek almost identical with the ancient was spoken: the Athenians were still remarked for their surprising memory and their melodious voices: even in the household utensils the artistic forms of ancient sculpture have always been perceptible. So likewise in their social life there were preserved some elements of their former civilization. The symposia of the men were everywhere found adapted as of old to a lofty strain of conversation; where arms were allowed, they had those armed dances which were kept up for whole days by men girt with the sword, and arrayed with bow and quiver §. The active and spontaneous ingenuity of the Greek character in labour and recreation, with sword and shield, above all at sea and on shipboard, was proverbial||.

* The most important authorities on this head are the writings, letters, and notices collected with care and love by Martin Crusius, who styles himself φιλέλλην, and who was the first that was justly entitled to the name. They are contained in his *Turcogræcia*, Basle, 1554, fol. pp. 91. 211. 225. 485.

† The rich lord Michalis, whose death is described in the oldest of the Greek songs lately published by Fauriel, which he found written in the characters of the sixteenth century. (*Τραγῳδία Ῥωμαϊκά*. Ausg. von Müller, l. 94) is doubtless none other than our Michael Kantakuzenos. This event excited the strongest sympathy. There exists an essay on the subject, "Per qual causa e come è stato impiccato Michael Cantacuzeno a dl 3 Marzo a Achilo davanti la porta di casa sua." *Turcogr.* 274. It is a pity it has not been preserved entire. The *Ἱστορία πολιτικῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως* (ib. p. 43) concludes with a reference to it.

‡ Navagero and Barbaro's Relazioni.

§ These and many other traits are noticed by Bellon in his *Observations de plusieurs singularités en Grèce*, i. ch. 4. ch. 25, and elsewhere. See also *Turcogr.* 489. 209. 216. 430.

|| A rhyming proverb, still older than that oldest poem

There was no room however for the free expansion of the mind, where the energies were directed only towards the most immediate necessities, and the whole state and being was debased. The language became overladen with Bulgarian, Turkish, and Italian words: it fell into a hundred degenerations of barbaric forms. No instruction was to be thought of, for there existed no instructor. So soon as men do not acknowledge nor seek to acknowledge the laws of the creation, its operations begin to stultify the soul and bewilder it with illusions: these Greeks were wholly possessed by a fantastic view of nature and her works. There remained only one element in which their mental life could give itself expression: they retained that utterance of nature, song. The Athenians were pre-eminently rich in lays in the sixteenth century*. We can imagine of what kind they were, when we find lovers sitting together and vying which shall outdo the other in repeating them. They were undoubtedly that well-known kind of song that accompanies with its monotonous and almost sad strains the joys and the sorrows of a simple life. Its subjects were joy, the sweets of love, and family endearments; sorrow, death, and separation; and then that loneliness that charges the moon with its greetings, that makes the birds its messengers, wanders with the clouds, has the stars and the sea for its confidants, and animates the lifeless world with a fancied sympathy.

Thus does the people, once in the enjoyment of a life in which the human race beholds its pride and centuries their paragon, return to the condition of nature, after having lived for long ages constrained within narrow forms, if not dishonourably, yet without renown. It pictures to itself its old forefathers as giants. An ancient grave stone is, by its account, the manger of Alexander's horse.

But the return is not complete. How could they, if totally dismembered, maintain their nationality in the face of the victorious foe? On the contrary, religion and priesthood exercised over them their wonted sway.

Through these it was that the Greeks were rigorously severed from the Ottomans. Historical works written in the sixteenth century call the sultan "the accursed" even in the midst of his victories, and his people "the strangers." Justice administered by the Ottomans was a thing sedulously avoided; legal proceedings were presided over by the elders, by the good men of the various localities, and by the priests; whoever withdrew from their authority was put under a ban sometimes with his whole house. The Greek woman who married a Turk was excommunicated †. They paid their charaz to the Turks, they endured what could not be remedied; but in other respects they kept aloof from their oppressors; the state to which they chose to belong was different from theirs; it was the hierarchy.

This hierarchy was built on the established subordination of all priests to the patriarch of Constantinople. Even the patriarchs of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria, owned him for their head. His high priesthood was acknowledged over

mentioned above, is given by Crusius from the lips of a Greek, *Turcogr.* 211.

* *Zygomalas* to *Crusius*: μέλει διαφόροις θέλγους τοῖς ἀκούστας ὡς σερίανων μέλη.

† *Turcogræcia*, 25. 220.

the whole eastern world, from the cataracts of the Nile almost to the Baltic, from Armenia to the Ionian islands. He sent his exarchs every year into the provinces to receive the dues of the patriarchate from the metropolitans. Every five years he set out in person to visit his dioceses, to allay disputes, and to give them his blessing*.

While his authority was thus wide in its range, it was no less minute in its application to the most individual details of life. There was nothing in which he was not appealed to. A lady who had married in Chios, and who was now, upon the death of her husband, ill-treated by laymen and priests, applies to him for succour. A certain person has had the water cut off from his garden: he lays the matter before the patriarch. A daughter by a second marriage has engrossed the whole inheritance; the daughter by the first marriage claims her share, and applies to the patriarch who is the father of the fatherless†. Mirzena, a noble lady of Wallachia, entreats the patriarch to select husbands for her daughters from among the Greeks of higher rank‡.

Must not this subjection, especially in matters of litigation, have been irksome to many? What may it have been that bent their necks to the patriarch? Such is human nature, that whole nations may pass under the sway of an error, and that error may subvert their best interests; the germs by which life is propagated may find shelter under such a covering. The whole force of the patriarchs consisted in excommunication. And what was there in this so coercive and formidable? The conviction was entertained that the body of a man cursed by the patriarch did not perish in the earth. So long as the devil had hold of the soul, so long the bonds of the flesh could not be loosed, till the patriarch recalled the curse. The illusion was insisted on, even to the sultan, and confirmed by dreadful examples. There is no doubt that it was predominant in the sixteenth century, and that it was the terrific cause that forced the refractory to obedience§.

But others obeyed cheerfully. With joy they gazed on the holy cross erected on the patriarchion, and visible afar from land and sea. The patriarchion itself, near a church of the Virgin on an eminence in Constantinople, an enclosed court with a few trees containing the residence of the patriarch, was in their eyes a holy spot||. None passed its gates without laying the hand on the breast, bowing, and making the sign of the cross as he proceeded on his way. It was believed for certain that yonder church of the Virgin shone like the sun even in the darkness. They even went the length of directly coupling these things with the Deity. "When we behold the priests and deacons advance in the sticharies and ovaries, surround

the throne and bend their heads in prayer, they are like the angels of God as they place themselves round the heavenly throne to offer up their 'Holy is God!' Nay, with God himself on his heavenly throne may be likened the patriarch, who represents on his earthly throne a person of the Trinity, namely, Christ. The sanctuary of the beatified, an earthly paradise, has God made and no human hand*!"

The thoughts in which a man completes his daily routine of life demand a mental terminus; they seek to connect themselves with whatever is supremely high. Strange as the result was in this case, yet to the power of the priests founded thereon is to be ascribed the salvation of the Greek nationality. Under this protection the Greeks cherished and cultivated that hatred to the Turks, and that peculiar character, of which they now reap the advantage.

On the decay of the Ottoman Power.

Thus we behold two hostile and irreconcilable communities in one state: yet they are closely linked together; the rulers draw vital force, and ever fresh renovation from the vanquished. We revert to the former.

Weighing once more the facts we have observed in their case, we perceive that the instinct of despotism here contrived for itself three organs: first, immediate slaves, who, commencing with personal service, executed the will of their lord in peace or war; men promoted for their talents, brought up in the ways of the Ottomans, of tried obedience, old in their master's favour, and partakers in the splendour of his sway; next, that twofold body-guard, mounted and on foot, that was wont to guard the sultan when he reposed, and to accompany his victorious career when he took the field; these as well as the former were slaves of the serai, but their slavery involved a kind of precedence over others: lastly, those feudatories that held the conquered empire partitioned out among them, and who hoped to conquer and share among them the rest of the world, though without ever acquiring any possession independent of the sultan's nod. We perceive that this so constituted organization had need of two things: it needed for its animation a man filled himself with a vivid spirit and free and mighty impulses; and to give it movement and activity it required continual campaigns and progressive conquests; in a word, war and a warlike chief.

All this seemed to subsist under Soliman in almost complete perfection. When it was considered how an inviolable usage imposed some brilliant enterprise or another on every new sultan, how even the religious ambition of being the builder of new mosques, was connected with the conquests of new countries, for through these they were to be endowed; and how no enduring resist-

* Gerlachii Literæ, ad Crusium, Turcogr. p. 502, and Crusii Annotatt. p. 197.

† The letters on these subjects are all given in the third book of the Turcogræcia.

‡ See the above mentioned Italian narrative, respecting Michael Kantakuzenos.

§ *Ἱστορία πολιτικὴ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, p. 27. *Ἱστορία πατριαρχική*, p. 133. Another example in the *Ἱστορία πατρ.* p. 151. Heineceius, De absolutioe mortuorum tympanico-rum in Ecclesia Græca.

|| A little sketch of this, but after the removal of the cross, is given in the Turcogr. p. 190.

* At the end of the *Ἱστορία πατριαρχική*. Turcogr. lib. iii. p. 184. Καθὼς ἡ θεότης κάθηται ἐπὶ θρόνου εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, οὕτως καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ δεσπότης ὁ φέρων τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἐνὸς τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν κάθηται ἐπὶ τοῦ θείου θρόνου τοῦ ἐπιγείου. Ἐναι (ἔστι) δὲ καὶ λέγεται αὐτὸς ὁ ναὸς τῆς παμμακαριστοῦ ἐπίγειος οὐρανόσ, νέα Σιών τὴν ὁποίαν ἔκτισεν ὁ Κύριος, καὶ οὐκ ἄνθρωπος. This is founded on older opinions, such as put forth by Simeon Thessalonicensis, περὶ τοῦ ναοῦ.

ance was to be expected either in the east from the manifestly weak empire of the Persians, nor in the west from Christendom, which had fallen into discord about the truth of its faith; under such circumstances even intelligent men might well fear that the course of these victories would carry the Turks to universal monarchy.

Whilst men thought thus, whilst they were filled with dismay and uttered gloomy forebodings as they compared the might and the valour of the Ottomans with those of the western nations, whilst it was shown in treatises that the Turks were invincible, and why they were so*, just then alterations took place among the latter which produced an essential revolution in the condition of their empire.

The empire needed warlike sovereigns; it began to experience a dearth of them: it needed the unswerving discipline of its military institutions, and its slave education; this became corrupted: it needed continual conquests; they began to fail. Our purpose is to show how all this took place.

The Sultans.

The contrast has long been remarked in the west, that subsisted between all the sultans before Soliman and all those after him. Nor has it escaped the notice of the orientals. It is alleged that the grand vizier Mustafa Kiuperly frequently complained, that all the sultans since Soliman were without exception fools or tyrants; that there was no help for the empire if it did not get rid of that most perverted stock†.

Now as Selim II. may be regarded as the first founder of this new line, as he shall have had a great influence over it, whether by his example or by the qualities inherited from him by nature, it is a very remarkable fact that he did not obtain the throne by right, but in preference to a better brother by his mother's craft and his father's cruel and violent deed.

Soliman had an elder son, the son of his youth, Mustafa, who was just like himself, and of whom the people thought that they were indebted for him to a special favour of Heaven, so noble, brave, and high-hearted they thought him; of whom his father deemed that he reflected the virtues of his ancestors, and who was wont to say of himself, he hoped yet to do honour to the house of Othman‡.

How came it then that Soliman bore such ill will to the inheritor of those qualities by which he had achieved his own greatness?

If it must be admitted on close consideration that the institution of a harem is intimately associated with a military despotism, and that an exclusive passion for one woman is incompatible with it, because it attaches to home and gives occasion to many uncongenial influences, there was reason for serious apprehension in the very fact that Soliman

devoted himself wholly to his slave Roxolana; but it was truly alarming that he broke through the established order of the harem, deposed the mother of the heir apparent, to whom the foremost rank belonged of right, and raised Roxolana to the condition of a wife.

I find a letter of Codignac, a French ambassador at the Porte*, who relates the following origin of this event:—Roxolana wished to found a mosque for the weal of her soul, but the mufti told her that the pious works of a slave turned only to the advantage of her lord; upon this special ground Soliman declared her free. This was immediately followed by the second step. The free woman would no longer comply with those desires of Soliman which the bondswoman had obeyed, for the fetwa of the mufti declared that this could not be without sin. Passion on the one side and obstinacy on the other at last brought it about that Soliman made her his wife. A treaty of marriage was ratified, and Roxolana was secured an income of 5000 sultanins†.

This being done, the next and most perilous thing was, that Roxolana desired to procure the succession for one of her own sons instead of Mustafa. This was no secret to any one. It was supposed that she had no other motive for connecting herself with the grand vizier Rusthen by bestowing one of her daughters on him in marriage‡. When it was seen that Rusthen sought every where to establish sandshaks and agas of his own selection, and to make himself friends by gifts out of his great wealth§ (it was said that he possessed fifteen millions, and could roof his house with gold), that he promoted his brother to be capudani derja, captain of the sea, all this was looked on as pointing one way, namely, that in case of Soliman's death, the capudan derja should keep Mustafa, who had seated himself in Amasia, away from Europe||. Soliman's personal intentions were regarded with decidedly less alarm. If Mustafa's mother, who was with him, and whom he esteemed very highly, daily warned him to beware of poison, it was on the part of her fortunate rival she feared it, and as it is said not without reason. The Turks believed that the struggle would first break out after the father's death, and that the result would very possibly turn out fatally for the empire.

But in this they were mistaken. The very qualities that seemed destined to exalt Mustafa to be the head of the empire, those which made him dear to the people, were perilous to him with his

* A Monsignor di Lodeva, Amb. in Venetia, 3 Ott. 1553. Lettere di Principi, iiii. 141.

† Ubert Folleta gives a precisely similar account in his *De causis magnitudinis imperii Turcici*, vol. iiii.

‡ Navagero. "Li disegni della madre, così cara al Signore, et quelli del magnifico Rusten, che ha tant' autorità, non tendono ad altro fine che a questo, di fare in caso che morisse il padre herede del Imperio Sultan Selim, figliuolo di lei et cognato di lui."

§ Commentarii delle cause delle guerre mosse in Cipro MS. Informatt. xvii. 73. "Si è veduto un di questi (granvisir) chiamato Rusten venire a tante ricchezze che lasciò morendo 15 milioni d'oro."

|| Navagero: "Capitano di mare è suo fratello, il quale farà che continui in quest' officio per questo rispetto, o levandolo metterà persona confidentissima: che a proibire il Sultan Mustafa dalla successione dello stato, non è via più sicura d'impedirli il passo che con un armata."

* E. g. "Discorso sopra l'imperio del Turco, il quale ancorche sia tirannico e violento, è per essere durabile contra l'opinione d'Aristotele et invincibile per ragioni naturali," MS. Busbek and Folleta argue to the same effect.

† Marsigli, *Stato militare del Imperio Ottomano*, i, 6, p. 23.

‡ Navagero, *Relazione*; classical on this point. "La fama che ha di liberale et giusto fa che ogn'uno lo brama;" p. 246, a. "Solimano ha detto che Mustafa li par sia degno descendente della virtù de suoi passati;" p. 247, b. "Mustafa per essere più delli altri magnanimo et generoso... suole dire che egli è nato ancor per far honore alla casa Ottomana."

father. If every one wished him the inheritance of the throne, if the janissaries gave open proof how earnest was the good will they bore him, if not a slave of his father's passed through the range of his government without being captivated by his kindness or his bounty, the people remarked how good it was of Mustafa, that with such general good wishes in his behalf he never showed any resentment at his father's bestowing far greater marks of favour on his brothers than on him*; but the father remarked nothing but those connexions which seemed to him of a suspicious character. The name of Mustafa seemed to throw him into agitation. It did the son little service that he sometimes sent presents of handsome horses to the Porte; that when he was aware of his father's unfavourable feelings he never turned his foot, never turned his face, as he said himself, in the direction of his father's court, that he might not provoke his anger. Finally, when an alliance was talked of which Mustafa proposed forming with Persia, when Rusthen complained of the devotion of the janissaries to the person of the former in a campaign in the east, Soliman set out thither in anger and summoned his son before him. The latter might undoubtedly have escaped by flight, he might probably have been able to resist; but his mollah told him that eternal blessedness was better than dominion over the whole earth; and, guiltless as he was, he could hardly bring himself to fear the worst. He obeyed the summons, having first divested himself even of his dagger. The worst did befall. The mutes fell upon him; Soliman looked out from behind a thick curtain, and with threatening eyes urged them on: they strangled Mustafa†.

The padichah had still two sons left, both by Roxolana, Selim, the elder, on whom the right of succession now devolved, and Bajazeth, the younger, more like his father, more affable and more beloved, but destined by the inveterate usage of the Turks to certain death. After many a quarrel, and many an attempt at insurrection on the part of the younger, open war at length broke out between the two brothers during their father's life. Mustafa, a pacha of whom we shall have frequent occasion to make mention, boasted that it was he decided the contest. He said, that Selim having actually fled the fight, he hastened after him, and went so far as to seize his horse by the bridle; whereupon Bajazeth, seeing his brother return and the fight renewed, was seized with despair and determined to fly to Persia‡. He fled, but he did not succeed in escaping. The shah

allowed Soliman's executioner to seek him even there, and to strangle him. So hard was the struggle necessary to enable Selim to ascend the throne of Othman. It is not unlikely that his younger, it is in the highest degree probable that his elder brother would have inherited those warlike and manly qualities by which that house had become so great: but Selim, who preferred the society of eunuchs and of women, and the habits of the serai to the camp, who wore away his days in sensual enjoyments, in drunkenness and indolence, had no such gifts. Whoever beheld him and saw his face inflamed with Cyprus wine, and his short figure rendered corpulent by slothful indulgence, expected in him neither the warrior nor the leader of warriors. In fact nature and habit unfitted him to be the supreme head, that is the life and the soul, of that warlike state*.

With him begins the series of those inactive sultans, in whose dubious character we may trace one main cause of the decay of the Ottoman fortunes. Many were the circumstances that contributed to their ruin.

The ancient sultans took their sons with them to the field, or sent them out upon enterprises of their own without any jealousy. Othman was still living when his son Orchan accomplished the most important thing effected in his day, the conquest of Prusa. Again, the most important event under Orchan, the expedition to Europe, was accomplished under the command of his son Soliman. Succeeding sultans departed from this practice. They kept their sons aloof from themselves and from war, in a remote government under the inspection of a pacha†. At last it was thought better to shut up the heir apparent as a prisoner till the moment he was to ascend the throne‡.

But when that moment was come, when he was become sultan, what was then his business? Marsigli narrates how the privilege of the janissaries, of being compelled to take the field only when the sultan did so likewise, was taken from them by Soliman. It is a question whom Soliman most injured by this measure, the janissaries or his own race. Since the janissaries, the elite of the forces, were indispensable, the sultans would have continued under the necessity of marching with them in every war; they would not have sat down the livelong year in the harem, which was now become the most pernicious of all their institutions, and wasted there all the energies of life in effeminate pleasures.

Some nobler qualities may be discovered in no few even of the latter sultans. The education and the habits of the serai, of which I have already spoken, but above all their unlimited despotic

* Navagero. "Una cosa è maravigliosa in lui, che si trova havere mal non tentato di fare novità alcuna contra il padre, et stando li fratelli, figliuoli dell' altra madre, vicini a Constantinopoli et uno anco nel serraglio, esso però tanto lontano sta quieto.

† See the extract from Busbequii Legationis Turcicæ Epistola i. p. 60, which is the source of most of the narratives of this transaction, and that from the Lettera di Michiele Codignac a Monsignor di Lodeva, Lettere di Principi, iii. 145, which, though less noticed, is more circumstantial and accurate.

‡ Floriani, Descrizione dell' imperio Turch. MS. 230. "Non restò egli (il Bassa Mustafa) di ricordar modestamente al Signore che quando era Beglierbel di Maras et ch'egli (Selim) era già posto in fuga da Bajazet suo fratello, lo prese per le redine del cavallo andandogli prontamente in ajuto."

* Barbaro, 294. "Delle quali laudabile conditioni (di Solimano) non viene già detto nè anco dalli propri Musulmani che d'alcuna Selim sia stato herede, benchè di tanti regni sia stato possessor. Questo principe è di statura più tosto piccola che altrimenti, pieno di carne, con faccia rossa e più tosto spaventosa, d'età di 55 anni, a quali è commun giudicio che pochi n'habbil ad aggiungere per la vita che tiene."

† Relazione di Constantinopoli et Gran Turco, MS. 531. "Quando li figliuoli del Grand Turco sono et di 13 anni, si circoncidono et fra 13 giorni li convien partire et si mandano per governo in qualche luogo di Natolia et in vita del Gran Turco sempre sono tenuti fuori della città."

‡ Muradgæa d'Ohsson, Tableau général de l'empire Ottoman; Paris, 1787, fol. i. 294.

power, by virtue of which they were not bound to regard, unless they pleased, any fetwa of their mufti, a power so exalted, that their excesses were declared to be the result of divine inspirations, enticed them to give way to their more ignoble qualities, and to suffer these gradually to become their second nature *. Such absolute power is not made for man. The people are not so petty and so mean as to be able to endure it. Neither will a ruler ever be found great enough to exercise it without being himself thereby utterly perverted.

What fair hopes did Amurath III., the son of Selim, afford? In striking contrast with his father, he appeared temperate, manly, given to study, and not averse to arms. He displayed, too, a very praiseworthy beginning of his reign. What I read of him in our Relations strikes me as especially admirable in a Turkish sultan. Every one is acquainted with that horrid custom, in compliance with which the sultans made it their first business after the death of their father to have their brothers murdered †. It did not exist in primitive times; the brothers of Othman fought in his battles; but it gradually became established and inviolable. Now Amurath, says the Relatione, being tender-hearted, and unable to endure the sight of blood, would neither seat himself on the throne of the sultans, nor have his accession proclaimed, till he had first secured from death his nine brothers who lived with him in the serai ‡. He talked on this matter with his muallim, with the mufti, and other learned men. But so imperative seemed the necessity of this practice, that he could make no impression upon any of them; on the contrary, he was himself constrained to give way, after holding out for eighteen hours. He then summoned the chief of the mutes, showed him his father's corpse, and gave him nine handkerchiefs to strangle his nine brothers. He gave them him, but with tears.

There was in him a certain tincture of humanity, a trace of poetical studies, and a sort of resolution. Once, when he had the history of his ancestors read to him, he asked the by-standers which of the wars carried on by his predecessors they thought the most difficult? They answered, "Without doubt the Persian." "That," he rejoined, "will I undertake §;" and he did so. German ambassadors described him as clever, sober, and just, a master in the art of rewarding and punishing ||.

Such he was in the first beginning of his reign. But not all men faithfully retain the character evinced by them in their youth. The process of

development goes on even in manhood, and not always from harshness to mildness, from turbulence to sedateness. Some there are who, from modest, staid, and quiet youths, become passionate, boisterous, and insufferable men.

Amurath's character unfolded itself far otherwise than had been expected. In the first place, he gave himself up to inactive retirement. Personally he shunned war, and even avoided the chase *, and passed his day in silence and melancholy, shut up in the seclusion of the palace with mutes, dwarfs, and eunuchs. He now suffered two insatiable passions to obtain the mastery over him; the one was the passion for women, which he indulged to the destruction of all his energies, and to the violent aggravation of his predisposition to epilepsy; the other was the passion for gold. The story had run of Selim, how he had the sequins that flowed in to him from many a realm cast into a huge ball, and rolled by the mutes into the cistern in which was contained his private treasure, the chashieh †. In Amurath was observed an almost involuntary fondness of coined metal. It sounds almost like a tale of mythology, when we read that he had made for him a quadrangular marble pit like a well, into which he every year cast nearly two and a half millions of gold, all in sequins and sultanins. He would strip the gold ornaments from old works of art, coin them into money, bearing the characters of his name, and throw them into the pit. Over the entrance to it, which was fastened up with the utmost care, stood the bed in which he slept ‡. Be this as it may, certain it is that the tribute of repeated presents was a sure means for securing the continuance of his favour, and that appointments very soon became venal. It may be asserted, that he, the head of this empire, let himself be suborned as it were. So strongly was he influenced by his unfortunate craving for pelf.

When the creature had gone through his daily routine, that is to say when he had given that audience during which the presents brought by ambassadors or petitioners were carried before the windows so that he could have sight of them,—an audience in which he did nothing but give ear to the ambassadors, who were led before him with almost running speed and then led off as rapidly §,

* Soranzo, Relationi o diario di viaggio MS. "Lontano dei negotii—non essendo punto bellicoso nè amatore d'essercitii militari,—ritenendosi insino dalle caccie, particular piacere de suoi predecessori."

† Relatione di Const. e G. T. "Selim cominciò ad usare di fondere tutto l'oro che veniva dall' entrate de regni et farne una palla grande, quale faceva mettere rozzolando per terra dalli mufi in quella cisterna accio non rivelsessero niente."

‡ Relatione di 1594. "Nella propria camera ha fatto una buca quadra molto profonda, in guiza d'un pozzo, cinta di finissimi marmi et la via implendo tutta d'oro." The Rel. di Const. e G. T. agrees with this. "Sono le bocche serrate con tre coperchi di ferro conchiave et sopra vi sono murate da tre palmi, che non appare ci sia cosa alcuna."

§ Soranzo of his own audience: "Ciacheduno era messo in mezzo de capigi bassi cioè mastri di camera, et pigliato strettamente per le mani e maniche era condotto a piedi del signore, dove inginocchiatosi gli veniva porto da uno di loro due una manica della sua veste a baciare, il che fatto era ricondotto indietro con la faccia sempre volta verso il Signore: et intanto che si faceva questa cerimonia, passava il presente portato da i capigi, cioè da portieri, dinanzi a una finestra della camera del signore accio lo potesse vedere."

* Muradæa d'Ohsson, Tableau Général de l'emp. Ott. Code religieux, l. 95.

† Relatione di Const. e di Gran Turco. "Per obbligo di lege di stato Ottomano fa il successore strangulare tutti li fratelli maschi che si trovano nel serraglio, et se qualcuno si truova fuori, lo manda incontinentemente a far morire sino bisognando con farli guerra."

‡ lb., "Sultan Murat essendo pietoso di non poter vedere far sangue, stette 18 hore, che non volse sedere in seggio imperiale nè pubblicare la sua venuta nella città, desiderando e trattando prima di liberare li 9 fratelli maschi carnali. . . . Piangendo mandò li muti." Leunclavius and Thuanus (lib. lix.) allude obscurely to this.

§ Morosini, Rel. MS. 372. "Essendoli risposto, che Indubitamente la più difficile era questa che potevano far li Signori Ottomani con Persiani: replicò Sua Maestà, La ho in animo di far lo."

|| Gerlachius ad Haillandum, 1 Aug. 1576, in Crusii Turcoogr. 499.

stare at them with his large, lacklustre, melancholy eyes, and perhaps nod his head to them; when he had done this he went back to his garden, where in deep sequestered spots his women played before him, danced and sang, or his dwarfs made sport for him, or his mutes, awkward and mounted on as awkward horses, engaged with him in ludicrous combats, in which he struck now at the rider now at the horse, or where certain Jews performed lascivious comedies before him*.

Was this a fit head for a state founded on war, and having its existence in war?

Neither were his successors so. Our Relations are silent as to Mehemet; but we know independently of them that this weak monarch was less a ruler than he was ruled. Ahmed was nobly endowed by nature. He ascended the throne in his fourteenth year; it was not till near the end of his reign that he was a man. He then showed himself clement, active, full of noble designs. He less regretted the loss of ships taken by the Christians when they were his own than when they were the property of poor Moslem. He chose rather to declare a man insane who had thrown a stone at him, than to punish him†. He revived and maintained an incorruptible justice, and personally sifted all grievances to the bottom; highly was he revered for this by the people, who reaped the immediate benefit of these qualities. But he had far greater things still in view. Daily to be seen on horseback, in the chase, busy with the bow and quiver, his thoughts were bent on war. When he read the deeds of Soliman it seemed his longing not only to equal these but to surpass them‡.

But nothing of the kind befel. Since the empire, just then weakened by wars and insurrections, probably wanted in fact the strength for great enterprises; since the sovereign was thus perhaps withheld from actual deeds, and compelled to entertain himself with mere intentions, the result was that his mind, which could not put forth its whole force in great enterprises, was easily disgusted and satiated with pettier occupations. Unlimited power reacted singularly on Ahmed. He was neither used to encounter nor inclined to endure contradiction from others; but he constantly contradicted himself. His thoughts seemed often in direct variance with each other; he repented of his acts in the moment even of their performance; he recalled his orders in the very beginning of their execution. Even his daily life was filled with a violent spirit of unrest; there was no place, no occupation, no enjoyment in which he did not soon find dissatisfaction§.

* Relazione di 1594.

† Valleri, Relazione di Constantinopoli: "Si dimostra assai osservante della loro legge et della giustitia et del bene de suoi sudditi, il che lo fa amare del popolo tutto, et quando può avere notizia d'uno aggravio, se ne risente grandemente e ne fa la provisione. Et negli accidenti delle gallere prese da Fiorentini et Spagnuoli s'andara consolando con dire che la perdita non fosse di Mussulamani, ma toccasse al suo solo interesse. Non inchina al sangue, anzi più tosto in alcune occorrenze si è dimostrato di natura mite."

‡ "Spiriti grandi nutrice con la memoria di sultan Soliman, che va frequentemente leggendo con pensiero non pure d'imitarlo ma di superarlo."

§ Ibid. "La mal cupidità troppo cercando perde et dopo molta fatica subitamente getta quello che avidamente ha capito, et dal abbondanza delle delizie nasce la satietà et dalla satietà la nausea. La leggerezza quasi turbine volge intorno tutte le cose."

Thus all his endeavours were destined to run to waste, and his schemes to vanish in air.

Among all his successors there was absolutely but one possessed of genuine innate vigour; this was Amurath IV. But we shall see how his character turned out, and how little he was a sovereign capable of ruling a people.

In short, from the period of Soliman's unfortunate marriage with Roxolana, the organization of the Ottoman polemarchy began to lack the head in which its life was centred. The sultans continued to be emirs like their ancestors, with a warlike confederacy of slaves. What must needs have been the result, so soon as the spirit of the confederacy became alienated from the emir? If the despotism had need of the slaves, the slaves had need of the despot.

Viziers.

But can it have been that no remedy was to be found in the constitution against an evil, the inevitable occurrence of which, at least occasionally, might have been so easily foreseen?

There exists among the Ottomans an institution fitted to prevent the effects of incapacity in the sultan, the institution of the *Veziri-aa-sam*, that is of the grand vizier. This officer they are accustomed to style an unlimited deputy, an essential feature in the world's order, nay a lord of the empire*. A great portion of the public weal depends on him, since he holds the administration, and when the sultan is incapable the whole executive power, in his hands. The grand difficulty is only to find a man, who, taking upon him his master's duties, possesses likewise all the virtues which the latter wants.

Now it must be admitted that under Selim II. this power was committed to the hands of the fittest man that could be found, a Bosnian named Mehemet. He was brought from the house of his uncle, a priest of Saba, as a young slave into the serai; and there he had climbed thus high in dignity. As Selim seldom saw or spoke to any one but him; as the sultan was used to leave the whole routine of business to him, so that all propositions from foreign ambassadors, all reports from the interior of the kingdom, were submitted to him alone, and all measures in consequence were determined by him; as he had the appointment to all posts, and the disposal of all honours and dignities, as the whole body of civil and criminal jurisdiction rested with him, we may admit the truth of Barbaro's remark that he was the only ear in the empire to hear, and the only head to determine. The weal and the woe, the substance and the life of every subject were in the hands of this slave of Saba. It was matter of amazement how he contrived to fulfil all his various avocations†. Not only did he hold his public divan on the four appointed days from an early hour till noon, giving audience upon

* Hammer, Staatsverfassung der Osmanen, i. 451; ii. 84.

† Barbaro, 296: "Chi potrà dunque con ragione comprendere che basti il tempo a tante e così diverse attioni et come vi possa esser tanta intelligenza che a così importante governo supplisca? nè però è mai impedita audienza a qualsivoglia ancora che minima persona ad ogni sua commodata satisfatione." Not a trace of this whole passage is to be found in the copy of this Relazione in the Tesoro Politico, i. p. 87.

so many diverse questions that the dragoman of Venice, for example, thought it necessary to be constantly present that he might be ready with his answer on the spot, should any unexpected complaint be sent in from the frontiers; but he also gave audience in his own house both on the other days, and on these after the close of the divan. Every man, though he were the lowest, might address him; the hall was always full; yet not a sound was heard but that of the man who was stating his case, or of the secretary reading a petition. The decision was given on the spot, irrevocably, and for the most part to the satisfaction of the parties concerned. Presents of slaves and horses, of costly textures, silks, and, above all, gold flowed abundantly into his house. There was a running fountain of gold therein, says Barbaro*. Rivers of gold and silver streamed into it, says Floriani. Nor was he a man to hoard up these good things. Three thousand men ate daily at his table. In no few places in Europe and Asia were seen mosques, baths, and aqueducts, bridges and dams erected by him. He was particularly fond of founding caravanserais, in which travellers were entertained gratis for three days together with bread, rice, and meat, and also with fodder for their horses.

Mehemet was not puffed up by this fortune, this power and greatness. He is one of the noblest of his nation whose memory has come down to us. He was always found kind and pacific, sober and religious, without vindictiveness, and without rapacity. Even at the age of sixty-five his aspect was that of a hale and vigorous man, handsome in person, tall and of stately presence†.

Two things perhaps conducing to the moderation of his character. If it is one of the most difficult problems for regular constitutions to counteract the arbitrary will of the higher functionaries of state, a problem for the sake of which recourse is mainly had to them, it is on the other hand a most remarkable fact, that the problem is in a certain degree solved by despotism itself; not however by law but by caprice, by the caprice of the despot's self. Mehemet saw his fortune and his life at the mercy of any small error, any trifling fault, that might produce a bad impression on the sultan. Add to this, that at this time there were besides the grand vizier others too at the Porte, the so

called viziers of the cupola; who, though their business seemed to be chiefly to obey and execute orders, yet they sometimes, though unfrequently, had access to the sultan, as for instance, when the latter rode to the mosque, or when he held a divan on horseback, or when it was afforded them by a confederacy in the serai. Among these were two vehement opponents of Mehemet, Piali, who was also a son-in-law of Selim, and that Mustafa who decided the battle against Bajazeth, and who believed himself to possess no small claims on his master's gratitude. Sometimes they succeeded in carrying some point against him. When Selim thought of distinguishing his reign by some exploit, they were for an attack on Cyprus; Mehemet was for a bolder enterprise. The sultan's nature inclined to the easier undertaking, and its speedy success in the hands of his rivals was near bringing Mehemet into jeopardy. His intense inward emotion was visible in his face when he spoke of their persecutions*. He now took double heed to his ways. It were impossible to describe the deliberation, the forethought, with which he engaged personally in the smallest things. That he might not provoke envy he forbore from adorning Constantinople with his architectural works.

He erected there nothing but a small mosque; yet this was the monument of his misfortune. It will be remembered that he was the son-in-law of the sultan. He buried his twelve children in that mosque.

He was successful in maintaining his position at the summit of power under three sovereigns. The last two, Selim and Amurath, were indebted to him for their quiet accession to the throne. For Selim's sake he kept the death of Soliman before Siget concealed. When Selim died he made a secret of his death likewise. He privately summoned young Amurath from Asia. Mehemet welcomed him in the garden, where he arrived by night sooner than expected, and under the tree where he had sat himself down‡, and led him into the imperial apartments. How completely seemed the whole power of the empire to be then in his hands. He made the sultan sit still, they say, sent for the young man's mother, and asked her, was that her son, Sultan Amurath? when she replied in the affirmative he raised his hands to heaven, thanked God, and offered up the first prayer for the weal of the new sultan.

Now, if the arbitrary power of the sultans was not unprofitable for the viziership, so long as the former remained within certain bounds, it could not fail to be fatal so soon as it was guided rather by distrust than by prudence, and so soon as it came to be exercised too often.

* Barbaro, 287: "Hora no quali crede la S. V. siano quelle (le ricchezze) di Mehemet Bassa: poiche oltre l'infiniti donativi minori ne sono molti ancora di 20, 30 et anco di più di 52 miglia scudi l'uno; ma qui non debbo io allargarmi, lasciando che se me medesimo le S. V. lo considerino, sapendo che non si fa menzione di grado o d'altra cosa di gratia o di giustitia in quell' amplissimo imperio che egli non ne sia riconosciuto abundantemente, aggiogendovi di più che ogn' uno per essere stabilito et accresciuto di honore et d'utilità lo tributa quasi del continuo, onde si può quasi dire che sempre nella casa sua corre un fonte d'oro." Of this passage too, nine leaves before the former one, there is no trace in the printed copy.

† Barbaro: "Nelle fatiche mai manca, risponde gratamente, non s'insuperbisce per la suprema dignità che tiene, né mancò per essere genero di Signore.—Ha la moglie giovane assai bella, et con tutto che sia egli più di 65 anni, si fa però più giovane: et ogni anno fa un figliuolo, ma tutte gli muorono." Besides Barbaro we have also made use of Floriani (223—229, MS.), a classical authority as to Mehemet

* Relazione del Barbaro delli negotii trattati di lui, MS. 380. "I] Bassa in estremo si dolse di quello ch'era successo, et venendo alle lagrime si rammaricava quanto fosse da suoi emuli perseguitato, si come anco molte volte ha fatto meco con molta afflitione dell' animo suo."

‡ Morosini, Constantinopoli del 1584, MS. 353. "Trovata una galeotta gionse a mezza notte in Constantiupoli, et accostandosi al giardino del suo serraglio, non trovato il Buttigi Basso il quale havea ordine d'aprirli la porta che entra in serraglio; smontato della galeotta si ripose a sedire nel giardino fuori della mura sott' un albero, nel qual luogo di poi ha fatto fare una bellissima fontana." The rest is told at full length. A similar account is given in Sagredo, Memorie Istoriche de Monarchi Ottomanni, p. 617.

Mehemet's well-earned reputation caused Amurath III. some jealousy, and he favoured the subordinate viziers of the cupola in opposition to him *. But before this was productive of any mischief to Mehemet, he was murdered by an incensed timarli, whom he had deprived of his timar, perhaps with justice, and who made his way into the vizier's house in the disguise of a beggar. Thus fell a man with whom, as Floriani says, the virtue of the Turks descended to the grave.

At least vigour and dignity were missed in the viziers who succeeded him. Viziers of characters mutually the most opposite followed each other in rapid succession. From the hands of Achmet, first an opponent and now the successor of Mehemet, a good old man on the whole, who, above all, would not endure a thought of corruption †, the administration was transmitted to that Mustafa who had fought against Bajazeth and against Cyprus. Though seventy years old, and of fearfully repulsive aspect, with thick brows overhanging his eyes, and shadowing his swarthy features; though infamous for his cruel deeds, especially in Cyprus, Mustafa yet knew how to conceal that impetuous and violent temper, of which he had so often given proof, under polished manners, flattering speeches, and a gracious manner of reception.

For a while he exercised only the functions without the titles and dignities of his office: it is said that he laid violent hands on himself in disgust at his not receiving the seals ‡. Among the viziers of the second rank was an Albanian from the neighbourhood of Scutari, named Sinan, who alone of seven brothers had remained in the serai till he reached one of the four highest dignities, that of a chokahdar (who supports the hem of the sultan's mantle) whence a prospect opened to him of appointments to important offices. Upon this he took advantage of Mehemet's quarrel with Mustafa, to ingratiate himself with the former, and of Amurath's incipient aversion to Mehemet to make good his footing with the sultan §. The men of the west noticed in him a striking resemblance to cardinal Granvella. This is no compliment to the cardinal. Sinan paraded his shameless want of principle openly and without reserve ||, and laughed when he thought he had appalled any one by his bravadoes. It was a fact, that he had been at an earlier date successful in some warlike exploits in Arabia and on the coasts of Africa. Upon his now marching against the Persians he boasted that he would fetch away the shah from Casbin and bring him to Constantinople; and when he came back, not only without the shah, but even without hav-

ing achieved anything worth mentioning, he nevertheless bragged that he had conquered a country for fifty sandshaks. But upon his venturing to hint, as the war in Persia was proceeding unfavourably, that it needed a shah to combat a shah, —he fell into disgrace.

Totally different again in character was his successor Sciaus, a Croat, polished, agreeable, affable, courteous, and a man of address. On the day when having set out to accompany his sister to her husband *, he was waylaid by the Turks, taken prisoner along with his brother and two sisters, and carried into slavery; he had surely little hopes of such high rank and fortune as awaited him. But what an unenviable fortune it was after all. Amurath did not bear with him long.

Amurath even abandoned the consecrated custom of his predecessors, of taking their state functionaries and viziers only from among their slaves. The only leader who acquired renown in the Persian war was Othman Pacha. Though his father had been a beglerbeg, and his mother the daughter of a beglerbeg, and he was perhaps of the best blood in the empire next to the imperial family; the sultan nevertheless fixed his choice on him. Othman, however, paid but too soon with his life for his gallant enterprises in Persia.

Upon this Amurath departed still more widely from the practice of his forefathers. He turned again to the deposed vizier, but only for a short while †. Sian, Sciaus, and a third named Ferhat, were seen to relieve each other as it were by turns, and there was witnessed the establishment of a ceremony for the deposition of a vizier. A messenger from the sultan suddenly made his appearance in the apartments assigned the vizier, and having first demanded of him the seal he carried in his bosom, he made him a sign that he must begone, after which he finally clapped the door to behind him. It was opened again for the new comer, who however had soon to share the same fate. Whether it was rather distrust or caprice that induced the sultan to make such continual changes, at any rate it was believed that his conduct in this respect had much to do with his greediness for gold. Sinan sometimes gave 100,000 sequins, sometimes 200,000 to re-establish himself in his vacillating favour. The capudan Cicala made no secret of it that he must set out on a cruise for booty, to enable him to present the sultan with 200,000 sequins, otherwise he had reason to fear his dismissal; and in fact his rivals had already been summoned to the court ‡.

Things continued under the succeeding sultans as under Amurath. Under Achmed, too, we see viziers of the most opposite character following

* Soranzo, Diario MS. 465. "Venuto al imperio Sultan Amurath, cominciò Mehemet declinare della solita gratia et favore, cercando il Signore ogni occasione di levargli il credito et autorità acquistatasi in vita del padre."

† Floriani: "Haveva (Achmet) più tosto nobil natura che testa di negotii."

‡ Soranzo: "Mustafa se ne morì per disperatione, o come altri vogliono, s'attossicò, come ingratemente remunerato di tante imprese da lui condotte a felice fine."

§ The details of these matters are to be found exclusively in Soranzo.

|| Floriani: "E' Sinan ambizioso inconstante contumelioso enfiato imprudente impudente superbo e nella pratica senza nessuna sorte di maniera civile. E anche chiamato da Turchi molto avventuroso." Soranzo agrees in this unfavourable estimate of his character.

* So I understand Soranzo, 467: "Pervenuto in mano de Turchi con modo si può dire tragico, perchè accompagnando insieme con un suo fratello due sorelle a marito (this however admits of another interpretation) diede in una imboscata de Turchi.....E il più trattabile et cortese."

† Relatione di 1594: "Con diversi pretesti il più delle volte leggerii gli fa, come dicono loro, Manzoli (le nom de Mazoul répond à déplaçé, destitué, Ohsson II. 272), cioè gli depone; se ben dopo che gli ha fatto vivere un pezzo senza dignità et governo et ben mortificati, torua poi con il mezzo de danari e de presenti a ricevergli in gratia."

‡ Ibid. "Il Signore prontamente accettò il consiglio di Ferrat Bassa, che lo persuase a chiamar a Constantinopoli Giafer, famoso capitano di mare, per accrescere maggiormente al Cicala la gelosia."

each other *. Now it is a Mehemet, a pacific, quiet, only not sufficiently resolute man, who however duly hears every one, and endeavours to comprehend the arguments laid before him. Now it is a Nasuf, an irritable and violent Albanian, who gives ear to others with reluctance, is always prone to the most violent courses, and with whom the Venetian bailo complains that he has fallen into a sea of difficulties.

The consequence of this new practice was, that whilst the head of the government was constantly changed, the manner and course of the administration, and the principles and usages of the higher functionaries were unsettled and subjected to no fewer changes. Above all, it ensued that the viziers, too dependent on the caprice of the sultan, were incapable of making good the latter's faults.

If then the sultan himself happened not to be the man who could guide the state, if his vizier moreover was hindered from acquiring that independence and that stability, without which no administration is possible, on whom then devolved the conduct of public affairs, from whom did the internal movements of the state receive their impulse?

What constantly befalls Oriental despotisms occurred in this case likewise; here, too, caprice called up some one who was able to master it. A new system of government grew up, situated in the hands of the favourites within the palace, such as the sultan's mother, or his wives, or his eunuchs.

We have seen the influence exercised by Roxolana: under Amurath too the women had much sway, and Sinan maintained himself chiefly through the protection of a countrywoman of his own, an Albanian, in the harem †. But even under this sultan the weightiest affairs were in other hands than the vizier's. While all other offices were fluctuating, Capu Agassi, aga of the gate of bliss, as they phrase it, head of the household and chief of the white eunuchs, maintained his credit unabated ‡. He contrived to flatter his master's tastes, sometimes with ornaments for the female slaves of the harem, which he procured from Venice, and for which he sent at times impracticable orders §; sometimes with an agreeable present, were it only a golden vessel filled with fragrant oil. He once contrived to have a sumptuous gal-

lery erected in the serai without its being observed by Amurath: when it was finished he took him thither. It was placed in one of the most beautiful spots in that garden so remarkable for its fair situation, with a prospect over both seas. He threw it open before the eyes of the astonished sultan, and presented it to him. In this way he perfectly secured his good will. He had a thousand opportunities of turning this to account. As he alone laid petitions before the sultan, as he was the sole bearer of news to him, it was easy for him to exert an influence over his master's opinions. He often set persons at liberty who had been imprisoned by a pacha; frequently he contrived to have orders issued contradictory to others that had just preceded them, so that the pachas were thrown into confusion, and knew not what to do*.

This manner of government became gradually inveterate. One at least of his wives had so much influence over Ahmed, that he never refused her a request; she was complete mistress of his inclinations. But still greater was the influence of the kishlar aga, that is the chief of the black eunuchs, the superintendent more peculiarly of the harem. He had always the ear of the sultan, he could direct his will as he pleased: how many a project of the vizier Nasuf did he singly defeat! In outward appearance too, in manners, in the number of his servants, he was almost on an equality with his master †. It was necessary to keep well with both the favourites: to effect this was a prime endeavour with foreign ambassadors. The lady was to be won with little civilities, with rare perfumes and costly waters ‡. With the kishlar it was necessary to go more earnestly to work. Large fowl, says Valieri, require good feeding: people who have gold in abundance are not to be had at a cheap rate §.

In this way there arose, within the walls of the harem, an interest opposed to the vizier, and by which he was himself ruled, and placed, and displaced; not a general interest of the empire, nor a personal one of the sultan's, but an interest of women and of eunuchs, who now assumed the lead of this warlike state ||.

The harem possessed yet another influence. As the sultans began to give not only their sisters and their daughters, but also their slaves in marriage to the great, it followed that these women carried the manners of the serai into private houses ¶. What a wide departure was now made from the

* Valiere speaking of the time of Ahmed: "Lo stato del primo visir et d'ogni altro ministro di quel governo è lubrico assai, restando la sua grandezza appesa a debolissimo et picciolissimo filo. Avviene che o per piccolo disgusto che prende il re o pure per incontro d'altri accidenti et alle volte per brama di novità viene deposto dal governo et abbandonato e negletto, et se vivo, resta poco men che sepolto nella miseria."

† Of the female superior too of the harem, the Kadun Kitchuda, the Rel. di 1594 says: "Venetiani se vagliono molto del favore di questa donna presso il Signore, sendo hor mai chiari che ella ottiene cio che vuole et il più delle volte lo fa mutar pensiero."

‡ Ibid. "Di nazione Venetiano, nato bassamente, ma di bellissimo ingegno, è perduto Turco il quale si è tirato tanto innanzi nella gratia del Signore, che in la sola sua persona ha unito due carichi principali della camera, cioè il titolo et carico proprio del capi aga et anco di visir bassa."

§ Ibid. "Ne risente Venetia perche hora il Bailo hora mercanti Venetiani hanno da lui carichi et disegni di cose quasi impossibili, come ultimamente volse un raro cremisino che fosse semplice raro e nondimeno che avesse il fondo del rovescio d'oro, et altre cose molto difficile et di gran spesa."

* Ibid passim. That this was generally known appears from the Ragionamento del re Filippo al suo figlio, MS. which ascribes to Amurath a "seguir contrario al deliberato."

† Valieri: "Lascio in dubio veramente qual sia il re."

‡ Ibid. "Mi sono ingegnato d'insinuarmi con la regina: con alcune gentilezze, che li riuscivano care, sopra ogni altra cosa, d'odori et d'altre acque di suo gusto, l'ho resa inclinata alla casa: onde ben spesso faceva offerirmi l'opera sua."

§ Ibid. "Ma ogni spesa con questi è benissimo impiegata."

|| On this turn of the viziership see also Businello, Historical notices of the Ottoman monarchy, section xi.

¶ Relat. di 1594. "Manda alcune delle sue schiave—pregato anco della Cagianadonna, fuori, maritandole a suoi schiavi più favoriti. E di qui ha presa forza la corruttela de costumi turcheschi.....Non più sedono in terra ma in sedie di velluto e d'oro d'infinita spesa; nè si contentano d'una sola et semplice vivanda, come si usava a tempo di Solimano, ma sono introdotti li cuochi eccellentissimi, li pasticci, le torte, li mangiari composti."

old simplicity of the camp from which the nation had set out. They began to cover their seats with cloth of gold; they slept in summer on the finest silk, and in winter wrapped in costly furs. A pair of shoes belonging to a Turkish lady of rank seemed worth more than the whole dress of an European princess. In lieu of the simple fare of Soliman's time they outdid all the delicacies of Italy.

Now if this had an injurious influence from the mere fact that even the humbler classes gradually became used to live in this way, it was a still worse result that the great were compelled by their expenses, and prompted by the sultan's example, to do or suffer every thing for gold. If ever the rearing up of slaves to high places in the sultan's household had been attended with a good effect, this was now utterly destroyed. Justice was venal; every office had its price. But as every thing was liable to be lost again at any moment, the consequence was everywhere tyranny, extortion, desolation, and despair. Constantinople indeed increased; but it was because men thought themselves somewhat more secure there than under the grasp of the pachas and their feudatories, or because more was to be earned by a town trade than by agriculture. The empire declined whilst its capital increased*.

Military Forces.

If the conclusion must be admitted, that the corruption of the sultans and that of the system of government which have hitherto formed the subject of our inquiries, were related to each other as cause and effect, and were both to be traced to one origin; there were other alterations which arose independently of the former, and only co-operated with them to one result.

Important changes took place in the warlike organization itself as well as in its head; and, first, in that institution which was the core and the sinews of all the others, the institution of the janissaries.

It is very well known how important the janissaries were in the beginning; it is no less known what they came to be at last; both facts are strikingly obvious. It is less clear, but certainly not less deserving to be known, how this decay took place.

When we put together the scattered notices in our Relations, we discern some stages of this transition.

In the first place let us recollect that the janissaries were originally prohibited from marrying, and even to a late period they adhered to the custom of not suffering any woman near their barracks. On no account, says Spandugino, were they to take wives†. Despotism, like the hierarchy, required people wholly devoted to itself, separated by no care for wife or child, by no domestic hearth, from the only interests they should know, the interests of their lord. But now marriage was allowed the janissaries, and that undoubtedly as early as in Soliman's reign; at first indeed only to such of them as were less fit for actual service, or who were

stationed on the frontiers, but gradually to all without exception*. This change alone must have produced no little mutation in the habits and way of thinking of the soldiery.

But another change immediately came forth from the first, and directly threatened the very vitality of the institution. The question was, what was to be done with the children of the janissaries? The fathers demanded that their sons should be received into their body. We learn from the Relations of Giovanfrancesco Morosini, and as far as my investigation has gone, from it alone, that they obtained this favour on the accession of Selim II. to the throne. It is very well known that the grand vizier Mehemet thought it expedient to keep secret the death of Soliman before Sighet. It was not till the army had begun its march homewards after the conquest of that place, and had already reached Belgrade, not till Selim, who had set out from Asia upon the first secret intelligence sent him by Mehemet, had arrived at the same point, that the death of the late sultan and the accession of the new were proclaimed at one and the same moment†. It now happened, as Morosini relates, that Mehemet, who was never very lavish of the imperial treasure, did not bestow upon the janissaries the present usual on the accession of a sultan, particularly as they had dispersed on the march home. Incensed at this they betook themselves to their quarters, with muttered threats that they would let it be seen in Constantinople who and what they were. They arrived before the sultan; they escorted him into the capital; but when the line of march was arrived before their odalar, their quarters, they halted, stepped forth, and declared that they would not suffer the sultan to enter the serai unless he satisfied their demands. Now their demands were not only to the effect that they should be granted the accustomed gratuities, and that their pay should be raised, but what is of most importance to our present consideration, that their sons, for whom the state had already condescended to make provision, should be admitted into the janissary corps as soon as they were grown up‡. In vain the viziers dismounted from their horses to still the mutiny with fair words; in vain the aga of the janissaries went among them, with his head enveloped in the handkerchief used for strangling, and implored them not to put this insult on the sultan; the

* Soranzo, 1581: "Si maritano come più lor piace; il che gia non li era permesso se non ad alcuno posto nelle frontiere ovvero consumato delle guerre, ma tutto con licenza et gratia dell' Aga." That this was the case under Soliman, is stated in Libri tre delle cose de Turchi, Venice 1539, p. 18.

† Here likewise Morosini is exclusively our informant. "Alla qual giunta (the vizier's) ritrovandosi Sultan Selim accampato fuori della città; ricevè il corpo, al quale subito fatto secondo il costume turchesco la sua oratione, ipso facto lo consegnò ad Acmad Bassa Visir che lo dovesse condurre in Constantinopoli et seppellirlo nel giardino della sua moschea; appresso postosi Sultan Selim a sedere realmente, li fu hacciato la mano."

‡ Morosini: "Le dimande di Giannizzeri erano queste, che essendo stati dati loro solamente 2000 aspri di presente per uno et tagliati in parte il modo del accrescimento del loro soldo, fossigli accresciuto il presente sino alla somma di 3000 aspri, come avea fatto Sultan Solimano, et che il accrescimento del soldo loro fosse nel medesimo modo,—che i loro figliuoli subito nato dovessero secondo il solito essere descritti al pane et dopo cresciuti in età dovessero medesimamente essere fatti Giannizzeri."

* Relat. di 1594: "Chi non può fuggire in altro paese, si salva in Constantinopoli. Onde si inganna chi da questo argomento la grandezza del imperio, poiche imitando il corpo humano ei veggono le vene correre per tutte le parti del corpo et non allargarsi ne ramificare vicino al cuore."

† Trattato di Theodoro Spandugino de costumi de Turchi, printed in Sansovino's collection, p. 113. "I detti Genizzeri in alcun modo non possono prender moglie."

viziers were forced to give way, the aga to withdraw. They did not suffer the sultan to enter the serai till in his name, and in his presence, the aga had promised all they demanded; they did not throw open the gates till Selim once more made them the same promise with his own lips, and raised his hands above his head in testimony of his vow. They then opened the gates, fell into rank, and saluted their sovereign with a full volley from their arquebuses. The next divan ratified what had been thus granted them.

Now if it was constitutional with this body-guard to be made up of young people, who had lost all knowledge of their parental home, this principle was now decidedly violated, and that not exceptionally, but by distinct enactment. Ere long the sons of the janissaries were seen in the ranks of that corps. It was impossible that they should have undergone the full rigour of discipline that had once been enforced.

It may readily be conceived that this facilitated the passage to a third innovation. When that Persian war in which Amurath embarked, because it seemed the most arduous of all Ottoman enterprises, proved in reality to be very difficult, consumed whole armies and afforded no conquests; when it made great havoc in the ranks of the janissaries, and it was urgently necessary to recruit these in every way, it was then not enough that their sons should be admitted among them, admission was likewise granted to other native Turks, and to Mussulmen of all nations, men unpractised, undisciplined, and incapable of all discipline*. This was carried to such a pitch as to produce an internal division in the body. How should the veterans, who had borne a part in Soliman's wars, have deemed this promiscuous rabble worthy comrades in arms? There was often reason to fear that they would come to mutual hostilities.

The door was thus flung open widely to every abuse. The metamorphosis made rapid way. Under Soliman the janissaries took themselves wives; under Selim II. they had their sons enrolled among them; under Amurath III. they were forced to admit among them native Turks, of totally different descent, who had not gone through their training; under Ahmed this warlike body was already brought to such a condition, that the privates when stationed through the country or on the frontiers began to ply to trades, to engage in commerce, and, satisfied with the advantage of their name, to think little of war and arms†.

How badly now did they stand to their arms! A Frank could not refrain from laughing to see them

shoot. They clutched the stock of their piece tightly in their left hand, while with the right they applied the match; and so childish was their fear of the explosion that they hurriedly turned away their heads*. How far did they now fall short of their old invincible renown? It passed soon into a proverb, The janissary has surely a good eye and good legs, the former to see if the cavalry waver, and the latter to run away with all speed thereupon.

If the janissaries were no longer capable of defending the empire as before, they now turned against the sultan the strength and the arms they had hitherto employed against his foes. Even in former times the rigour of their discipline had not always sufficed to keep them under subjection; that rigour was now relaxed†, but their old refractoriness remained, along with their old rights and pretensions. When all those personal qualities of the several members are lost which may at some time have conferred privileges on any society or body corporate, still the spirit of the body does not depart, but clings to its prerogatives with augmenting pertinacity. The insolence of these forces was insufferable. They compelled sultan Amurath to deliver up to them deftardars and pachas to be strangled. They slew a pacha of Cyprus, and Amurath sent them another. Fearing that the new man, however complaisant he affected to be, would punish them for what they had done to his predecessor, they promised him obedience at first, and lulled him into security; then, when they saw their opportunity, they surrounded him and his staff, and killed them all‡. Thus were the slaves become tyrants.

One question now remains, when did the practice cease of pressing Christian boys into the service of the palace? It may be supposed that this was gradually abandoned from the time native Turks began to be employed. Marsigli, who made his observations in 1680, assures us, that the custom had long fallen into desuetude§. Valieri, on the other hand, whose Relatione belongs to the year 1618, describes it as in full operation. We must conclude therefore that it was left off between 1630 and 1650. I find no trace of it in the Relatione of 1637. This was unquestionably the greatest good fortune that befel the Greeks. How could they have entertained a thought of rising, nay of at all sustaining themselves as a body, had the practice of regularly carrying off the flower of their youth into slavery been persisted in? It is not till after this usage had ceased, not till the seventeenth century, that we first meet with a

* Relatione di 1594: "Gia scelti homini fatti d'ogni nazione—non hanno in loro altro che crudeltà, insolenza et disobbedienza verso li capi loro." Discorso dello stato del Turco, in the Tesoro politico i, 99. "Sono stati anco ascritti al luogo dei Giannizzeri nati Turchi contra l'ordine invecchiato di quella porta, che non ha mal usata, se non per straordinario favore, di far Giannizzero nessun altro se non rinegato."

† Valieri: "Resta assai alterata questa militia et nella gente et nella disciplina; perche molti Turchi nativi sono ascritti in luogo d'altri, et la maggiore parte è sparsa nel paese, che fattasi con la nostra voce casalinghi attendono alla mercantia et ad ogni commercio senza curarsi d'altro, bastandoli il commodo che apporta il nome de Giannizzeri, che è grande." Perhaps the gradations of the change will sometime or other be more accurately intelligible from more circumstantial accounts.

* Relat. di 1637: "Un tenero figliuolino si mostrerebbe più ardito."

† Relat. di 1594: "La militia e rilassata da quella prima et ottima sua disciplina; perche la falange de Giannizzeri, da cui valore sono sempre dependuti tutti li acquisti di questo imperio, a pena ritiene la prima imagine; non essendo più educati con quella esatta disciplina, passando per quei cimenti che solevano li vecchi. . . Per il che non è maraviglia che siano pieni li avvisi di tante scelerità da loro commessi sino in Constantinopoli su gli occhi del signore et sotto il medesimo Sinan Bassa."

‡ Leunclavii Supplementum Annalium Turcorum, p. 93.

§ Marsigli, dello stato militare, i. c. 6, p. 27. "Ad istanza de timarli, de siameti, de beg et beglerbeg è molto tempo che fu levato quel crudel tributo che queste nazioni Christiane doveano dare con un certo numero di figli."

klepht, celebrated in the national songs, Christos Milionis*.

It is self-evident that these great changes, decisively influencing the whole constitutional economy of the empire, must have extended to the other slaves destined to the sultan's service. As early as the times of Selim II. the custom ceased of entrusting the higher offices of state exclusively to the Christian-born slaves brought up in the serai. Barbaro says, the sons of Turks are now admitted to these offices by a pernicious stretch of partiality; an irregularity disapproved of by many, and which in his opinion was sure to be pernicious to the empire†. And in fact it was not long before a dearth of able men was thought to be evident. Only as the sultan still continued to keep the serai full of slaves, come whencesoever they might, as with the natural leaning of every despot he went on bestowing the highest stations on favourite slaves, the revolution could not be so complete in this case as in the others.

It is easy too to see that the janissaries would necessarily communicate their own corruption to the sipahi at the Porte. The Persian war had a twofold mischievous effect on the sipahi, since it not only cost them men, but also completely ruined that excellent breed of horses they had hitherto employed, and which had contributed not a little to their renown. Among the sipahi too were admitted native Turks and people of all sorts‡; they too were always prompt to mutiny. In the year 1589 they compelled Sultan Amurath to reinstate Sinan, who had recently been dismissed, in the rank of grand vizier§.

The condition of the timars was not very intimately connected with what we have been considering; but they too could not escape participation in the general corruption. I find no account, either in print or in manuscript, of the manner in which they underwent change. It is fortunate therefore that there exist two unquestionably genuine reports by Turks, which throw some light on the subject. Aini, a feudal officer under Sultan Ahmed, remarks that in old times it had been almost impossible for any other than the son of a sipahi to obtain a timar; but subsequently this regulation had fallen into neglect, and even the lowest persons made pretensions to be timarli||. The question is how and when did this occur? If I am not mistaken this may be discovered from a decree of Soliman¶. He is given to understand, he says in that document, that the sons of the raajas who had obtained fiefs, were excluded from the timars under the pretence that they were foreigners, that they were plundered of their berat, that is their patents, and that contrivances were used to obtain firmans to eject them. He strongly censures this, "How should the inhabitants of my territories and states," he says, "be foreigners with respect to each other? Sipahi and raajas are alike

my servants, and should dwell quietly beneath the bounteous shadow of my favour." From this it is to be inferred, that the inferior classes had obtained under Soliman, and with his approval, those advantages of which Aini complains. He complains because this innovation undoubtedly gave occasion to a multitude of irregularities. It is not well to alter or meddle too much with institutions on the steady subsistence of which rests the stability of a state. The consequence of these innovations was, that the sandshaks and pachas, indebted for their own promotion to the sultan's inclination to favour his slaves, imitated the example, and seized the opportunity to bestow fiefs on their own slaves, often worthless fellows. Having once succeeded in this they went further. They had already begun to apply the timars more to their own service than to that of the state; they now made them wholly subservient to their own profit, without maintaining the troops required by law. It was soon noticed in the serai how profitable this was to them; but those who might have stopped the abuse, instead of doing so indulged in it themselves. What had hitherto been done only by the governors of provinces, was now practised by the central authorities. They began to dispose of the timars as gratuities, without regard to their military destination*. Then followed gradually what Aini complains of, that for the space of twenty or thirty years no muster was held, that a sandshak, instead of a hundred sipahi scarcely furnished fifteen, and that frequently not a tenth part of those registered in the books were actually forthcoming†. A chief cause of Nasuf's fall was that he attempted to stem this disorder. He employed for a while twenty scribes daily to aid him in his inquiries and in preparing new books, so that he might insist on the maintenance of the due number of sipahi‡. But great loads, says Valieri, are not easily moved; he who attempts to divert rivers from their course exposes himself to danger. Nasuf was unable to abolish the abuse; the attempt proved his ruin.

Thus we see the three foremost soldieries of this state fall simultaneously into manifest decay. They show plainly enough in themselves how this happened. Still the corruption of the other institutions had also assuredly an important influence upon them. A state is so intimately interwoven as a whole, that the fatal evil which has seized on one part over-spreads the rest. The thing occurs, without our being able to say precisely how it occurs.

Frontiers.

It is certain that under Soliman the Ottoman empire, as it surpassed all others in intrinsic strength, so likewise was it more threatening than any other power to the rest of the world.

* Valieri: "Il numero è impossibile che si sappia; perche molti timari si sono perduti per la disabitazione del paese; molti sono posseduti dalle fatture del serraglio, avuti in assegnamento di propria entrata; et molti viene detto esser tenuti anco dalli medesimi Visiri et Grandi della porta et del serraglio e de suoi ministri che con favore nelle vacanze facilmente se ne impadroniscono."

† Aini's Kanunname, Hammer i, 372.

‡ Valieri: "Volse Nasuf, già primo Visir, venir indietro di questo negotio et deputò più di 20 scrivani per caverne l'intero et farne un nuovo catasto, per ritrovare il numero et reintegrarlo. . . Ma la moltitudine interessata non ammette nè vuole regola, ma ben spesso cambio la novità con la testa dell'autore."

* Τραγούδια Ῥωμαϊκῆ, p. 2.

† "Ben è vero che a questi tempi con corruttela et scandalo si va introducendo con favor figliuoli de Turchi."

‡ Relat. di 1594: "Così hanno perduti non pure quei vigorosi cavalli ma anco le razze; et però sendo fatti li spahi d'ogni sorte d'uomini. . . teme tanto più il Signore che questa gente povera et avida desiderì mutazione di stato."

§ Sagredo, Memorie de Monarchi Ottomani, 683.

|| Kanunname of Aini, Hammer, Staatsverf. der Osm. i. 372.

¶ Kanunname to the beglerbeg Mustafa, Hammer i, 3. 50.

It nevertheless appears from our investigations, that under this very same Soliman the internal strength of this empire became afflicted with grave maladies. Under him the influence of women in the harem first gained the ascendancy; under him those edicts were issued that gave the chief occasion to the change in the disposition of the timars; under him the janissaries began to have wives; through him it came to pass that the least worthy of his sons ascended the throne. Nor was this all. If a state has been founded on conquest, if it has hitherto known no pause to its progressive conquests, can any one doubt that the shock to it will be severe when the progress is stayed, and conquest ceases? Under Soliman, warlike and victorious as he was, the empire yet began to have boundaries. In the east he encountered in Persia a weak people indeed, that intrinsically was by no means able to cope with him, but still a people who venerated their shah as a god, and even made vows to his name in their sicknesses*, that left their territory widely exposed to the foe, but not till they had first laid it waste, so that the assailants could never reach the fugitive defenders, and had enough to do to avoid being themselves assailed on their retreat. Christendom was Soliman's other foe, and it must be owned it was weakened by internal dissensions. Now if the establishment of the Austro-Spanish power was in any point of view a fortunate thing for Christendom, it was so inasmuch as it was fitted by circumstances, and had inherent strength enough, to resist the Turks at once in Africa, Italy, and Hungary. In this way it has earned the gratitude of all Christian nations. It crossed and resisted both the directions taken by the Turkish power in its outspread westward, the continental and the maritime. What tedious sieges were required to capture single small towns in Austrian Hungary! What vast efforts were made to no purpose before Malta! Those two nations, that had once set bounds to the broad empire of the Romans, the German, namely, and the Persian, should these be subjugated by the Turks, by whom they were now both assailed?

Such by all means were the hopes of the Turks and the fears of the rest of the world. If decay was present, it was little more than an alteration in the moral impulses still lurking within, and not to be at once discerned either by friend or foe.

When Selim II. came to the throne, two enterprises presented themselves to him, both in that maritime direction towards the west which Mahomet II. had opened. The one was against Spain†, the prime foe of the Muhamedan name; an enter-

prise glorious for its boldness even should it fail, but should it prosper, one that promised the grandest results. That kingdom was just then thrown into serious peril by the insurrection of the Moors, whose numbers were computed at 85,000 families. They even sent repeatedly to Constantinople, and most urgently besought the aid of their brethren in faith. The other enterprise was against Venice and Cyprus. The Venetians had been peaceful, compliant, almost submissive, always with presents in their hands for the sultan and his vizier. If the capudan when cruising abstained from piracy in their waters, they were never slack in remembering it to him. They were of all foreigners the most liberal to the dragomans, as the latter remarked in their books*. Cyprus was already half subdued, and as an Egyptian fief yielded a tribute of 8000 ducats. Here there were no oppressed Muhamedans, nor any great glory to be acquired. On the contrary, it would be necessary to break a peace just sworn.

Sultan Selim did not ponder what were the manifold, the grandest enterprises, and the most useful to his fellow believers; he only considered what might be the easiest, the surest, and the nearest conquest. A landing could hardly be prevented in Cyprus. If it came then to sieges, as it would be sure to do, how should any resistance be made by the capital Nikosia? the reason for making which town the capital was merely that it lay between mountains that tempered the heat of the climate. The fall of Nikosia would necessarily infer that of the whole island. Some even went the length of supposing that Venice would never engage in earnest war for the defence of Cyprus†; it had too urgent need of Turkish goods for its commerce, and of Turkish corn for its sustenance. In spite of the repeated and strenuous opposition of Mehmet, and often as the mufti called attention to the distresses of the unfortunate Moors, distresses it was the sultan's indefeasible duty to relieve, still Selim's unwarriorlike ambition decided for the attack on Cyprus; his army embarked, landed, conquered the capital, and took the island.

And now, strange to say, the easier undertaking proved to be attended with more dangerous consequences than could ever have ensued from the more difficult one.

Had Spain been attacked, Venice would never have resolved on lending that country her strenuous aid; the neighbourhood of the Turks on all her frontiers would have been too alarming to allow of this‡. But when Venice was attacked,

dimostrando quanto maggior gloria e profitto dovesse appor-
tarli quella impresa."

* Navagero, Relazione: "Ibraimbei (Dragomano) m'ha detto molte volte, haver veduto il libro di Sanusbei, ove erano scritti li doni che li facevano tutti li principi et altri che negoziavano a questa porta, e ritrovato che niun altro li dava tanto ne così spesso come la Signoria di Venetia, al che molte volte ho riposto che così la Signoria vuole trattare li suoi buoni amici."

† Barbaro delli negotii trattati: "Niun altra causa haveva mosso più l'animo del Signore al tentare l'impresa di Cipro che il persuadersi d'ottenere la cession di quel regno senza contrasto d'armi; sì come i maggiori della Porta si lasciavano chiaramente intendere, mossi sì per la poca estimatione che tacevano delle forze di questa repubblica come anco per il timido modo col quale s'era seco proceduto."

‡ This is hinted at in Avvertimenti di Carlo V. al re il Filippo II. "Che sia il Turco per rompere prima con i

* Relazione di Mr. Vincenzo delli Alessandri delle cose da lui osservate nello regno di Persia, MS. Berol.: "Si tiene felice quella casa che può avere qualche drappo o scarpe di esso Re, ovvero dell' acqua dove egli si ha lavato le mani, usandola contra la febbre. Non pur i popoli, ma i figliuoli e Sultani parendoli, di non poter ritrovare epiteti convenienti a tanta grandezza, gli dicono: Tu sei la fede nostra et in te crediamo: così si osserva nelle città vicine fino a questo termine di riverenza, ma nelle ville e luoghi più lontani molti tengono che egli, oltre l'havere lo spirito della profetia, riusciti li morti et faccia altri simili miracoli."

† Mehmet was in favour of this enterprise. Relazione dello stato: "Concetto già fu di Mehmet di assaltare la Spagna per gettare sopra di lei li Mori." . . . Relazione di Barbaro delli negotii trattati da lui con Turchi per lo spatio di sei anni, MS. "Mehemet proponendo con buone ragioni il soccorrere i Mori in Spagna ribellati dal re catholico,

since it was the interest of Philip II. to keep the war, which would otherwise have threatened him at home, in remote waters, the consequence was, a confederation of the two maritime powers. It was joined by the pope; three fleets stood-together to sea to meet the Turks.

The naval like the military force of the Turks was constituted with a view to continuous conquest. The timars in the islands, the holders of which served in the fleet, were similar to those on the mainland. The Turks ruled the Mediterranean in war and piracy ever since that day in the year 1538, when Chaireddin Barbarossa attacked with wonderful daring, and vanquished the far superior fleet of the Christians at Prevesa. They believed that the Christians would never venture again to stand before them in open fight. This superiority endured till the year 1571. The individual must often stand for the whole; the vicissitudes in human events are often determined by the talent and the will of one distinguished man. The Turks were now confronted by a youth who for daring, energy, fortune, and grand conceptions might well be compared with Chaireddin Barbarossa; this was Don John of Austria. The Christians were victorious under his command; the Turks had no equal to oppose to him; the day of Lepanto broke down the Ottoman supremacy.

But it must not be supposed that the maritime power of the Turks was nothing before Chaireddin's time, and that it was instantaneously reduced again to nothing by Don John. Growth and decay are the slow work of time; those two remarkable days only mark two great crises.

The Turks lost all their old confidence after the battle of Lepanto*. They were soon conscious of the vices in their naval system. The grand defect was, that they would only condescend to bear arms, leaving all the rest to slaves†. Slaves were compelled to build their ships, and these men, as it was not their own affair, carelessly employed unseasoned wood: the consequence was, that the vessels, however handsomely they might be constructed in other respects, were prone to leak, and that usually out of several hundred galleys, hardly fifty were to be found seaworthy. They employed slaves linked in a chain to navigate their vessels. But as they nevertheless treated their crews as slaves, that is to say not as men, the

majority of them perished. Barbaro saw the fleet return five times, and each time completely unmanned. Under these circumstances, if ever they came to an engagement, the captains had no longer the prospect of making prizes before them, but might foresee the loss of their slaves to the enemy, if they were faithful, or their insurrection if they were not so. There was nothing they more dreaded than coming to close quarters with the Christians in the open sea.

The bad condition of the fleet, the worthlessness of the working crews, and that spiritless temper of the armed men, which first made glaringly obvious all those other defects that had before been covered by courage and good fortune, lastly, the enormous costs of equipment, for a long while made Selim's successors averse to enterprises of magnitude by sea, and necessarily produced a pause in this branch of the Turkish conquests.

But as yet there was no cessation to their continental efforts. The lust of dominion over the world was too deeply rooted in the minds of these sultans. Though himself so unmanly, and under such unmanly guidance, Amurath nevertheless carried on continual wars for conquest, and this freely and spontaneously, to the no small diminution of the treasures he amassed with such eagerness*. He would never grant a peace except upon the most unequal conditions. That love of conquest, which covets only the acquisition of territory, whether it be that it takes delight in the active occupations of war, or that it may be indulged without the necessity of leaving home, is equally insatiable as voluptuous lust or the greed of gold; it seems to depend upon the self-same principle in the mental constitution as these two passions.

Be this as it may, Amurath embarked in two wars, the Persian and the Hungarian, that eventually exhausted the best energies of the empire. The two presented him with totally distinct difficulties. In Persia he had to do with a country destitute indeed of castles and towns, but likewise without villages or inhabitants for a space of six or seven days' journey†. His troops no doubt marched unresisted through wide tracts of this purposely devastated frontier land; they established themselves beyond it in Shirvan, built vessels in Temicarp, and navigated the Caspian, and even founded a fortress in Tauris, above the lofty mountain range that divides Iran from Mesopotamia. Yet these were no conquests to afford means of filling treasuries and building mosques. Even the country which the conquerors held with some degree of security was not capable of being divided out into timars. For as the remnants of the inhabitants either fled to the mountains, where they defied control, or into the interior of Iran, where there was no getting at them; there remained no subjects either to maintain the timari and his

Venetiani che con voi, non è verisimile, perche potrebbe stimare che in tal caso avrebbero insieme ancora voi; ove rompendo primo con voi, può sperare che i Venetiani si sieno almeno stare di mezzo, sì per la loro desistenza già tant'anni dall'armi, sì ancora per haverli esser fite l'unghe adosso et quasi il freno in bocca posto per rispetta dell'isola di Candia et di Cipri."

* Barbaro: "E' levata non solo a Turchi quella superba impressione che Christiani non ardirebbono affrontarli, ma in contrario sono al presente gli animi loro talmente oppressi da timore che non ardisono affrontarsi con gli nostri, confessando essi medesimi che le loro gallerie sono in tutte parte inferiori alla bontà delle nostre, così di gente più atta al combattere, come dell'artiglieria et di tutte altre cose pertinenti alla navigazione; et veramente è così."

† Floriani: "I Turchi non hanno applicato il pensiero a nessun esercito e massimamente a quello delle cose maritime." Barbaro: "Nelle cose maritime non hanno li Turchi vocabolo della lingua loro, ma tutti sono greci o franchi." [The Turks have not a single naval term proper to their own language, but all borrowed from those of the Greeks or the Franks.]

* Relat. di 1594. "Ha bisognato il paese tenere in freno con forti, che costano ad esso Amurath un tesoro. . . . Del quale rispetto si valsero assai gli emuli di Mustafa, mostrando che egli con poco guidio aveva diviso di pigliar la porta della Persia, poichè si è scoperto che questo è un tarlo et una ruina perpetua all'erario del Signore."

† "Le fortezze del Re di Persia sono al presente l'haver fatto disertare i paesi verso i confini del Turco per ogni parte in sei o sette giornate di cammino, et quelli castelli che vi erano li ha fatto ruinare per assicurarsi tanto più." Vincenzo degli Alessandri, Relazione di Persia.

horse, or to pay the capitation tax. Amurath had to make up his mind to build castles, and to pay the garrisons out of his privy purse*. Only the longing to possess every country that had ever borne the hoof-prints of Ottoman horses, only the illusive belief that he was destined to be lord of the east and of the west, could ever have induced him to prosecute wars in which his people had to contend more with hunger and the inclemency of the elements than with the sword of the foe; and in which his generals had to strive no less against the mutiny of their own men than against the resistance of the enemy. Ere long too the dissensions of the Persian princes, which had hitherto been subservient to the success of the Turks, came to an end, and the throne of Persia was ascended by Shah Abbas, a very different man from these descendants of Othman, affable and estimable, energetic, brave in the field, and victorious †; a sovereign who, after successful wars in Khorasan, allying himself with those Georgians who boasted that every man of them was a match single handed for five Turks, soon won back the lost frontiers. They used to say in the sixteenth century, that these frontiers were for the Turks what Flanders was for Spain.

But if the sultan had some partial success in Persia, at least in the beginning, this was not the case in Hungary. The dreams of his commanders of carrying the dominion of the Porte into Germany and Italy, or at the least of conquering Bohemia ‡, were crossed by difficulties, different in kind from those encountered in Persia, but no less formidable. These were the military dispositions on the frontiers, important fortresses, and, in the beginning at least, the decisive hostility of Transylvania, and the vacillating temper of Wallachia §. This is not the place to go into the history of this war. It is clear that the Ottoman conquests had met with that check, which it was foreseen even in Soliman's time they would one day sustain. The Persians and the Germans remained unvanquished. Thus then the main lines of march pursued by the Ottoman victories being three, one by sea in the Mediterranean, and two by land, in the east and in the north-west, we see that in all three they halted, in the first under Selim, and in the last two under Amurath.

* Relazione dello stato etc. di 1594, f. 495. "Li soldati turchi non vogliono accettar timari, poiche non hanno il modo di far lavorare i terreni, con i quali possano nutrire i cavalli descritti per nuovi timarioti in augmento dell' esercito. Le gabelle delle paese acquistati non rendono alcun utile. Onde conviene ad Amurath pagare li presidii dal suo Casna."

† Giacomo Fava, Lettera scritta in Spahan a dì 20 Luglio, 1599. Tesoro politico ii. 258.

‡ Relat di 1594: "Iattavano di voler passare l'Austria et voler andare in Bohemia, nel qual regno havevano molte loro spie per torre in nota li fiumi, le fortezze et il sito del paese, sperando per quella loro alterezza turchesca di acquistar facilmente tutti quei paesi mettendo inanzi al Signore che con questi si farebbe richissimmo il suo esercito." [They boasted that they would overrun Austria and enter Bohemia, in which kingdom they had numerous spies reconnoitring the rivers, the fortresses, and the posture of the country, hoping, with their Turkish arrogance, that they would easily acquire all those territories, and suggesting to the grand signor how much these would enrich his army.]

§ Laurentii Soranzii Ottomanus, in Conring's collection, is classical on this head. See also Anonymi Dissertatio de statu Imperii Turcici ejusmodi sub Amuratho fuit, in the same collection, particularly p. 325.

Posture of the empire under Amurath IV.

Wholly altered was now the aspect of the Ottoman empire from that presented in former times. That inward energy was lost which had knit together the military monarch and his army and fitted them for continuous conquests. The helm of state was in the hands of favourites within the serai, of women and eunuchs. The sovereign's body guards, that had once given him victory and security, were now destitute of their ancient valour and discipline. Neighbouring nations had no more reason to dread the Osmanlis than any other foes, and might sit down more at ease, relieved from their former incessant mortal combats for freedom or bondage.

But the elements of this state, that before had worked together to such mighty achievements abroad, now turned their force against each other in intestine strife.

It has been repeatedly asserted, that the old notion of the sultan's unlimited authority was erroneous; that he was restricted now by the hierarchy of the ulemas, and now by the power of the soldiery*. And in point of fact both these often gave their lord and chief no little trouble.

But if it be considered that the sultan is first iman and khalif, of whom an article of faith declares that he is invested with absolute authority, that every one is subordinate to him, and that none must be recognized as co-ordinate with him †; a second, that he needs neither be just, nor virtuous, nor in other respects free from blame ‡; and finally, a third asserts that neither tyranny on his part nor other faults justify his subjects in deposing him §: if these things be considered, how were it possible to withstand him without rebellion, that is, without violation at once of his person and of the law? When Amurath IV. annulled a first principle of Muhammadanism, and allowed the use of wine, did the ulemas, who should have been the guardians of the holy law, resist him? The mufti, the head of the whole hierarchy, is after all but the deputy of the sultan, who appoints him and can depose him at pleasure ||.

Had the soldiery then the right of resisting, either by themselves or in concert with the ulemas? Muradgia remarks that every revolution affecting the throne was still invariably regarded as illegitimate, as an offence against the consecrated majesty of the sovereign.

The truth is, that people take in practice the right that is not conceded them by theory. The sovereign shall command without restriction; the subject shall obey unconditionally: but it frequently happens that the latter feels strong enough to

* After Marsigli, particularly Toderini, Literature of the Turks, vol. i. p. 64.

† Omer Nesséfy's Catechism, with Sadeddin's Explanations, article 33.

‡ Omer Nesséfy, article 36.

§ Ibid. art. 37, ap. Muradgia d'Ohsson, Tableau etc. i. p. 95.

|| Muradgia: Du Scheik-ul Islam ou Mouphty, Tableau etc. ii. p. 259. Relazione di 1637: "Di poi che il Gransignore ha privato di vita il predecessore di questo (Mufti) conoscendo non voler la legge superiore alla sua volontà, deposta ogni autorevole forma di trattare, si serve di commissione." [Since the grand signor put the predecessor of the present Mufti to death, the latter, seeing that the grand signor would own no law superior to his own will, has laid aside all pretensions to authoritative conduct, and is all submission.]

defy the sovereign's will, and the sovereign feels too weak to enforce his commands. It then comes to a struggle between the commander and the commanded.

After the death of Ahmed I. it seemed as though the janissaries would completely subjugate the throne and seize the power of disposing of it as they pleased. Ahmed had been clement enough to spare his brother Mustafa. The latter was idiotic, so much so that his unconnected words were thought to embody oracles*. Notwithstanding this, the janissaries brought him forth and set him on the throne of the sultans, which till then had never passed but from father to son. It was their pleasure soon afterwards to depose him again, and to enthronize Othman, the son of Ahmed. No one ever felt more burdened by their intolerable fraternity than Othman. But when he showed symptoms of an inclination to withdraw from them (it is said he wished to transfer the seat of empire to Damascus or Cairo) they instantly rallied against him, and brought out his idiot uncle, dragging him up with a rope from the subterranean dungeon in which he lay as it were entombed. He thought they brought him forth to die; but death was destined for his nephew, the throne for him. It may easily be imagined how he filled it. We are told, though I know not whether we are to understand the story in a proverbial or in a literal sense, that he flung money into the sea, saying that the fishes ought to have something to spend†. He made most serious inroads on the treasures collected by Selim and Amurath. At last the janissaries bethought them, and set him aside for Amurath IV., Ahmed's second son.

But with him they became involved in deadly strife. Amurath on arriving at manhood possessed extraordinary bodily strength and agility. He was one of the best of riders, and sprang with ease from the back of one horse to another's. He flung the djereed with unfailling precision; he drew the bow with such force that the arrow shot further than the ball from the hunter's gun, and he is said to have sent it through an iron plate four inches thick‡. In other respects there was little to distinguish him. Whilst his mother (whom the author of our report found in her forty-fifth

year still beautiful and engaging, and besides this good-natured, virtuous, wise, and above all bountiful) continued to maintain the influence she had acquired under Ahmed, whilst the viziers were changed after every less prosperous campaign, and the soldiery fluctuated between mutiny and obedience, he himself passed his time in his athletic exercises, or surrounded with buffoons and musicians he indulged in wine, which he loved to a drunken excess. At last it was a great insurrection of the sipahi and the janissaries that gave his character its final bent. The insurgents murdered all who then possessed his confidence, the grand vizier, the aga of the janissaries, the deftardar, and even a boy, merely because he was liked by the sultan. He resolved to punish them*. Not being able to do this by open force, he had the ringleaders secretly assassinated one after the other, and their corpses were often seen at morning floating upon the sea. In this way he got rid of them assuredly, but the passion for murder was thus awakened within him. Perhaps it is not an erroneous supposition, that after these private executions had given him the first taste for blood, he was confirmed in it by the desire for amassing treasure to which they afforded aliment. What could well have been more profitable to him than the execution of one of his grandees! That of Rezep Pacha alone brought him in a million. This opinion cannot however be affirmed with certainty: the most pernicious passions are those that take most rapid possession of the soul; but true it is, at all events, that he was filled with a raging thirst for blood. This was evident even in the chase. His pleasure was not in the pursuit of the game; this was driven together by many thousand men, and his whole delight was in slaughtering it when thus collected. It was computed in the year 1637, that he had executed 25,000 men within the last five years, and many of them with his own hand. He was now terrific to behold. His savage black eyes glared threateningly in a countenance half hidden by his dark brown hair and long beard; but never was its aspect more perilous than when it showed the wrinkles between the eyebrows. His skill with the javelin and the bow was then sure to deal death to some one. He was served with trembling awe. His mutes were no longer to be distinguished from the other slaves of the serai, for all conversed by signs. While the plague was daily carrying off fifteen hundred victims in Constantinople, he had the largest cups brought from Pera, and drank half the night through, while the artillery was discharged by his orders†.

* Ibid. "Comprobando la mia opinione l'essere lui vissuto con assai placida et humana natura sin al 1652, havendo promosso et eccitato alla strage l'arroganza et insolenza delle sue milizie, quando con così poco rispetto et timore del Signore loro et disprezzo della legge propria volsero che nelle mani gli desse vivi per stratiarli a lor modo il Visir grande, l'aga de Ghanizzeri, un suo favorito garzone, per il quale pianse nel darlo dirottamente, et il Gran Tesoriero del Divano o Camerlengo, che vogliamolo dire."—Siri, Mercurio, libro I. p. 173, displays on the whole but moderate acquaintance with the subject.

† Ibid. "Non passan due mesi che ho inteso per lettere da quelle parti, che discorrendo un giorno (Amurath) con un suo favorito della peste che allora andavo pubblicando i progressi suoi con ascendere a somma di mille et cinquecento et seicento il giorno, . . . disse, che lasciasse che Dio nella stagione d'estate castigasse i cattivi, che poi nel

* Relazione di 1637: "Andando da lui per interpretatione di sogni et per altre risposte, come gli antichi facevano con oraculi, a quali mentre spropositatamente risponde senza alcuno imaginabile senso, tengono vi si includono gran misteri nel oscurità di quel dire, venerandolo come profetico."

† Ibid. "Nel corso di pochi mesi che per fortuna potè impugnar lo scettro, rese così povera la camera imperiale che Murad suo nepote, quando all' imperio fu assunto, non haveva denaro per fare alle milizie il solito donativo: et cio perche Mustafa in grandissima copia a tutti ne prestava, dandone sino agli pesci del mare, dicendo che era bisogno che havessero ancora loro da spendere." See also Majolino Bosaccioni, Vite d'alcune Imperatori Ottomani, in Sansovino's collection, edition of 1654, p. 345.

‡ Ibid. "Gioca di zagaglia con non poca maestria, così fieri colpi menando che alcuna volta lo scherzo tramutato in tragedia ha più della battaglia che del gioco o dello spasso: non potendosi alcuno agguagliare alla robustezza del braccio suo, col quale piega sì facilmente la durezza di ogni arco che sbarra la saetta più lontana che fa la palla d'un archibuzzo di caccia; havendo alcuna volta per sperimentar la sua forza, trapassato con frezza una lastra di ferro grossa quattro et più dita." The accounts in Kantemir (Osman. Geschichte, i. 380) are in a style of eastern hyperbole.

Violent remedies may be of good effect against deeply rooted evils. But in this man murder was no longer a means, but an indulgence. It is not thus that states are renovated.

Nor did it prove so in his case. His excessive rigour undoubtedly tamed the refractory soldiery. Along with the use of coffee and tobacco he forbade them those meetings in which they sat whole days giving themselves up to those half-exciting, half-stupifying indulgences, and plotting together*.

He compelled the sipahi to change their dress at his pleasure, and he cleared the streets of their noise and turbulence. He turned out the unserviceable members of the janissary corps, and forced the efficient men to take the field in spite of their dispensations. He restored order in the timars that were dispensed from the serai. But with all this he could not bring back courage and victory to his troops. The sipahi missed the bounty of former sultans, and as their pay was not sufficient for them, they often abandoned pay and service together. The janissaries seemed now made to strike terror into the men of the west only by their looks and their shouts, not by their arms. In presence of the enemy they displayed neither training nor courage. Their aga having marched on one occasion from Constantinople with the whole body of the janissaries, he reached Aleppo with only three thousand, the rest having all gone off by the way. The posts in the army which were formerly coveted with eagerness and sought for by bribery and every other means, were now as sedulously shunned. The earliest condition of the Ottoman army was now brought back, and the timarli once more appeared as its choicest portion. But even the best of them, those who were posted on the Hungarian frontiers, and kept in practice by the continual wars, were no great soldiers; the Christians congratulated themselves, that, luckily for the faithful, God had given the Turks but little ability†. Their battle array was compared to the aspect of a bull; threatening, seemingly perilous, but to be overcome with judgment and address by a far inferior force. No great achievements could be looked for under this condition of the army, in which the less important household troops of the sultan, and those belonging to the pachas, now found opportunity to push themselves forward. Amurath made a campaign for the recovery of

Bagdad, and he actually captured the city; but if he did, it was only by driving back the fugitive soldiers to the fight with his sword, and killing his vizier with his own hand.

But, after all, strong and self-sustained as Amurath might seem, he was not free from the influence of the serai. He divested his pious mother indeed of her credit and authority, and twice banished her to the old palace. She had nothing in her power unless it were to mitigate the effects of some of his evil deeds by presents, or to redeem unfortunate debtors from prison, that she might thereby obtain the blessings of Heaven for her son. But, on the other hand, he gave himself up without reserve to his favourites. There are a multitude of stories about his fondness for the drunken Mustafa. Our Relatione mentions his silahdar, a Bosnian, who enjoyed his full favour. Amurath gave him a special body guard of 3000 men, who were implicitly at his command, and exalted him so that he would no longer attend the divan, because he was too proud to pay deference to the grand vizier, and he bestowed his daughter upon him. The sultan used to say, that this man was perfectly on a par with himself. Indeed, whoever made a present to the master did not forget the servant; the one would have been in vain without the other.

We know that the sultan loved gold. We are assured that neither prayers nor intercessions, neither law nor justice availed with him so much as gold, for which he displayed a thirst there was no allaying*. There was no need of seeking sumptuous stuffs or costly manufactures for him; the number of purses presented to him was all he looked too. Hence every one strove to appear poorer than he really was. The use of gold and silver utensils was shunned; men hid their money, and dreaded lest they should provoke the sultan's two passions at once, his rapacity and his thirst for blood.

Such was the manner in which Amurath swayed the state. Undoubtedly he filled his exchequer; undoubtedly he secured his personal safety, and he died in his bed as padishah. But the means of terror that made him secure paralyzed the energies of the empire; the sword that won him wealth robbed the realm of those men, of those names that awed Christendom†.

Conclusion.

The Ottoman empire was founded not by a people, not by a ruling stock, nor yet by soldiers freely combined; but, if we are not wholly mistaken, by a lord and his bondsmen. Like the khalifs, whom we picture to ourselves with the Koran in one hand and the sword in the other, this warlike family, filled with a wild religious delusion, and fired with the lust of conquest, flung themselves on all their neighbours, and thought to sub-

* Ibid. "Arse di questa sete dell' oro nel diletto che prese impatronandosi di un milione di zecchini che trovossi nelle facultà di Rezep Bassa suo cognato, quando levò gli la vita: il quale tanto affannossi a bere che fatto idropico più che possiede, più brama."

† Ibid. "Come successe a miei giorni ad Abasa Passa, — il quale mentre si persuase di vedere soggiogata la Polonia et forse poi debellata la Christianità con somministrar nella mente regia vasti pensieri et speranze di felicissimi eventi, quando meno pensava, precipitò della gratia, restando estinto con un pezzo di laccio. Et il simile occorre al capitain del mare Zafer Passa."

verno sariano statì i buoni sovvenuti da lui, et per guardarsi da quel pericolo che lui minacciava la malincolia, volendo scacciare da lui fece portare una gran copia di vini, et con più grandi bicchieri che in tutta Pera si potevano ritrovare diede principio ad un dilettevole giuoco."

* Relatione di 1637: "Li ha levato il modo di più potersi unire a conspirare contro la sua persona con la prohibitione del tabacco, con pena di forza da essere irremissibilmente eseguita et di tutti quelli ridotti dove si beveva il caffè, che è un' acqua nera che fanno d'una specie di zecche vien dal Cairo, molto giovevole al capo et al stomacho et cio perche non habbino occasione come facevano prima, d'ivi fermarsi et l'hore et i giorni intieri a discorrere et far radunanze." All the other particulars are from the same Relatione.

† Ibid. "I più pregiati sono i confinanti di Buda nel regno d'Ungheria e i confinanti di Bossina col stato della rep. Veneta; havendogli gli essercitii frequenti nell'armeggiare con discapito loro continuo. Sono arditì alla zuffa poco meno delli nostri, da quali giornalmente vanno apprendendo qualche gesto nell' armi, assuefacendosi all' uso delli terzetti e pestoni d'arcione, senza però progressi considerabili per la poca attitudine che gli vien permessa del cielo a prò dei fideli."

jugate the world. The name of the lord has properly become that of the whole body.

Now, when the ties between the lord and the bondsmen grew slack, when the inward impulse declined, and the efforts for conquest were checked in mid career, there ensued what might have been expected; things fell into more natural bearings towards each other. That they should return completely to a natural condition was not possible, since they had set out from a principle at variance with humanity, from despotism. This principle was propagated anew through every subordinate member, and so became inextinguishable.

After the Ottomans ceased to be conquerors they remained encamped in the midst of their old strongholds. There is a proverb, that no grass grows where the foot of an Ottoman horse hath once trodden; and it seems amply confirmed by the desolation of the fairest countries of the world fallen under their sway. It is true that many of them possess virtues that adorn the man; they are lauded as free from falsehood, steadfast, beneficent, and hospitable; but they have never attained to a liberal development of the intellectual powers; they have evermore remained barbarians. Their conceptions of what is beautiful in material things scarcely extend beyond the charms of gold and of women; they evince hardly a trace of a disposition to bring home the natural world to their understandings by a cognizance applied to the reality of things, not to the illusions of fancy; they live and move among the relics of a nobler existence, and they heed them not. Errors there are that engross and penetrate the whole soul, that

render the eye purblind to all that is intellectual and to the brightness of truth, and that cramp life in, within the bounds of a dull self-sufficiency. Such errors are theirs.

Yet their state cannot be denied the possession of a certain inward vitality. It is always conceivable that a sultan should return to the qualities of his predecessors, and brace anew the relaxed sinews of the empire: such a possibility was admitted by Muradgea d'Ohsson in his own day. Or a vizier may overcome the obstacles thrown in his way by the serai and the body-guards, and arouse the people to greater endeavours. This was really the case with the Kiupriliis. The first of these made use of the body-guards to rid himself of the favourites in the serai who stood in his way; after this he contrived to master the soldiery in their turn, and thenceforth he kept them busy with war after war. The Ottomans were then at least a match for their neighbours. They conquered Candia from the Venetians, and often appeared victoriously on their frontiers.

Thus they have continued to subsist for centuries even in their decay. It has been their good fortune, first, that there has broken out in the east no national movement like those of old to which they owed their own success; and next, that since the European policy has reached its mature growth, there exists in the west that jealousy with which each of our states is watched by all the rest severally and collectively: this has always in their utmost dangers procured them allies, and brought them safety.

THE SPANISH EMPIRE.

INTRODUCTION.

WE turn from the east to the west, from a Turkish slave-state to a Romano-German monarchy.

The total contrast strikes us instantaneously; the contrast between a state of which the sovereign is lord and unlimited proprietor, and one which, based on individual freedom, confers just so much authority on the sovereign, as is requisite to defend that freedom from foes without and foes within. The oriental monarch is sole autocrat among serfs, and even the ancient Roman imperial authority had merged into that condition: the Germanic sovereign, on the contrary, is the protector of the common freedom, the upholder of personal rights, the safeguard of the country.

If the distinction is even still striking and self-evident, it was yet more so in former times, when there reigned in the east monarchs of distinguished personal qualities, who swayed their states at will in perfect subjection and unity; whilst in the west privileges, and the chartered and indefeasible rights of individuals and of subordinate assemblies, restricted and hindered the power of the sovereign.

The latter was the condition of the Spanish empire. It was far from being a state in our sense of the word, a state of organic unity, pervaded by a single ruling interest. It had not been so put to-

gether by conquest that any one province had lost its local rights, or that any leading division could have asserted and maintained its pretensions to command the rest: but it consisted of co-ordinate parts, each of which had its own rights; of a multitude of separate provinces of German, French, Italian, Castilian, Catalonian, and Basque tongues; provinces of dissimilar traditions and customs, unlike laws, discordant character, yet homogeneous rights. If we ask what it was that cemented these various provinces together, and kept them combined, we find that it was no inherent community of interests, but a casual inheritance that had joined them to each other; and that even when war was the immediate efficient cause of their union, it was always a war of inheritance, and they were combined together under the sovereign upon whom they devolved. The principle of inheritance was not however identical throughout them all, and the sovereign stood in a different relation to each several country composing the empire. The long title given themselves by the princes of the house of Habsburg was no mere piece of ostentation, as the French court was pleased to consider it, but their monarchy was in reality quite different in Castile from what it was in Sicily or in Aragon: in Flan-

ders they were nothing but counts, in Guipuscoa their authority was founded on the fact that they were barons and hereditary lords of the country; whilst the American possessions belonged to them as a sort of crown domains. This diversity in the nature of their authority is indicated by their titles.

If we now proceed to contemplate this monarchy and its development in the course of a century, we find two antagonizing forces present themselves to view. Though the sovereign was limited in all points, yet he acquired prominent importance from the fact that the union of the whole body was centered in his person; but for him it would not have existed. Frequently we see him called upon to direct the energies of the several countries in a common enterprize; he seeks to rule them all upon one general principle. Will the provinces be able under these circumstances to maintain their separate existence, and to abide by their ancient usages? Or will the sovereign force them into more intimate coalition? Will he compel them to perform his will? They confront him in their individuality.

This division constitutes the foremost subject of our inquiry. It is not our purpose to set forth in detail the relations in which the monarchy stood to the rest of Europe; we must take some notice of these, but only as a subordinate consideration. Our intention is rather to set before the reader the struggle within the range of the empire itself, between the supreme authority and the isolated interests of the several provinces. First we shall consider the character and the designs of the rulers, including the kings and their councils; secondly, the resistance they encountered in the several provinces, and the greater or less success with which they combated this; lastly, the state economy they now established, and the conditions in which the provinces were placed.

Our views are not aimed however merely at the general aspect of the combined whole: it is not by such means alone that nature and history engage our sympathy. Man fixes his eye with lively curiosity, first of all, on the individual object. Happy is he to whom it is granted to comprehend it at once in the essence of its being, and in the fulness of its peculiar phenomena.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE KINGS.

Charles V.

IN the pictures which the old legends give us of their heroes, they now and then set before us some who spend a long period of their youth sitting idly at home, but who, when they have once bestirred themselves never rest again, but rush on from enterprise to enterprise, with indefatigable buoyancy of spirit. It is not till the energies are fully aroused that they find the career befitting them.

Charles V.* may be compared with the characters of such a cast. He was but sixteen when he was called to the throne, but he was far from having then arrived at the condition suitable for under-

taking its duties. People were long disposed to apply to him a nickname given his father, because he relied too implicitly on his counsellors. His constant byword was, "Not yet." A. Croi completely governed him and his whole realm. Even whilst his armies were subjugating Italy, and winning repeated victories over the bravest enemies, he himself sat still in Spain, and was regarded as insensible and indifferent, weak and dependent. Such he was thought to be till 1529, when he appeared in Italy in his thirtieth year†.

How very different did he show himself there from what had been expected! for the first time how totally his own master, and how fully decided! His privy council had been unwilling that he should go to Italy, had warned him against John Andrew Doria, and suggested to him suspicions as to Genoa. It was beheld with astonishment that he nevertheless went to Italy, that he reposed his confidence in that very Doria, and that he persisted in his determination to disembark in Genoa. So it was throughout. No minister was observed to possess any preponderating interest; Charles himself gave no evidence of passion or precipitation, but all his resolutions were mature, all were deliberately weighed; his first word was his last‡.

This was the first thing noticed in him; next to that, how personally active, how industrious he was. It required some patience to listen to the long speeches of the Italian ambassadors; he took pains to understand the complicated relations of their sovereigns and powers. The Venetian ambassador was surprised to find him not a little more accessible and free of speech than he had been three years before in Spain§. He expressly selected a lodging in Bologna, from which he could visit the pope unobserved, that he might do so as frequently as possible, and arrange all disputed points with his holiness.

From that time forth he began to direct his negotiations, and to lead his armies in person; he began to hasten continually from country to country, wherever the wants of the moment and the posture of affairs required his presence. We find him now at Rome complaining to the cardinals of the implacable hostility of Francis I., now in Paris courting and winning the favour of Estampes; frequently in Germany presiding at the diet for the appeasing of religious discord, and again in the cortes of Castile exerting himself to have the tax of the Servicio voted. These are peaceful occupations: but we often see him at the head of his army. He crosses the Alps into France, and overruns Provence; he advances to the Marne, and strikes terror into Paris. He then turns away to the east and the south. He checks the victorious career of Soliman on the Raab; he seeks and

* Micheli, *Relatione d'Inghilterra*, MS.: "L'imperatore da ognuno o de la maggior parte era tenuto per stupido o per addormentato, et poi si può dire che ad un tratto et inespertamente si svegliasse et riuscì così vivo, così ardito et così bravo come sa Vostra Signoria." [The emperor was thought by all, or almost all, to be stupid or lethargic, and then he awoke, as it were, all at once, and became so full of life, so ardent, and so brave, as your signory is aware.]

† *Storia Fiorentina* di Messer Benedetto Varchi, ix. 228. 233. Sigonius, de vita Andree Doriæ, 243.

‡ Contarini, *Relazione di Bologna*. Marzo, 1530, MS.

§ Zenocerus a Scauwenburgo: De republica et vita Caroli Maximi. Gandavi, 1560, fol. p. 175.

* Though he was the first of his name of Spain, we continue to give him the designation by which he was known to the rest of Europe.

assails the crescent at Algiers. The army that had served him in Africa follows him to the Elbe, and the war cry of Spain is heard on the heaths of Lochau. Charles is now the busiest sovereign in the world. He frequently sails across the Mediterranean, across the Ocean. Meanwhile his mariners are discoverers in unploughed seas, his soldiers conquerors of untrodden lands. Even at such remote distance he remains their ruler and their lord. His motto, "More, further," is gloriously realized.

Such is his life contemplated as a whole; full of activity after unusually long repose. It may be remarked that the same phenomena, at first inertness and a passive looking on, by and by action, continually recur in the several circumstances of all his most stirring life.

Although the general cast of his will was thoroughly determined, still his resolutions were taken but slowly, and step by step. His first reply to every proposal was indefinite, and it was necessary to beware of taking his vague expressions for a positive sanction*. He then pondered over the matter, repeatedly turned over the arguments for and against, and put the whole train of reasoning into such perfect connection and sequence, that whoever granted him his first proposition was forced to admit his last. He paid a visit to the pope at Bologna, with a paper in his hand, on which he had accurately noted down all the points they had to discuss†. Granvella was the only one to whom he used to communicate every intelligence, every proposal; the ambassadors always found that minister instructed as to every particular, even to the very words they had uttered. All measures were determined between him and Charles. These resolutions were taken slowly: Charles frequently delayed the courier for some days beyond the appointed time.

But when things had been brought thus far, there was no power in the world that could bring him to change his mind. It was said he would let the world perish rather than do anything upon compulsion‡. There never was an instance known of his having been forced into anything by violence or by danger. He once made a frank confession on this point, saying to Contarini, "I am naturally given to abide obstinately by my own opinions." "Sire," replied the other, "to abide by sound opinions is not obstinacy but stedfastness." "Ay, but," said Charles, "I sometimes abide by unsound ones §."

But from resolving to executing the way is still long. Charles felt an involuntary repugnance to taking things in hand, even though he very well knew what was to be done. Tiepolo says of him ||,

* Relazione del Cl. Monsignor Marino Cavallo, MS.: "Parla molte volte ambiguo, quando importo: di modo che si gli ambasciatori non sono ben cauti, può S. Maestà et li consiglieri dire con quella dubietà parole che intendere possono a questo et a quell' altro modo."

† Contarini. "Il papa mi ha detto, che ragionando con lui (Carlo) portava un memoriale notato di sua mano di tutte le cose che haveva a negoziare, per non lasciarne qualch' uno."

‡ Cavallo: "Lascierà più tosto ruinare il mondo che fa cosa violentata."

§ Contarini: "Qualche fiate io son fermo in le cattive."

|| Relazione del convento di Nizza, MS. "Nelli pericoli delle cose sue proprie ritarda qualche volta tanto che patiscono prima qualche incommodo."

that in the year 1538, he dallied so long that his cause was endangered, nay, actually injured in some degree. Pope Julian III. was aware of this; he knew that Charles revenged him no doubt, but that he must first receive some thrusts before he would bestir himself*. The emperor often wanted money too: the entanglements of policy offered him a thousand grounds for hesitation and reflection.

While he was obliged to wait he kept his eye incessantly on his enemies. He watched them so narrowly that ambassadors were astonished to find how well he was acquainted with their governments, how happily he conjectured beforehand what they would do†. At last came the occasion, the favourable or the urgent crisis. Then he was all alert, then he put into execution what he had perhaps pondered over for twenty years.

Such was the policy which his foes regarded as detestable craft, his friends as a paragon of prudence. At any rate it can hardly be regarded as an effect of choice, of deliberate volition. Thus to lie still, to gather information, to await, and not till long after to rise and strike the blow, all this was the very nature of this monarch.

In how many other things did he display the same disposition! He punished, but not till he had borne a great deal. He rewarded, but not indeed at once. Many had to linger for years unpaid, and then he would provide for them with one of those fiefs or benefices, of which he had so many at his disposal that he could enrich whomsoever he pleased, without any cost to himself. By this means he brought others to endure any hardships that might befall them in his service.

When his servants were putting on his armour he was observed to tremble all over: but once fully caparisoned he was full of courage, so much so that it was thought he was emboldened by the notion that an emperor had never been shot‡.

Such a man, full of calmness and moderation, affable enough to accommodate himself to various persons, strict enough to keep many at once in subjection, appears to have been well fitted for presiding over a combination of several nations. It is alleged in praise of Charles that he conciliated the good will of the Netherlands by his condescension, of the Italians by his shrewdness, and of the Spaniards by his dignity. But what had he wherewith to please the Germans? His nature was incapable of attaining to that truehearted openness, which the German nation assuredly acknowledges, loves, and revere in its men of distinction and high station. Though he willingly imitated the manner in which the old emperors bore themselves towards princes and lords; though he took pains to assume German habits, and even wore his beard after the national fashion then in Germany§, still he was always looked on as a foreigner by the Germans. A mounted artilleryman, whom he urged angrily to make more speed, let him feel the whip; a

* Lettera, MS. del Papa a Giovambattista di Monte.

† Cavallo, 240: "Conosce eccellentissimamente la natura di tutti li principi con chi lui negotia, et in questo spedire gran tempo ad instruirsene di vantaggio. Però quasi mal s'inganna de pronostici che fa di questa eccellentissima republica."

‡ Zenocaurus a Scauwenburgo.

§ Ibid. p. 168.

lands knecht at Algiers even levelled his weapon at him*, both these men having taken him for a Spaniard. He fell at variance with the feelings of the nation, particularly after the war of Schmalkalde. His two opponents were called the Magnanimous; but he, Charles of Ghent, as he was called, was said to have laughed slyly to think how he had taken the honest elector prisoner, and with what craft he had seized the person of the landgrave in Halle! Whilst the Italians praised his simple habits, marking how he rode into their towns with his brilliant and richly dressed escort, himself wrapped in a plain cloak†, the Germans found something to set off against this. When he was surprised by a shower of rain outside the walls of Naumburg, he sent into the city for his old bonnet, meanwhile putting the new one he was wearing under his arm. "Poor emperor, thought I to myself," says Sastrow, "warring away tons of gold, and standing bareheaded in the rain for the sake of a velvet cap‡." In short, he was never quite at home in Germany. The dissensions of the country consumed all his exertions without affording him renown; the climate was prejudicial to his health; he was not well acquainted with the high German tongue; the majority of the nation misunderstood and disliked him.

It was late when his life began to be self-dependent, and its decline was early. His growth was long retarded, and a variety of ailments were sought to help it forward§. His constitutional development was unusually backward, till it was observed in the year 1521 that he was getting a beard and becoming more manly||. From that time he enjoyed a long period of healthy adolescence. He began to love field sports. He more than once lost himself so far in the Alpuxarra, and in the Toledan moors, that no one could hear his horn, and he had to trust to some Morisco guide to show him the way home in the evening, lights being already placed in the city windows, and the bells rung to call the people to search after him¶. He joust on horseback sometimes in the lists, sometimes in the open field; he practised with his gun and his gineta; nor did he recoil from exercises on foot**. The proposal to terminate his quarrel with Francis I. by single combat was on his part, at least, made in perfect seriousness. We have a portrait of him at this period of his life, the mouth closed and somewhat imperious, the eyes large and fiery, the features compressed; the figure is full length, and he holds a hound by the collar. Gradually, however, yet too soon, the discrepancy began to show itself, which is noticed in most of his portraits between the upper and the lower half of his countenance. The lower half projects, the mouth is open, the

eyelids droop. At the moment when he first entered fully into active life, his healthy vigour was already gone, and it was with a strange feeling of envy he marked the eager appetite with which his private secretary, come fresh from a journey, devoured the roast meat set before him. In his thirty-sixth year, just as he was dressing in Naples, to make himself pleasing forsooth to the ladies, as he owns, he observed the first white hairs on his temples. It was to no purpose he had them removed; they always came again*. In his fortieth year he felt his strength half gone. He missed the old confidence in himself and in his fortune; and it is remarkable that his memory was more tenacious of facts that had occurred to him before that year than after it, though the latter were so much more recent†. From that time he became particularly subject to the gout. He was obliged to travel for the most part in his litter. At times, indeed, he still brought down a stag or a wild hog in the chase; but usually he was obliged to content himself with going into the woods with his gun and shooting crows and daws. His enjoyment was to remain within doors, where his fool forced a half smile from him as he stood behind his chair at table, and his steward of the household, Monfalconet, amused and delighted him with his happy replies‡. But his malady grew upon him apace. The gout, says Cavallo in 1550, flies frequently to his head, and threatens with sudden death. His physicians urgently advised him to leave Germany; but the increasing entanglement of public affairs kept him fast in those regions. The tendency to gloomy solitude which had long possessed him, now acquired overwhelming strength; it was in point of fact the same that had so long kept his mother in the world a stranger to the world. Charles saw no one he had not expressly summoned to his presence. It often vexed him even to sign his name. The mere opening of a letter gave him a pain in his hand. He used to be for hours on his knees in a chamber hung with black, and lighted with seven tapers. When his mother died, he sometimes fancied he heard her voice calling him to follow her§.

In this condition he resolved to quit life before he was yet removed by death.

2. Philip II.

If an intelligent man pondered over the posture of the world in those days, what must he have expected of the son of such a father?

It was manifest that only a sovereign of liberal feelings, only one more disposed to gratify the world and to enjoy it than to dispose of it after his own views, and capable of allowing others a spontaneous course of action, would have been in a condition, if not to reconcile the discordant feelings of the nations, at least to soothe them, and prevent the outbreak of

* Sepulveda, de Rebus Gestis Caroli V. lib. xi. p. 19.

† Ripamonte, Historia Mediolanensis ap. Græv. Verri, Storia di Milano, li. 321, from Burigozzo.

‡ Bartholomæi Sastrowen, Herkommen, Lebenslauf, u.s.w. Bd. ii.

§ Thomas Leodius, de vita Frederici Palatini, iii. 10.

¶ Petrus Martyr: Epistolarum Opus, Ep. 734.

‡ Sandoval: Vida y hechos del Emperador Carlos, xv. p. 811.

** Cavallo: "Ha giostrato bene a lizza et a campo aperto. Ha combattuto alla sbarra. Ha giocato a canne et caroselle et ammazzato il tauro, et brevemente tutto quello che alla ginnetta et alla brida si può fare."

* Extrait de la Relation du voyage de Mr l'amiral de Châtillon vers l'Empereur Charles, in Ribier and in the Appendix to Rabutin's Mémoires: Collect. Univers. xxxviii. 483.

† Hormayr: "From papers never before made use of" in the Archiv für Geographie, Historie, &c. Jahrg. 1810, p. 8.

‡ Cavallo: "Il barone Monfalconetto, suo maestro di casa il quale in vero, per l'argutie et prontezze sue e per la libertà che si piglia di dire ogni cosa, è di giocondissima et dilettesima pratica al imperatore."

§ Extrait. Zenocarus, Hormayr. Galuzzi, Storia del Granducato di Toscana, i. 2. 208.

their passions. It was plain that the heir of the Spanish monarchy, destined to the sovereignty over such heterogeneous countries, had need of manners marked by dignified condescension and affability, and of a cheerful temper to win the confidence of every individual. If this was undoubtedly to be wished, it might also perhaps have been expected. It might have been supposed that a sovereign, brought up under a sense of his great destiny, would have elevated his soul to a nobler view of things than such as is usually afforded by the narrowing influences of a meaner station. Reared in the feeling that he was the head of the nobility, should he not have sought to fashion his character to that cheerful, engaging chivalry, that sits so well on the young?

When Philip left Spain for the first time, and presented himself in other countries, the first thing remarked in him was the great external resemblance he bore to his father. There was the same white rather than pale visage, the same fair hair, the same chin and mouth. Neither was tall; Philip was somewhat less in stature, more neatly made, and weaker than his father*. The comparison was soon carried further. The son's features did not seem to indicate the acute penetration that characterized those of the father. It was perceived that Philip, far from vying with the latter in natural affability, was far surpassed by him in that respect. Whilst Charles was used, when escorted home by princes of the empire, to turn round, take off his hat, offer his hand to each and dismiss him with marks of amity, it was remarked with displeasure, that when the same attention was paid to Philip, he never once looked round him, but straight forward, as he ascended the steps to his apartments†. He took no delight in the chase, or in arms; he even declined the invitations of his father, preferring to remain at home, and to converse with his favourites‡. It was evident that he lacked all those qualities that engage the affections of the people: the Italians and the Flemings were not a little averse to him, the Germans decidedly so.

It seemed, however, on his second departure from Spain in 1554, as though he abjured his former haughty, repulsive bearing, as though he sought to resemble his father in his outward deportment, and had got rid of that foolish fancy of which he was accused, namely, that he the son of an emperor was more than his father, who was but the son of a king. He displayed more condescension and affability, gave audience readily, and returned satisfactory answers§. But in reality there was no change in him. He took heed to himself, because he wished to please the English, over whom he desired to be king. He nevertheless retained that

proud, isolated impassibility which the Spaniards call *sosiego* *. Sympathy and frankness were no virtues of his; he did not even concern himself to display a bountiful character; he showed himself averse to all personal participation in war.

From the time he returned to Spain after the peace of 1559, he never quitted the peninsula again. Even there, he abstained from travelling from place to place, as his father and the kings before him had done. He fixed his royal residence in the castle of Madrid, and only left it to pursue that dreary road, shadowed by no tree, enlivened by no brook, that led to the Escorial, which he built among small naked hills, in a stony valley, as a residence for monks of the order of San Geronimo, and as a sepulchre for his father; or to go in spring to Aranjuez, where indeed he accompanied the chase to the mountains, and condescended to alcaldes and moneros, but without asking them a word about any thing else than their offices, or suffering them to speak of any thing besides their business. "Every one," says Cabrera, "was duly regarded according to his station†." At times we find him in the woods about Segovia, and once in Lisbon; but with these exceptions always at home. At first he used to show himself there on popular holydays, afterwards he suffered himself to be seen only once or twice a-year in a gallery leading from his residence to his chapel; and in his latter years he desisted even from this, and remained constantly shut up in his apartments‡. The habitual expression of his face and figure was that of imperturbable calmness, a gravity carried to the utmost pitch, and its effect was felt to be exceedingly depressing. Even practised and esteemed orators were put out when they stood before him, and he measured them as usual with his eyes from head to foot. "Compose yourself (Sosegaos)," he would then say to them. He used to smile slightly in replying to any one§.

Philip II. lacked, as we see, the physical activity of his father. He was no friend to those constant journeys, those hurried excursions to all places, wherever the sovereign's presence seemed necessary. He agreed with those who had applauded Ferdinand the Catholic, because he had rather caused his foreign wars to be carried on, than directed them in person, and who called to mind that even the armies of Charles had been more successful under the command of Pescara and Leira than under his own||. Philip carried on war, but he remained aloof from it. A stirring life makes the soul more open, freer, and warmer. If there was always a certain rigidity of temper ob-

* Tiepolo, MS. "E' di natura tardissimo, essendo flegmatico di complessione, et è anco per volontà tale per osservar maggior decoro nelle cose sue."

† Cabrera, Felipe el segundo, p. 598.

‡ Thom. Contarini, Rel. della Spagna anno 1593, MS. Informat. Politt. xi. 474: "Soleva per il passato lasciarsi vedere dal popolo una o due volte l'anno per un corridore che dalle sue stanze passa nella sua capella, ma hora sta sempre ritirato."

§ Tiepolo, Relat. della Spagna: "E' ajutato d'un poco di suo riso, che fa ordinariamente nel rispondere et rende ad ognuno molto amabile."

|| Micheli, 76: "Levata la necessità di andarvi so che può li occorrere di far guerre: egli stima et approva più il proceder del re cattolico suo avo, che le faceva fare tutte per mano del suoi capitani senza andarvi lui in persona, che'l proceder dell' imperatore suo padre, che ha voluto farle lui: et a questo lo consigliano li Spagnuoli, li suoi intimi."

* Micheli, Relazione d'Inghilterra: "E il re Filippo la stessa imagine dell' imperatore suo padre conformissimo di carne et di faccia et di lineamenti, con quella bocca et labro pendente et con tutte l'altre qualità dell' imperatore, ma di minore statura."

† Sastrowen, i. 269.

‡ Cavallo, Rel. "Ha piacere di starsi in camera co' suoi favoriti a ragionare di cose private, et se talhora l'imperatore lo manda in visita, si scusa per godere la solita quiete."

§ Micheli. "Ha il costume et maniera dell' imperatore imitando per quanto può le vie et attioni sue di dignità et humanità, havendo del tutto lasciata quell' altiezza con la quale uscì la prima volta di Spagna et riuscì così odioso."

servable in Philip, it might possibly have been owing to the want of this activity.

On the other hand, Philip inherited from his father a larger share of the latter's energy in the affairs of the cabinet. True he avoided, even here too, all immediate intercourse with others, and we neither find him negotiating in person, nor taking part in the sittings of the council of state. But we shall see how the machinery of his government was so arranged that all the affairs of his wide spread empire tended to his table as to a common centre. Every resolution of his council of any importance was laid before him on a sheet of paper, on the margin of which he noted his own views and emendations*. The petitions and the letters addressed to him, the suggestions of his ministers, and the secret reports, were all laid before him in his closet. His business and his pleasure was to read them, to reflect upon, and to reply to them. Seated there, sometimes assisted by a trusty secretary, but often quite alone, he governed the large portion of the world subject to his sway, and exercised a kind of inspection and control over the rest; there he set in motion the hidden machinery that moved a great portion of the public affairs of the age. His diligence in this occupation was indefatigable. We have letters written by him at midnight: we find him dispatching the unpleasant affairs of Flanders at one of his country seats, whilst his carriage halted on his way to join the queen. If he had to be present at an entertainment, he fixed it for a day on which there was at least no regular post to send off. He did not make his short journeys even to the Escorial without taking his papers with him, and perusing them by the way. As Margaret of Parma and Granvella, though inhabiting the same palace, communed together more by letter than by word of mouth, so he too wrote innumerable notes to his confidential ministers: Antonio Perez had two chests full of such autographs. Thus he was beyond comparison the most fully employed man of business in the world. His attention to his finances was uninterrupted, and we find him at times more accurately informed respecting them than his presidents†. He wished to know every thing that concerned his dominions. He had materials collected for a general statistical account of Spain for his own use, six volumes of which work are still preserved in the Escorial‡. But he wished his information to extend even to particulars. He had correspondents in every diocese, who reported to him how the clergy and the holders of the benefices conducted themselves. He had always a prelate at each of the universities who acquainted him how the members of the colleges were versed in the sciences. Those who were candidates for any place he usually

knew, even before they were presented, as well as though he had been personally acquainted with them: he was aware of their character and their peculiarities; and once, when they were speaking to him in praise of a certain person's learning and ability, he retorted, "You say nothing to me of his amours*." Thus he ruled his dominions in peace; in turbulent times he redoubled his attention. It excited wonder to see, when the troubles broke out in Flanders, how accurately he was informed about all persons who might have had any leaning to the new opinions, how exactly he knew, not only their meetings, but also the age, appearance, character, and intercourse of each; and how, instead of receiving information from Margaret on these matters, he was, on the contrary, able to impart it to her†. Now, it was just in the same manner he managed his foreign affairs. He had at all the leading courts, not only public ambassadors who sent him reports, or came to Spain to give him information by word of mouth, but he had also secret emissaries whose letters were addressed directly to himself. A historian might well cherish the wish that he might share with this king the comprehensive and thorough knowledge he possessed of his own times. Philip sat and read all these reports, and concentrated all their contents, and directed them to his own ends. He weighed them for himself. If he thought good he communicated them to one or other of his confidential ministers; if not, he buried them in perpetual silence‡. Thus he lived in complete solitude, and yet was personally acquainted, as it were, with the whole world; secluded from its contemplation, and yet its real governor; himself in almost motionless repose, and yet the originator of movements that affected all the world. Grown old and grey, weary and dim-sighted over his toils, he still did not give them up. His daughter, the infanta Isabella, who was moulded entirely after his own heart, for whom he had a cordial regard, and to whom he would go even at night, and communicate to her some welcome news, used to sit for three or four hours with him; and though he did not admit her into all his secrets, still she helped him to read the petitions and memorials of private persons, and to provide for the affairs of the home administration§.

Now what was the aim of such incessant industry throughout his long life? Was it the welfare of the kingdoms of which he swayed the sceptre? the prosperity of his subjects? This might have been supposed in the beginning of his reign, so long as he seemed to abjure his father's schemes, and

* Cabrera, p. 1064, and elsewhere. The Cortes expressed a wish in 1554 that visitadores should be secretly sent to all the pueblos to inquire into the habits of the regidores, the judicial personages, and the knights. Petición xxviii.

† Strada, who himself possessed more than one hundred letters from Philip to Margaret, De Bello Belg. iv. p. 81.

‡ Contarini. "Usa S. M. una squisissima secretezza nelle cose sue, . . . ma è altro tanto desiderosa di scoprire i disegni et secreti degl' altri principi, nel che impiega ogni cura et diligentia, spendendo una infinita quantità d'oro in spie in tutte le parti del mondo et appresso a tutti i principi, et queste spie spesso volte hanno anco ordine d'indrizzare le lettere a S. M., la quale non comunica le cose importanti a persona alcuna et solamente quelle di Fiandra al duca di Parma."

§ Contarini: "Ajutandogli ella a leggere queste tall scritture." Cf. Strada ii. lib. vii. p. 216.

* "E diligentissimo nel governo dello stato, et vuole che tutte le cose di qualche importanza passino per le sue mani, perche tutte le deliberationi di momento gli sono mandate da i consiglieri, scritte sopra un foglio di carta, lasciandone la metà per margine, nella quale poi S. M. ne scrive il suo parere, aggujngendo, scernendo et corrigendo il tutto a suo piacere. E sopravanzandole tempo lo spende tutto in rivedere et sottoscrivere suppliche etc., nel che s'impiega 3 o 4 hore continue, sì che non tralascia mai per alcuno minimo punto la fatica."

† See a calculation by Philip in a letter to Eraso, Cabrera, 1166.

‡ Rehfuës, Spanien nach eigener Ansicht, iv. S. 1348.

his thirst for glory, and to look only to his own dominions. But he soon began to play a very busy part in the complicated affairs of Europe. Was it then his purpose, as it was perhaps in his power, to heal the wounds of his times? We cannot affirm either the one or the other. Obedience and the catholic faith at home, the catholic faith and subjection in all other countries, this was what he had at heart, this was the aim of all his labours. He was himself devoted, with monkish attachment, to the outward observances of the catholic worship. He kissed the hand of a priest after mass, to show archdukes who visited him what reverence is due to such men. To a lady of rank, who stood upon the steps of the altar, he said, "That is no place either for you or me." How diligently, with what care and expense, did he gather the sacred relics from all countries that had become protestant, that such precious things might not be lost to catholicism and Christendom*. This was surely not from indwelling religion; yet a sort of indwelling religion, capable of swaying the moral character, had grown up in him, out of the conviction that he was born to uphold the external service of the church, that he was the pillar of the church, that such was his commission from God. If by this means he brought it to pass, that the majority of Spaniards, full of the like feelings, did, as an Italian says, "not merely love, not merely reverence, but absolutely adore him, and deem his commands so sacred, that they could not be violated without offence to God †;" at the same time, by a singular illusion (if indeed we are justified, in supposing his conduct to have sprung from an illusion of his own, and not to have been deliberately pursued to delude others), he came to regard the progress of his own power and the progress of religion as identified, and to behold the latter in the former. In this he was confirmed by the people of the Netherlands, who revolted simultaneously from him, and from the pope. In truth, the zeal that animated him was none other than that which had actuated Charles the Bold and Maximilian I., the zeal, namely, of exalting the Burgundian and Habsburg house, which had become conjoined with religious purposes since the days of Charles V., only the union of these two motives was much stronger in him; and if he sought to conquer England, and to obtain the crown of France for his nephew and his daughter, it was with the full persuasion that he was acting for the best interests of the world, and for the weal of souls. If, on the one hand, his reserve and his gravity unfitted him for presiding over the nations he ruled with kindness, affability, and as a father; on the other hand his narrow and fanatical constitution of mind placed it far beyond his power to become the reconciling spirit of his distracted times; he was, on the contrary, a great promoter and augmenter of the discord.

Two points are further to be remarked, with reference to his administration. The one, as regards his ministers; the other, as regards the means he employed to obtain his ends.

* Micheli; above all Cabrera.

† Relatione et sommario dell' historie antiche et moderne di Spagna, in the Tesoro politico i. Contarini: "Questa opinione che di lui si ha, rende le sue leggi più sacrosante et inviolabili."

Whether it was from the compulsory pressure of his multitudinous businesses, or that he was induced thereto by personal confidence, he left his ministers great freedom, and an open range of action. Espinosa was long called the monarch of Spain*; Alva had his hands free in the Netherlands. We will look more minutely into the changes of his ministers, and their position. He seemed to be dependent on, and ruled by, many of his confidential advisers. Moreover, it was to no purpose any one proffered a complaint against these men: his first answer was, that he relied on his advisers; and however often their accusers returned to the charge, they were always met with the same reply. People complained, that not only the interests of foreign powers, but those of the king himself, were betrayed and ruined through the private feelings and passions of these ministers†. Now, it is very well worth noting his manner of dealing with them. To their best suggestions he seemed to lend but half an ear, and for a while it was as though they had said nothing; but at last, he put their ideas into operation, as though they had proceeded from himself. He used to say, that he stayed away from the council of state, in order that the passions of the several members might be free to display themselves the more unreservedly, and that if he had but a faithful reporter of all that passed, he could have no better means of information‡. But he went still farther than this. He suffered incensed enemies to pursue each other into his very cabinet, and he received the memorials of the one party against the other§. As the close secrecy he observed on all things was notorious, no one scrupled to confide to him the most private matters, and things that would never have been imparted to any other. Such communications did not always produce the full effect intended, but some of them did; and Philip was always filled with suspicion. Never was it easier for any one than for him to withdraw his accustomed confidence, and to stint in his wanted favour. For awhile he would conceal his secret displeasure. Perhaps the minister had important matters still in hand, perhaps his personal co-operation was necessary for the accomplishment of some purpose. So long as the case stood thus, he dealt with him warily as with a foreign power, and frequently, meanwhile, would neither comply with the minister's desires, nor absolutely reject them. But at last, his displeasure broke out all at once. Cabrera remarks of no few, that his disfavour was their death. So much may have been implied by the saying proverbial at his court, that it was not far from his snail to his dagger. The whole spirit of his favourites hung on his good will; without it they sank into nothingness.

As he changed his ministers, so too he changed the measures they were to carry out, ever keeping

* Farnianus Strada, de Bello Belgico, i. lib. vi. p. 161.

† Tiepolo: "Il ritrovar poi S. M. per ottenere più di quello ha fatto il detto consiglio è cosa in tutto superflua: per il che da se non risponde cosa alcuna, ma si rimette a quello è stato risoluto. Il che causa senza dubio danno ai negotii. Spesso avviene che il giudizio di suoi ministri è corrotto o da interesse particolare o da alcuna passione."

‡ Cartas de Antonio Perez.

§ For instances see Cabrera passim. He mentions "papeles que le davan emulos invidiosos y malos por odio y passion."

his ends steadily in view. How numerous, and how various, were the courses he struck out in the affairs of Flanders alone*. It is a mistake, to suppose he knew how to adopt no other devices than those of force. Undoubtedly he acquiesced in Alva's cruel measures, not however from cruelty, but for the sake of the result he expected. When this did not ensue, he selected Requenses for the express reason, that he was a moderate man, and commissioned him to employ milder means†. He sent don John, who was acceptable to the people of the Netherlands, because he appeared to be their countryman‡, with definite orders to conclude a peace. Failing in this, he again reverted to force. In this he may be compared to his great grandfather, Maximilian, who was continually adopting new means to arrive at his ends: only Maximilian broke off at an early stage of his proceedings, whilst Philip always pushed matters to the very utmost; Maximilian always seemed highly excited, Philip invariably maintained the most unruffled composure. Never did he give way to any impulse of temper§. There never arrived a despatch from Flanders, however good or bad its news, that could produce the least change in his countenance. On receiving the first intelligence of the victory at Lepanto, the greatest that had been achieved by Christendom for 300 years, he said, "Don John risked a great deal," and not a word more. Upon the greatest mischance that could befall him, the loss of his fleet, on which he had exhausted the resources of Spain, on which he had built the grandest hopes, and which he had deemed invincible, he said, "I sent it out against men, and not against the billows;" and having said this, he seemed perfectly calm. The only gesticulation he was observed to make, when anything occurred quite contrary to his expectation, or when any word let fall provoked him very much, was that same one which is noticed in the gravest Arabs; he clutched his beard in his hand.

There are in this dismal life some spots of surpassing gloom. Why was his son Don Carlos disposed to rebel against him? It is now but too certain that he wished to do so. Assuredly the prince presented a decided contrast to his father; the latter, particularly at first, all calm and pacific; the former, on the contrary, fired with an enthusiastic love of arms, ardently attached to the soldiery, and of an impetuosity of character that disdained to conceal ambition, cruelty, or any other passion. He displayed a brilliant munificence, strikingly opposed to the king's frugality||. The

more restrictions there were imposed on him, the more passionate became his inclinations. He was still very young when the question began to be agitated of entrusting him with some lieutenantancy. But this was not done. He had reason to expect a greater degree of independence from his marriage, which was already negotiated and agreed on; but the father took to himself the son's destined bride. As often as a war broke out he longed to join in it, and he always was forced to remain at home. At last he made it the sole object of his wishes, that the pacification of the Netherlands should be committed to him: Alva was preferred to him. Thus this impetuous spirit, shut out on all sides from active exertion, and driven back upon itself, was thwarted and irritated to madness. Now would Carlos kill Alva, and escape by flight from his father; now had he no rest day or night, till he cried out that he meditated a deed against a man he hated, for which he besought absolution beforehand, till he was frantic enough to give the theologians of Atocha grounds for surmising that his father was the hated foe whose life he threatened*. Did his father then leave him to pine away and die in prison? Or is the story really true, that the coffin in which Carlos lay was opened, and his head found severed from his body? Be it enough to say, that Philip lived on such deplorable terms with his son, that he must either fear every thing at his hand, or doom him to death without pity.

This matter had no doubt some influence on the subsequent discipline practised by this monarch with his children. When he had his heir apparent, Philip, brought up for an unusual length of time, and with injurious severity, among women, it was thought that he bore Don Carlos in mind†. He took care not to give him a grandee for his tutor. He did not even suffer, as it is said, that his son and his faithful daughter, Isabella, should speak with each other unknown to himself.

He lived, however, to see the natural and inevitable result of all this. As his end drew nigh he saw his kingdom exhausted of men, and burdened with debts, his foes and his revolted subjects powerful, alert, and provided with means of attack; but the successor, who might have remedied those evils, and resisted those enemies, he saw not. His son was wholly incapable. It is said that this conviction once quite overcame him. He bewailed it to his son-in-law, Albert of Austria, and to Isabella, whom he greatly loved: "To his grace in bestowing on him so great a realm, God had not been pleased to add the grace of granting him a successor capable of continuing to rule it. He commended the realm to them both." The old

* This was remarked by Cabrera, lib. xi. p. 869. "El rey catolico habiendo usado para reduccion de los Flamencos del rigor, blandura: castigo, perdon: armas, paz: y sin fruto.

† Cabrera mentions the "medio di concerto y blandura que S. Magestad havia mostrado querer provar tras los de las armas y rigor."

‡ Lippomano, Relatione di Napoli.

§ Contarini: "E' gravissimo in tutte sue operationi, si che non esce mai parola della bocca sua nè atto alcuno dalla sua persona che non sia molto bene ponderato et pesado. Modera felicissimamente tutti i suoi affetti."

|| Tiepolo: "E nelle attioni sue così ardente et si può dir precipitoso. Si sdegna facilmente et prorompe tanto che si può dir crudele. . . . E amico della verità et nemico de buffoni. Si diletta di giolie, perche di man sua ne intraglia.

Stima poco ognuno, se ben è grande, parendoli a gran lungo che nessun li possa pareggiare. Suol dire: Chi debbe far elemosine, se non le danno i principi? E' splendidissimo in tutte le cose et massime nel beneficiar chi lo serve." Soriano (MS.) thus describes Carlos: "E' simile al padre di faccia, è però dissimile de costumi; perchè è animoso, accorto, crudele, ambizioso, inimicissimo de buffoni, amicissimo de soldati."

* L'histoire de l'huissier, in Llorente, Hist. de l'Inquisition, iii. 151. It has been sufficiently proved in recent times that Carlos perished through his irregularities in prison. (Note to the second edition.)

† Khevenhiller's account of 1621. Annal. Ferdin. ix. 1270.

king said this with tears, he who had shed no tears at the death of his children*.

3. Philip III.

The Spaniards have a book relating to Philip III., which ascribes many virtues to that monarch. If I mistake not, human virtues are of two kinds: in the one case their active impulses are directed outwards, and are expansive in their nature; in the other, these are turned inwards with a self-contracting force: and whilst the virtues of the former class belong more to the stronger minded, and those of the latter to the weaker, it is the due combination of both that constitutes the faultless man. Now just such a combination does the book we speak of ascribe to the king: it describes him as brave, open-handed, and sage, and at the same time element, pious, and chaste. Why then was Philip II. alarmed at the prospect of being succeeded by a son so well endowed? Why did he think of setting governors over him?

Poreño, the author of the book, does not leave us in doubt. For what is the bravery he extols in Philip? It is that he controls himself, and refuses to take vengeance. In what consists his open-handedness? He makes donations to churches, founds colleges, and sends money to the Persians, that they might keep the Turks employed, and hinder them from infesting the coasts of Spain. Lastly, wherein does his sagacity display itself? In the fact that he submits to be instructed, that he shapes his course according to the judgment of others†. And so vanish all his active virtues.

We have seen how Charles V. was so constituted, that his nature could hardly attain to a free exercise of its powers; but it did arrive at that stage of growth at last; that monarch was indefatigable in the field and in the council. Again, we saw how one half of this active capacity remained for ever denied to Philip II.; how sedulously that sovereign avoided all energetic movements, all personal contact with others; but in solitude and in his cabinet he too was unwearied in his labours. Philip III. could brace himself to neither of these courses. He was very far from taking delight in a stirring life in the field or in the fight; but he also resigned to others the business of the cabinet.

Don Philip III. was of a small, well-shaped person, with a small, round, agreeable, white and red face; he had the family lips. He had been taught to display a certain air of dignity when he appeared in public; but naturally he was altogether cheerful and unpretending in his appearance. He had passed his youth in weakness, obedience, and not very profitable occupations. An unhealthy nurse had communicated to him a malady of which he never thoroughly got rid: it was not till his fourteenth year that he cut his

second teeth, so slowly did his constitution unfold. He was certainly not entirely destitute of the talent to comprehend; nevertheless his tutor, Loaisa, with all his minute and pedantic rigour, did not carry him much further than grammar and a smattering of St. Thomas. Was it the trial befitting a prince's mettle, that they made him support theses and syllogisms in the Escorial? Above all they instilled into him the strictest obedience to his father, and never was that duty more inviolably observed by a son. The charge has been gravely alleged against Loaisa that he educated the prince with a view to ruling him at a future time*.

At any rate, the prince seemed from the first more fitted and more inclined to receive impulses from others than to impart them. When his father announced to him that he should now take part in the affairs of state, that he should return as a man to the chamber he had left more like a child, he said not a word, kissed his father's hand, and remained the same as ever. Even when Philip showed him the portraits of three young princesses, one of whom he might select for his bride, and repeatedly urged him to make his choice, there was no bringing him to a decision, "for his father's will was his taste." He left it, so to speak, to death to decide for him†. Two of the three princesses died.

After the death of his father, when he himself became king, he resigned all authority from the very first into the hands of the duke of Lerma, as we shall presently see. Other sovereigns have done something of the same kind, but only that they might be free to pursue their pleasures. He knew no pleasures to which he could wish to devote himself. What he seemed to have most taste for was travelling, playing at ball, and throwing dice till a late hour of the night. But his fondness even for these amusements was not very decided. It was plain after all that he only played to pass away the time, not for any gratification such occupations afforded him‡.

Thus he appears in this world without taking part in it, without acquiring any active character, without suffering himself to be tempted to the indulgence of any passion. He blushes and casts down his eyes if a lady looks upon him with vivacity in the palace. He affirms, and we may really take his word for it, he looks upon a beautiful woman only from thankfulness to God for having made so perfect a creature§.

But no! there is something in him that does at

* Relazione della vita del re di Spagna et delli privati. "Pate tutta via una certa infirmità et la chiamano usoglie (!) Don Francesco de Avila, marchese di Velada, fu quello a cui si raccomandò et commise la custodia di questo principe: e Garzia de Loaisa, che morse arcivescovo di Toledo, fu maestro per insegnarli le scienze et virtù cristiane et politiche che bisognano a così gran discepolo. Questi ebbero per scopo, poiché il padre era vecchio, infermo et molto vicino alla morte, di allevare S. M. in maniera che l'potessero reggere et maneggiare come loro tornava commodò et quasi tiranneggiarlo. Questo scopo hebbe più di ogn'altro il Loaisa."

† Khevenhüller, Annales Ferdinandei, an. 1598.

‡ Relat. della vita, etc. "Dei gusti non si è potuto scoprire più che il correre la posta, far viaggi, giocare a pillotta et a caccia, et in questa materia tirare più che alli uccelli. . . . Gioca ancora et molto bene a dadi buona parte della notte, et questo più per spassarsi che per dilettersi del gioco."

§ Poreño, Dichos y hechos de Felipe III. c. iv. p. 299.

* Rel. della vita del re di Spagna, MS. "Gli disse che egli ben sapeva il gran valore et le qualità dell' infanta, che erano tali che in essa et in suo marito aveva poste le sue speranze: già che dio per li suoi peccati, ancorche gli avesse fatto gratie di tanti regni et domini, non gli haveva per reggerli et governarli dato figliuoli: perchè il principe non era che un ombra di principe, non havendo talento per comandare, di maniera che dubitava che non dovesse essere occasione di molti gran danni alla sua casa."

† Poreño, Dichos y hechos del Rey Don Felipe III. cap. ii. vii. xl.

times incite him to action. There lives within him, interwoven with the very core of his existence, a spirit of rigorous Catholic devotion, whether inherited from his father or implanted in him by education. How often meeting with the procession of the host does he accompany it even beneath the poorest roof! It is with great unwillingness he returns from Valladolid, whither the court had been transferred, to Madrid; but he does so because his confessor tells him it is for God's service. He kneels down before a poor friar to receive his blessing, and thinks his indisposition relieved when he has obtained it. After the death of his wife there needs a heavenly voice to comfort him, speaking in very choice Castilian; yet he does not conceive the least suspicion*.

This turn of thought sometimes impels him to active exertion. It seems to him an important duty to bring all men to acknowledge "the mystery of the immaculate conception of the angel queen, the most holy Mary." For this he consults with his learned men, for this he makes his bishops and archbishops write to Rome, and is ready even to make a pilgrimage thither on foot if necessary; nor can his children afford him greater delight than by repeating, "Holy Mary conceived without sin."—"So, my children," he answers, "do I also believe†."

But all the results of his religious promptings were not equally inoffensive. We see him making warlike preparations in the year 1609. The veteran Spanish troops are summoned from Spain. The galleys of Naples and Sicily, of Castile, of Portugal and Catalonia, put to sea, and the names of Doria and Santa Cruz, are heard again upon the waters. The king makes a vow to St. James, and to his wife, the Blessed Virgin, to obtain success in the proposed attempt. And for what was all this done? What was the enemy to be encountered? The campaign was against a people that raised its corn and its sugar for the kingdom, against the poor Moriscoes of Valencia, who had long been baptized and disarmed. The crime imputed to them was certainly not very clear; their grand fault was that they were not yet thoroughly Catholic. And, behold, an image of the Virgin has wept; whole clouds of steaming sweat have oozed from another; the bell of Velilla has struck: now is the king fully determined; he will not hear one word of remonstrance. And now when all has been accomplished, when the streets of Valencia have been strewn with corpses, when so many Moors have perished by sea under the cruel treatment of their robberlike captors, and scarcely a third part of them have been landed in Africa; then goes the queen and lays the foundation-stone of the church she had vowed, and the king undertakes his pilgrimage to St. Jago; whilst the Spaniards reckon up 3700 battles fought within the last 800 years between them and these Moors, now finally expelled; and they appoint a solemn holiday for an everlasting memorial of this enterprise‡.

If religious opinions were the sole causes that

could prompt Philip III. to action, so were they also the only source of his uneasiness. Before we can fully understand the how and the wherefore of this matter, we must take more minute note of the administration of his favourites. Here it is enough to state that the thought smote him at last, he had done sinfully in conceding so much power to those favourites; and that no consolatory arguments were strong enough to assure him of that blessedness in another world, for which he had lived a life of such purity, chastity, and devotion to the church; so that he departed in a kind of despair*.

Conclusion.

These are the three sovereigns whose administration we propose considering further. But first it is well worth our noting how like each other, and yet how different they were.

The Spanish line of the house of Habsburg is remarkable for having continued itself by marriages exclusively within its own family.

The wife of Charles V. was his own niece by blood; that wife of Philip II. who bore him his heir, was of the house of Austria, and so likewise was the queen of Philip III. Philip IV. married his own niece, and from the marriage sprang Charles II., the last scion of the house of Habsburg in Spain.

From this may have arisen the fact, that in no other race have the children so much resembled their parents in form and features as in this. There is a curious substantiation of this fact in our Relationi. Leonardo Moro portrays king Philip IV. in the very words employed by Soriano to describe Philip II.; whether it was that this was an accidental coincidence, or that Moro saw the description of the grandfather to be quite applicable to the grandson.

Now where education, circumstances, and habits of life are the same, it is not at all unlikely that the physiognomy of the soul should be as hereditary as that of the body, a fact of which we daily see thousands of instances; maxims and thoughts may pass consciously or unconsciously from father to son; but is the force, the indwelling energy that alone constitutes the man of action, that gives him his value and his influence on society, is this too hereditary?

We know the prophetic words spoken of the Merovingian race by the bride of Childerick, on her nuptial night, and how they proved but too true. The race of Pepin long brought forth men and heroes, and Charlemagne was surrounded by valorous sons. The nation had sworn never to depart from them. But from that time forth there was a continual descent, generation after generation, down to weaklings, who remained all their lives in a state of non-age. Three nations were constrained to abjure them in spite of the oath. The Spanish line of the house of Habsburg may be compared with the sons of Pepin and the Merovingians.

We are here verging on the mysteries of life, where it is fed by hidden and sometimes sealed fountains. This only we may venture to assert, that the man is not fashioned by nature alone.

* Davila, Vida y hechos de Felipe III., p. 81 et seqq.

† Poreño, cxil. "De su devocion," p. 330.

‡ Geddes, The History of the Expulsion of the Moriscoes out of Spain, in Miscellaneous Tracts, i., particularly p. 106. Our information is taken from Poreño, pp. 282, 291, and Davila, an. 1610, authors not made use of by Geddes.

* Khevenhillier, an. 1621, p. 1250.

CHAPTER II.

Of the Court and the Ministers.

If we have duly comprehended the character and habits of the monarchs before us, we shall understand as a matter of course what was the position of their ministers. We shall conclude that they could not have possessed any extraordinary importance under Charles V.; that the personal qualities of Philip II. afforded them scope for free action upon all beneath them, and for a considerable re-action upon himself; and that lastly, under Philip III. they must have been omnipotent.

But it is not enough to know this. It is perhaps necessary to be acquainted with the intimates, the immediate organs of the monarchs of independent character; but it is much more important to become acquainted with those on whom much, with those on whom everything, depended. Contemporaries too felt this. The Relations belonging to the times of Charles V. have reference chiefly to the general form of his court and state; those pertaining to Philip II. carry us further into the heart of the subject; and when we come to the times of Philip III. we find the description of the ministries the chief theme of the Relations. It is just the same with the printed works. The information they give us respecting Charles V. is not very minute; they are much more so respecting Philip II., but still there is something suppressed; but as to Philip III., they make no concealment. The importance of a thing augments the attention with which it is regarded. We, too, shall both voluntarily and of necessity adhere to the same course of proceeding; voluntarily, in consideration of the nature of our subject, and of necessity, by reason of the character of our materials.

1. *The Court and State of Charles V.*

The court of Charles V., it must be owned, was of much importance at the time when he had not yet overcome the obstacles to his own freedom of action inherent in himself. It was a thoroughly Burgundian court, constituted exactly after the fashion of those of Philip the Good and Charles the Bold; it consisted of gentlemen*. The immediate servants of the prince were persons of princely blood †: they were under the directions of a lord high chamberlain, who slept in the chamber of the prince, by whom a table was daily provided for them. The household was full of inferior persons of gentle blood ‡. Some of these served as armed retainers; others waited at table, and served bread and wine; several of them had been brought up

* Olivier de la Marche, Mémoires, App. Collect. Univers. tom. ix.

† Cavallo: "Ha S. M. 36 gentilhuomini della camera sua, alli quali non si da più che un scudo il giorno di provisione, et questi per il più sono principi et di parentado di principi." [His majesty has 36 gentlemen of his chamber, who receive each only a scudo a day, and these are for the most part princes and of princely extraction.]

‡ Ibid. "Li gentilhuomini della casa sono intorno a cento, tenuti a servire con armi et cavalli in ogn'un occasione, come allo stato loro ci conviene: delli quali secondo i meriti suoi si eleggono quelli che si chiamano della bocca et sono intorno a 50: oltre al servizio d'armi et cavalli servono al mangiar dell' imperatore."

in the household. All these were under a grand steward of the household, a mayor-domo-mayor, or patron of the court as they called him. Such were the provisions for the service of the household. But when the monarch left the palace, the functions of the master of the horse came into play; for not only was the whole retinue of heralds and trumpeters, of saddlers and tent-keepers, under his control, but his services were particularly required when the monarch set out for a tournament, or armed for battle. On these occasions he dressed the monarch in his armour, and received him on his return; and he was in his immediate proximity in the busiest moments*. With these three officers was associated the father confessor†. He had the control of the two preachers, the chaplains, and those forty musicians who constituted the most perfect choir in the world, and upheld the fame of the Netherlands as the native place of music. The confessor could moreover boast that the sovereign was under his influence in his most solemn and perhaps his most important moments.

We see what were the four chief personages of the court, and it is not to be denied that at first they had great influence on the administration of the state. This has always been so in Germanic nations. There is sometimes reason to doubt which was the original of the two, power and princely dignity, or service about the royal person. The high offices of the German electors certainly admit of no doubts of the kind; but in the case of the palatines of the West Goth kings, which was the earlier of the two, their functions in the palace, or their rank in the kingdom? Was the power of a major domus derived from his position about the Frankish kings, or was that position conferred on one already possessed of power? Be this as it may, Chievres, lord high chamberlain to Charles V., established an almost unlimited authority over the kingdom, upon the almost constant proximity in which he stood to the sovereign. Maingol de Lanoi, the same monarch's master of the horse, a man of no remarkable intrinsic ability, but who had won his sovereign's favour‡, found means thereby to make his own importance acknowledged in the weightiest affairs of Europe. It caused the Spanish grandees no little mortification, on the arrival of Charles in the country, to find the first places occupied by Flemings, and themselves excluded from every station immediately about the king's person. This very circumstance contributed to excite the comunidades to their insurrection.

Now, if the chief personages of the court possessed such decisive influence, the younger members also might look forward to various stations of weight and dignity. No few young men of noble blood, most of them younger sons of great houses, served the court as chaplains, as private priests, and chanted vespers in their surplices. They performed these services, because they were destined for clerical honours, and the disposal of these was

* Cavallo: "Il grand scudiero, che è cavaliere del ordine del tesone, è tenuto armare di sua mano l'imperatore."

† Ibid. "Vi è l'elemosiniere: . . . vi sono cantori, al numero forse di quaranta, la più compita et eccellente cappella della christianità, eletti da tutti i paesi bassi, che sono hoggidì il fonte della musica:—sono poi inferiori ministri:—vi sono due predicatori, un Francese, l'altro Spagnuolo: et tutti questi sono sotto il confessore."

‡ Petrus Martyr, ep. 758. Varchi, Stor. Fiorent. li. p. 10.

in the hands of the court. At the end of from six to ten years, they obtained a bishopric or an abbey*. If a young Croi, on the arrival of Charles in Spain, obtained the first prelate in the kingdom, the archbishopric of Toledo, he was undoubtedly indebted for this to his connexion with the court. Was it likely it should have been otherwise with secular appointments? Was it likely the sovereign should not bethink him, in the first place, of those he had known from their youth upward? The court became a nursery for the state. Obviously it was to be regarded as the centre of the whole system of public life. It is plain how dangerous it were, if a sovereign should become too dependent on its members.

We cannot contemplate this court, or the others of those times, without making one general observation. If we reflect how influential was the education of the nobility, how important in its effects on all the rest of society must have been the change in its notions of what was noble, respectable, and desirable, it will not appear superfluous to inquire, how it was that the knight passed into the cavalier. The qualities that make the knight are valour guided by lofty aims, inviolable fidelity to the suzerain to whom he has pledged his allegiance, and disinterested devotion as regards the fair sex. The cavalier's characteristics are superior personal endowments and accomplishments, which he employs according to the received notions of honour; as regards his sovereign, unconditional obedience, and the complaisance of a courtier; as regards women, address in winning their favour. The broadsword is the weapon of the former, the small sword that of the latter. It seems to me that courts, such as was the Burgundian court under Charles V., and such as it further became under his successors, contributed not a little to bring about this change. There were always about forty pages brought up in them. In what were they instructed? In the whole course of modern training for young men of rank. Dancing and vaulting, riding and fighting; not much science or literature†. Now if the hope of obtaining gracious marks of his favour from the sovereign, prompted to submissive deference towards him; and if the cavalier's daily occupations forced him to attain peculiar proficiency in the before-mentioned exercises, he soon acquired, moreover, a certain gallantry, particularly when the consort of the sovereign likewise kept her court. That tone of feeling, which has been set before us by Calderon, unfolded itself among the Spaniards, to whose minds the catholicism of their monarchy gave a peculiar kind of elevation.

When Charles began to act for himself, he completely dissolved the connexion of the court with public affairs. Nassau and Büren, who played im-

portant parts there in the year 1630, and who stood particularly high in the emperor's favour*, had no share in the administration of the state. After Nassau's death, the post of lord high chamberlain was abolished‡, and we do not find that the so called *somiglier* du corps, who took the duties of the suppressed office upon him, was ever of much importance. Alva was grand steward of the household, but he never had any decided influence under Charles; and if he did possess some weight§, he owed this to other things than his position at court. We hear no more of the power of the grand-master of the horse after Lanoy. The father confessor alone, whose office, as we have seen, constituted an important feature of the court establishment, was of course not to be dispensed with by Charles. There were so many clerical affairs to be discussed, so many that related to the councils, to Turks and Moors, to new Christians and protestants, besides many others, in which he needed the aid of a ghostly counsellor. On all these the father confessor was consulted. It was perceived, however, that he had need to put forward his opinions with all modesty, and to back them by cogent arguments, if he would have them attended to§. It is only over weak natures that confessors have obtained a paramount control. It is no bad proof of the independence with which Charles bore him, that we hear nothing of factions at his court, nothing even of remarkable visitations of disfavour.

Thus gradually vanishes the influence at first exercised by this court; institutions of state arise, which are independent of the court.

But as the provinces of the Spanish realm had distinct administrations, it became a question of commanding interest, how far Charles would have the power to give these a certain unity. The most peculiar institution we find at his court is a supreme administrative council, selected from the several councils of all the provinces. "His majesty," says Cavallo, who is our sole informant on this subject, "has a council for the government of his states collectively, consisting of several *regents* (the superior members of the colleges are so called), one from Sicily, one from Naples, one from Milan, one from Burgundy, one from the Netherlands, one from Aragon, and one from Castile; and in addition to these, there are two or three doctors. These councillors deliberate on all important matters that concern the emperor or the empire at large; each member takes care to make himself acquainted with the concerns of his own province, and reports thereon. The younger Granvella, bishop of Arras, is president of this council||." If the utility of

* Relat. di Contarini: "Amatissimi da Cesare."

† Ordine della casa: Monsr di Prata is here styled secondo ciamblerlano, Monsr di Rye *somiglier*.

‡ Cavallo: "E vero che per cerimonia più che per altro ha ammesso il duca d'Alva."

§ Ibid. "Questo confessore entra in tutti li consigli dove si trattano cose pertinenti alla coscienza, et per questo viene ammesso dove si parla di guerra et anco si parla di giustitia, et particolarmente quando si consultano le denominazioni de beneficii, . . . d'*usure* et quasi di tutte le cose che faccia l'imperatore. Bisogna che lui con destrezza non manchi di dire l'opinione sua fondatamente et con buona ragione et veda di dirlo con tanta modestia che sia accettata la verità: altrimenti fa poco frutto et diminuisce l'autorità sua infinitamente."

|| Cavallo: "Li quali tutti insieme massime nelle cose d'im-

* Cavallo. "Sono de secondogeniti de suoi principi, personaggi di gran qualità de suoi stati, li quali, havendo servito sei, dieci o talhor più anni, sono rimunerati con pensioni, abbatie, vescovati, sì come pare a S. M."

† Cavallo: "Ha S. M. da 20 in 40 paggi, figliuoli di conti et signori suoi vasalli et anco alcuni d'altra nazione, per il vivere de quali S. M. paga un sesto di scudo (they had according to the Ordine della casa a governorate, who provided for them, and received five scudi a month for each): di più li veste ogn'anno, ma non molto sontuosamente: gli tiene maestri che gl'insegnano bellare et di giuoco di spada, cavalcare, volteggiare a cavallo et un poco di lettere."

such a council would be obvious even in a monarchy possessed of an organic unity, how much more must this have been the case in an empire made up of co-ordinate, and almost independent kingdoms. Its members might be looked on as at once organs of the executive, and as representatives of their native states. If, on the one hand, they were bound to uphold the several local interests against that of the general body, on the other hand, they could not be blind to the necessity for combination; they could not obstinately stand out against this; and the provinces must have found it easier to obey what was enjoined by a council, in which they saw one of their own people sitting as a member*, than what was imposed on them by absolute authority, without appeal. In such a council, too, there was a greater facility for duly balancing the mutual relations of the provinces.

This council, however, was not considered singly sufficient. There was, certainly, need of another, of more strict unity, for the control of the complicated monied affairs of the empire. The emperor had a council of finance, which he consulted on the state of his income and expenditure, the loans he proposed to make, and the interest he was willing to grant†. The respective characteristics of these two councils I imagine to have been, that the one demanded what the other unwillingly granted.

There was over both these, in the latter part of the reign of Charles, a council of state, which, however, was of but little importance. Alva and the father confessor were members of it. Cavallo asserts, that this council had but little to do.

The emperor was fond of taking counsel of a single individual; Gattinara and the elder Granvella successively enjoyed his confidence. Gattinara was an Italian, from the foot of the Alps, who acquired his experience in the administration of Upper Burgundy. We have letters of his that bespeak a certain boldness even to the sovereign's face, and in contradiction to him, and the most lively sense of honour. "I would live in accordance with the laws of honour," he says, "though no one saw me, though I lived in the heart of a forest." These letters are remarkable for the happy art with which they always hit the very central point of policy‡. We know, however, that their author's influence was not paramount. Though a man of penetration, and firmly rooted in the favour of Charles, still he could not enforce his views on important occasions. It has already been mentioned how close and constant was the community of ideas between Granvella and his master. The emperor sent him every report, and all the negotiations carried on with foreign ambassadors;

and Granvella used, every evening, to send the emperor a note containing his notions respecting the business for the following day. When an oral consultation was held between the two, the confessor was indeed admitted to it, but he had no part in the decision*. Now, neither do we find it said of Granvella that he led Charles; it is only said that he agreed with his master.

The execution of those matters which were thus determined between the king and his confidential advisers, was further discussed with the two councils. The chanceries, one of which had charge of matters pertaining to the Germanic empire, another, of those of the Italian states independent of that empire, and third, of those of Spain, made out the orders which were then transmitted to the several provincial administrations.

We see how much the unity of the whole body politic was centred in the person of the emperor. No doubt he encountered multiplied limitations in the constitutions of his dominions, the policy of his neighbours, and the frequently inauspicious turn of affairs; still we find him, to the very close of his life, always firm and independent of extraneous influence in the exercise of supreme authority.

2. The first Ministry of Philip II.

We have seen that the calm and reserved nature of Charles had pliancy enough to accommodate itself to various nations. We admit that his reign was conspicuous for the personal independence he maintained, and for the equal regard he extended to all his dominions.

Did his son succeed him as well in his system of government as in his rights?

Again and again in the history of the house of Habsburg, we find it endeavouring to coerce one nation by means of another, and to rule such as were ill-disposed to it by foreign aid. Rudolf I. subjugated the Austrians with the help of Swabians, many a man of whom marched with him on foot, and ere long acquired an income of 10,000 marks, and against whose permanent dominion Austria vainly struggled†. To make himself master of the Netherlands, Maximilian made use of the resources of Austria, of those troops Gaudenz von Ems brought him from the Tyrolean wars, and of German auxiliaries. Again, Philip I. entered Spain with Flemish and German troops; and it was to Flemings that Charles at first entrusted the government of Spain.

But Charles corrected himself, and in his later years we find Spaniards, Flemings, and Italians treated by him with equal favour.

But a peculiar re-action exhibited itself under Philip II. As the Spaniards acquired the habit of regarding themselves, though not altogether justly, as the victors in the Italian and German wars, and the founders of the monarchy, as their pride arrogated to themselves the first rank among the nations constituting the same, and that so success-

portanza consultano et giudicano ogni cosa particolare pertinente all'imperatore o alli stati, et separamente ogn'uno di loro della sua propria provincia s'instruisce et riferisce a gli altri, sollecitando l'espeditone: capo de quali tutti è Monsignor d'Arras: et questi hanno di provisione dall'imperatore da mille scudi sino in 1500 l'anno."

* Respecting the Neapolitan member, see Giannone, Storia di Napoli, xxx. c. 2. The Cortes of Madrid, 1552, Pet. i. say that two members of the council of Castile must always accompany the imperial court.

† Cavallo: "Sono vi poi a parte di tesoriere consultori, che sono ragionati (perhaps ragionatori), e con il consiglio d'alcuni di questi S. M. piglia a cambio."

‡ His letters to Margaret, governess of the Netherlands, in the Lettres de Louys XII. vol. iv.

* Cavallo: "Si serve l'imperatore del consiglio suolo di Monsignor Granvella. La cosa si risolve tutta fra l'imperatore et Monsignor Granvella. Rare volte, anzi dico rarissime, sono discrepanti fra loro d'opinione o conclusioni,—non solo nelli negotii di stato, ma in qual altra cosa possa occorrere a lui, come d'andare, stare, far venire, licenziare et risolvere tutte le cose."

† Albertus Argentinensis, ap. Urstis, il. p. 103.

fully, that the two sons of Charles, the legitimate Philip, and the illegitimate Don John, both insisted on being nothing but genuine Spaniards*, so they gradually made pretensions to a predominant share in the general government. Philip admitted their claims. The first deviation from Charles's system was that Philip regarded Castile as the head of the empire. Next, the council composed of natives of the several provinces disappeared. After Philip took up his residence permanently in Spain, and indeed, in consequence of that circumstance, he adopted a system of administration by which the other territories were treated as subordinate provinces of Castile. There had for some time existed distinct councils for judicial affairs, for the inquisition, the knightly orders, and the Indies, and now certain new ones were added to these, namely for Aragon, for Italy, and for the Netherlands; and though the latter were essentially quite different from the former, they seemed so only in incidentals†. All these councils were in immediate contact with the king. True, he never was present at their sittings; but he made it a practice, at least in the earlier part of his reign, to have their resolutions brought forward in a *consulta*‡. It continued, certainly, to be the custom for some native representatives to sit in these committees, but the former sittings and consultations in general assembly fell into disuse.

The care of the general body of the realm lay principally with the privy council. May this have consisted of members selected from the various territories of the Spanish empire?

The manner in which Philip II.'s privy council of state was constituted, is highly deserving of notice. While he was yet *principe* he had a court assigned him, constituted in the Burgundian fashion, and made up almost wholly of Castilians. The duke of Alva was grand steward of the household; Don Antonio de Toledo, of the same family as Alva, was master of the horse; Figueroa, count of Feria, likewise nearly related to Alva, commanded the Spanish body-guards. Among the chamberlains (for the office of lord high chamberlain, abolished by the father, was not continued in the household of the son) we remark especially Don Ruy Gomez de Silva; he was a scion of the Portuguese branch of a family extensively ramified in Spain and Portugal, and he became conspicuous for the decided favour in which he stood with Philip. These were the persons essentially constituting the court of the *principe*§. How great must our surprise be to

see him after he had become king, though he had his father's system of business before him, though he was not so young as to give himself up to whomsoever chance happened to place near him, forming, nevertheless, his privy council out of these same persons, and committing to their guidance the affairs of the whole united empire. Alva, Toledo, Ruy Gomez, and Feria, were all members of this council. Two other Spaniards were associated with them, Manrique de Lara, the queen's mayor-domo-mayor, and the duke of Francavilla. On the other hand, neither the victories of Emanuel of Savoy, nor the ties of blood between the king and Ottavio Farnese, nor the old services of Ferrante Gonzaga, nor the recent and distinguished services of Egmont, were potent enough to give them a place in the council. Even the younger Granvella, who had been engaged ever since his youth in the policy of the monarchy, was invited to the sittings only on occasions when his presence was indispensably necessary, but on all others he was really excluded from the general deliberations*. It was thought enough to give him a post in the Netherlands, an important one no doubt, but not commensurate with his former position. Whatever consideration was bestowed on the others, seemed only to be with a view to preventing them from giving themselves up to any foreign potentate, and to keeping them in some degree in good humour†.

Such was the first shape assumed by Philip II.'s council of state, and whatever enlargements it received were made in the same spirit. We find admitted into it the presidents of the council proper of Castile, of the council of inquisition, of that of the orders, and of the old council; we do not find in it a president of Aragon; and if a president of Italy sat in it, it was that same Francavilla, who had been a member of it already, before the time of his presidency.

Through these two changes, the suppression of the general administrative council, and the metamorphosis of the privy council into a completely Castilian shape, Castile was decidedly exalted to be the head of the empire; the greatest influence over the remaining territories was afforded to the Spaniards. "The king," says Soriano, "has no regard but for Spaniards; with these he converses, with these he takes counsel, with these he rules‡." What was the effect of this we shall have to consider by and by: the question at present is, what was the shape assumed by the supreme administration, and how far did Philip remain independent or dependent with regard to it? In the beginning of his reign king Philip adopted the following course: after the first hours of morning he gave audience to foreign ambassadors; he then heard mass

* Lippomano on Don John: "in somma vuole essere tenuto Spagnuolo in tutte le cose."

† Sommario dell'ordine che se tiene alla corte di Spagna circa il governo degli stati del re catolico, MS., sets enumerates the eleven councils: "Il consiglio delle Indie—di Castilia, (i.e. the supreme court of judicature of Castile)—d'Aragona—d'Inquisition—di camera (a part of the supreme court before-mentioned)—dell'ordini di guerra, (i.e. the privy council, with the addition of some persons acquainted with military affairs)—di hazienda—di giustizia—d'Italia—et di stato"

‡ Tiepolo: "Non si trova mai S. M. presente alle deliberazioni nel consiglio, ma deliberato chiama una delle tre consulte, secondo che il negotio gli aspetta: l'una è di Spagna, l'altra delle Indie et la terza d'Italia, alla qual sempre si ritrovava."

§ Sandoval, Vida y hechos del Emperador Carlos V. ii. 756.

* Soriano: "Monsignor d'Aras, se bene è stato adoperato tanto dall'imperatore nelle cose grandi et se bene resti con quel suo grado col re, però non va nel consiglio et non vien chiamato se non s'ha da trattar cosa che habbi difficoltà o che non si possa nascondere."

† Soriano: "Più per bisogno che s'havea di lui (Ferrante Gonzaga) che per volontà che havessero di favorirlo."

‡ Soriano adds: "Contro il costume dell'imperatore fa poco conto d'Italiani et di Fiamenghi et manco di tutt'i Tedeschi. Et se bene intratene huomini principalissimi d'ogni nazione delli suoi regni, però si vede che non vole admettere alcuno nelli consigli secreti." In another place: "I Spagnuoli come figliuoli primogeniti sono più cari et più favoriti. A questi si danno li premi, a questi li honori."

in his chapel; after this he dined publicly; and after dinner he received the petitions, and heard the requests of his subjects. In all matters laid before him, he referred to his counsellors; all statements were reduced to writing by a secretary, and sent to the functionaries to whose department they belonged*. Their decisions were communicated to the king in the consultas he appointed; or, as was afterwards the exclusive practice, they were given in to him on a sheet of paper. The petitioners now received the king's final reply confirmed by his signature.

Now if the king, as Tiepolo assures us was still the case in 1567, made it a regular practice to ratify the decisions of the privy council except in matters concerning Flanders, and those of the other functionaries except in matters of grace†, it is essential that we should know the conditions of these functionaries, and particularly the intrinsic constitution of the privy council, from which issued the most important decisions.

Now it happened that the two leading personages in the privy council, Ruy Gomez de Silva, and the duke of Alva, set themselves in decided mutual opposition.

Ruy Gomez had ingratiated himself with his lord and master by his personal address, and by the talent with which he played the discreet courtier. Modest in questioning, and concise in his replies, not much given to debating, seeking to know no more than his sovereign chose to imply, and keeping every thing secret, not exalting his house beyond a moderate degree of splendour, he perfectly fell in with Philip's ways. It was by an easy and unassuming, a helpful and compliant alacrity in service, that he won his favour; and he was very well aware that he must hold fast by these qualities. He was content to carry his point, even though the means were not altogether agreeable. It was his opinion, that if a man had a better insight into any matter than his sovereign, he should carefully avoid letting the latter ever become aware of this; that it was not so much by direct advice as by covert hints a man should accomplish his ends; that one should be the Mæcenas of his Augustus, and then would he be held meritorious before God and man. Cabrera calls him a lucky pilot in the perilous gulf of the court; but he was unquestionably more than this, he aimed at preserving more than himself‡.

A very different man was Alva, with nothing of these arts and these discreet considerations. His influence he owed to his distinguished merits as a subject of the monarchy, to his hair grown grey in the service of its kings, to his experience, his reputation in war, and his ever determined soul. He desired to maintain or to augment that influence, but by no personal suppleness. If he desired prac-

tical power, he wished likewise for its visible semblance. He evinced towards the throne the bitterness of wounded pride that feels it has an unlimited lord above it. It was not said for the first time in the days of Frederick the Great, that a monarch sucks the pomegranate and then flings away the empty rind. The saying was the Duke of Alva's. "But we must not let ourselves be sucked dry," he said, "we must not let ourselves be read through and through. Men fling aside a book they have read to the end*." They were talking once at the court of the possibility of conquering Portugal, and the good marquis de los Veles declared how much he desired it. Alva took a different view of the matter. "What asylum," said he, "would our children have left them, to fly to from a king?" He bethought him that the marquis was no friend to him. He had the face to relate this incident himself to the king. And yet he conquered Portugal: and yet he wished to see the immunities of the Aragonese suppressed; and yet he went to bring Flanders under the yoke†. For he had the aristocrat's inclination to help despotism, provided only he did not himself endure its pressure.

Such were the rival leaders of the privy council. If they had conflicting interests and pretensions, if their respective relations and friends stood aloof from each other, still it was principally by the antagonism of their own natures that they were alienated from each other. Their respective positions with reference to the king, are not badly expressed in the words Alva ventured to let fall in the royal antechamber, namely, that his rival "was not exactly qualified to give advice, but was a master in the art of humouring the one within there‡." They implicated the privy council and the whole court in their strife; there was scarcely anything on which the two factions thought alike.

Did the king remain unaffected by this discord? Had it not an essential influence on his system of government, nay, on his own opinions and decisions?

He did not remain unaffected by it. As in the collisions that took place between them, he sided now with the one, now with the other; as he commended first Ruy Gomez, and then Alva also to an adelantado to which they both lay claim§, so he allowed them both a certain influence; and we find him limiting for the sake of the one, what he had conceded for the sake of the other. Ruy Gomez succeeds in having a Mendoza appointed ambassador to Rome; Alva contrives that he shall only be an extraordinary ambassador. After this Ruy Gomez procures a resolution that the post of ordinary ambassador should be conferred on Vargas; but Alva excites doubts as to whether Vargas was of sufficiently noble birth for so high a post; and the king joins in the doubt||. Now if a stranger had any point to carry at this court he was

* At first this was done by the *Ajutanti della camera*. Tiepolo: "Li memoriali visti da alcuni suoi ajutanti di camera sono inviati al segretario di quel consiglio che ha questo carico d'espediti questi tali memoriali. Onde conviene che quello che negotia, anda a quel consiglio a qual è rimesso."

† "Rare volte sono mosse le deliberationi da S. M.—rare volte si parte dal loro consiglio."

‡ Cabrera, Don Felipe segundo, p. 184, 712, and elsewhere. Compare also Scipio di Castro, *Avvertimenti* respecting Sicily, p. 340; Molino's Report on Savoy; and above all the letters of Antonio Perez, the intimate friend of Ruy Gomez, particularly Carta a un gran privado, i. p. 75.

* Alva's words were, "Reyes usan de hombres como de naranja, que la buscan por el zumo y en sacandoselo la arrojan de la mano." Perez, *Segundas Cartas*, p. 136.

† *Relacione de Antonio Perez*, p. 131.

‡ "Gran maestro de lo di aqui dentro." Alva's words as quoted by Antonio Perez. *Cart. i*, 75.

§ Lettera di Monsignore di Terracina, nunzio di Pio IV., MS. mentions this: "Come Sua Maestà è benigna e gratiosa e non può denegare il suo lavoro a chi ne richiede."

|| *Ibid.*

driven to despair, seeing on the one hand how necessary it was to conciliate both leaders, since they both had influence with the king, and on the other hand how impossible it was to stand well with the one without losing the good will of the other. People thanked God when they were in such a position, that though they had not either decidedly on their side, yet they had neither decidedly against them*. It was only a Roman ambassador who succeeded in gaining the good will of both; for had not the one just as much reason as the other to covet the pope's favour? Here their strife put on a new shape, and they vied in proving each his own devotedness. And after all, Monsignore di Terracina, papal nuncio in Madrid, was obliged to promise both the victory in the affair of the adelantado; assuring Alva, who only demanded justice, he should have an impartial tribunal, and giving Ruy Gomez, who wished to be favoured, reason to expect judges inclined to his interests. It is easy enough to see how matters stood. Almost every affair was made subject of dispute between the two party leaders; both possessed undeniable influence, both sought to exert it to the utmost, and on all occasions; the consequence was, that the greater the importance of any affair the less likely was it to be brought to any definite conclusion, and that the tardiness in all official proceedings, which had already been noticed under Charles, now reached an intolerable degree†. So far then was this conflict of interests from being without influence upon the state. But would any one have imagined that it was not altogether unwelcome to the king? Yet such would almost appear to have been the case. Every occupation, Philip once said, has its rules, and so has that of a king as much as any other. Accordingly it was for good and substantial reasons he did not appear in the privy council. The presence of the sovereign is a bar to the free utterance of opinion, and makes every man speak as if he stood in a pulpit. But leave the members to themselves, then they fall into disputes, and when they are heated their opinions and their passions display themselves more in their true colours. Their mutual strife will afford the king the best advice, if he can only find a faithful reporter‡. He thought he could in no way gather better counsel than from the conflict of opinions. It is said that in the affairs of Flanders he sometimes had a sitting held in which Ruy Gomez only, and another in which Alva alone of the two rivals was present, so that he might fully possess himself of their several views§.

In fact this monarch did not keep himself wholly independent either of the one or the other; never-

theless he maintained a certain superiority over both. If I am not mistaken he had naturally a decided susceptibility for others' counsel, a decided need of it; but therewith so strong an inclination to be personally active, to carry out business with his own hand, and so lively a jealousy for his own supreme consequence, that though he did not indeed escape the influence of others, but underwent it perhaps unconsciously*, still he well knew how to prevent its ever obtruding itself very manifestly. Nevertheless there can be no doubt that Ruy Gomez gradually acquired the upper hand, so judiciously did he comport himself towards his master, so much did he possess the art of bringing about his designs without letting them be perceived; so much was he aided by his office as *sonnighier du corps*, which kept him always near the sovereign's person. In affairs of war indeed Alva always had a decisive voice; but Ruy Gomez gave the empire itself a pacific tendency; in doubtful cases he was always for peace. The finances, and the affairs of the home administration, were almost wholly in his hands†.

While these two men thus strove with each other, whilst Alva saw himself ousted from the foremost place by a man of supple character, who was not particularly remarkable for his distinguished services, and whilst he was probably for that reason filled with the bitterness we note in him, it came to pass that a third candidate for the royal favour rose to eminence between them both.

A doctor stepped in between the prince and the duke. This was doctor Diego Spínosa, who had risen through the gradations of judicial offices to the dignity of president of Castile. After this, having now more frequent opportunity of approaching the king, he ingratiated himself with his majesty in the highest degree by his dignified appearance, the originality of his character, and the lofty intellect of which he gave token‡. He was indefatigable in his love of labour, even to jealousy of others. He managed almost alone the business of the council of Castile, and gave the other members as little as possible to do. But this was not yet enough for him. He furthermore took upon him the office of grand inquisitor; he presided in the council of Italy; he also took an active part in the privy council; and in all these occupations he was equally ardent and prompt. Couriers, who arrived in Madrid with the news of a vacancy which had just occurred in Granada, found him already in possession of the fact; they found the office about which they had been dispatched already disposed of through his intercession. When he rose at last to be cardinal, and the king consequently treated him as an equal, advancing to meet him before the door, uncovering to him, and offering him a chair, so great was the consequence he obtained in the eyes of the people that he was called the monarch of Castile. Many regarded him as a man designed by nature to reign.

I know not whether Ruy Gomez was aiding in

* Soriano: "Chi vuole il favore del duca d'Alva, perde quello di Ruigomez: così per contrario quel che cerca quel di Ruigomez, non ha quel del duca: et può ben ringratiar dio chi si governa in modo con l'uno et l'altro che non s'acquisti contrario a l'uno et l'altro."

† Soriano, where he speaks of the strife: "Donde è nato nasce e nascerà ogni disordine di questa corte: perche con questi dispareri si ritarda l'espeditiione di tutte le cose et pubbliche et private, con pena et disperatione di chi le tratta."

‡ Cartas de Antonio Perez.

§ Tiepolo: "Conoscendo che per gli odii che sono tra il duca d'Alva et Ruigomez, in cose di tanta importanza, quando haveva seguito senza altra considerazione li loro consigli, haveva potuto divenir in qualche disordine, però a parte consigliava in questa mattina (materia no doubt) in absentia l'un dell' altro et poi deliberava quel che più credeva dovesse esserli utile."

* Soriano: "L'imperatore si governava in tutte le cose per opinion sua: il re per quella d'altri."

† Tiepolo.

‡ Perez compares his favour to a flash of lightning: "Privó como relampago." Segundas Cartas, n. 48 a Francisco Lercaro. For the rest see Cabrera, Felipe II. p. 700; Strada, de Bello Belg. dec. i. lib. vi. p. 161, edit. Ratish. 1751, fol.

the promotion of Spinosa; but Cabrera asserts that Spinosa stood by Ruy against Alva, whom they both hated alike. They belonged therefore to one party.

Such was for twelve years the state of things at the court of Spain; two factions engaged in continual secret war; the king rather more inclined to the one, yet without at all sacrificing the other; both actively participating in the administration. We notice them from the time of the king's accession. Soriano tells us, in the year 1558, how both parties exerted themselves for the honour and welfare of the king, but in different ways. In the year 1560, Monsignore di Terracina describes how these parties swayed the court more than ever*; and in 1567, Tiepolo says that no subject presented itself, on which Ruy Gomez and Alva were not at variance.

But afterwards, we find one leader after another supplanted. Alva first.

In the year 1567, the state of affairs in the Netherlands seemed to call imperatively for some attempt to set them at rest, either by mild means through the king's presence, or by force with an army. Ruy was for gentle measures, Alva for force. The king was for the latter course, and he committed the execution to Alva himself. He gave him an almost absolute authority, as the princes of that house more than once did by tried and approved commanders, such as Gonzalvo de Cordova and Pescara in former, and Spinola and Wallenstein in subsequent times†. He dismissed him with such authority, and it seemed a great mark of favour. For all that it was not prejudicial to Alva's opponents. They now enjoyed their influence in public affairs, untroubled by the interference of their detested rival; they controlled the state from its centre. Meanwhile, Alva perpetrated those atrocities in the Netherlands, which have brought down on him the execration of posterity; which were not satisfactory to himself, for he might at the same period have won in warfare with the Turks a better fame, after which his catholic heart thirsted; and which finally, as they failed at last of their purpose, did not advance him in his master's favour.

Spinosa was the second who fell. It was easy to resist an open and decided opponent, whose steps could be discerned; but it was hard to counteract the secret insinuations to which Philip's ear was always open. Spinosa, the very man who seemed to have least to fear from them, was the first to feel how dangerous they were. Was it, perchance, his multifarious activity itself that displeased the king, or the complaints made by the grantees of the pride and inaccessibility of the new cardinal, or other things which have not been revealed? It was Philip's wont to hearken long, and to hearken again, and long could he keep his thoughts concealed, till at last the measure of his wrath was full, and suddenly overflowed. Suffice it to say, as Spinosa was once addressing the king on a Flemish

affair, the latter broke out vehemently against him, and abruptly announced his disgrace. Strong and elastic as was the mind of Spinosa, it was not sufficiently so to endure this: he died that same year, 1571*.

Had not the old favourite, Ruy Gomez, now reason likewise to fear. "Señor Antonio," he said to Perez, "believe me, I would gladly fly from this court, could I but do so." He complained sometimes of the king, saying that a favourite felt more sensibly a slight scratch of the skin, than another would a wound to the bone. He dreaded those secret influences, from which, however, there was no withdrawing the king. He could never rest in full assurance of the royal favour. Accordingly, he was always on his guard; always striving to disarm his opponents by favours obtained for them, and at the same time to give them evidence of his power. And in fact, he was very adroit in these things. Unbending as was the character of Don Carlos, who hated him, and who felt himself affronted if people refused to communicate to him what had passed in private between them and the king, still he managed to subdue even him, and finally to gain him over to his interests‡. By such dexterous caution, exerted without ceasing, he contrived to preserve his influence without any essential diminution till his death, on the 22nd of July, 1572.

But the party that had gathered round him was so well established, that even the death of their leader could not break them up. The princess of Eboli, the widow of Ruy Gomez, supported by the memory of her husband's services, and by powerful relations, maintained a great influence at court. The marquis de los Veles, now the queen's mayordomo-mayor, a man of whom Philip said he was wholly his own, so thoroughly devoted did he appear to the royal person, figured among the men as the head of this party. They saw their friend, Antonio Perez, making bold and rapid way, his influence being founded on the reports with which he furnished the king from the privy council, and not less on the entire devotedness he manifested to him in his efforts to court the royal favour§. The party, closely knit, held together for a considerable time. At last the events in the life of Don John of Austria decided their fortunes. We must give some account of him in this place.

3. Digression respecting Don John of Austria.

It may be supposed that Charles V. loved his natural son, Don John, the more, because he was the child of his old age, the offspring of an amour wrapped in the profoundest mystery. Nevertheless, he gave no heed to him, either during his life or in his will, but contented himself with recommending him to Philip. Was it from regard to the weal of the monarchy, as is supposed, or was it more probably from narrow-sighted love for the child, that he recommended his successor to have

* Cabrera.

† Cartas de Antonio Perez, i. 151.

‡ Tiepolo: "Odiava (il principe Carlo) Don Ruigomez, se ben il era maggiordomo maggior: ma è tale l'astutia con che procede, con la quale (a more than Latin construction) as-tringe hora ad amarlo."

§ See the Relaciones and Cartas of Antonio Perez passim, and Cabrera.

* "Ho cercato d'informarmi con diligenza degli umori di questa corte et inteso primamente che regna più che mal l'intrinseca discordia cominciata molti anni sono tra il duca d'Alva et il principe d'Eboli: onde non solo il consiglio di stato, ma tutta questa corte, è divisa in fazioni."

† Tiepolo: "Si risolve S. M. mandarlo in Fiandra con assoluta podestà, così nel conceder gratia, distribuir gradi et honori," etc.

the boy brought up only with a view to clerical honours*?

In this respect, however, Philip did not follow his injunctions, and probably he regarded it as not the worst act of his life, that he complied more with his brother's inclinations than his father seemed disposed to do. From his earliest years, John displayed a sanguine, lively, and intelligent character, decidedly more adapted to arms than ghostly exercises; for the rest, modest, amiable, and good. In all the unhappy circumstances in which Don Carlos, who was his junior only by one year, and who had been brought up with him, was involved with his father, John manifested a fidelity so unassailable by force or persuasion†, that Philip resolved to employ him in war and statesmanship. The privy council failed not to perceive the unpleasant results that this resolution might have, and hesitated awhile before they acceded to it‡. But did not the realm require a brave young leader, such as he promised to be, a leader of the blood royal?

Accordingly, Don John was sent in the year 1569, against the insurgent Moors of Grenada, accompanied by men of experienced knowledge in war, and by a secretary, Juan de Soto, of the party of Gomez, in whom the most implicit confidence was reposed. The young man now evinced a courage and a talent for war, that forthwith opened to him a grand career in life. The progress of the Turkish arms was still a common source of alarm to all Europe; the conquest of Cyprus was beheld as a general calamity; and as, moreover, there was no war elsewhere, the eyes of all Christendom were bent on the league which, after long delays, was at last formed by some western powers against the enemy in the East. At the head of that league stood Don John, as leader of the combined fleets. What may have been his feelings when he won such a victory as that of Lepanto, a victory so glorious, complete, and decisive, as had never before been achieved by Christendom; when, young as he was, he appeared in his own eyes, and in those of others, in the light of a hero and a champion, a very hope of Christendom! But a change took place in him at this moment.

Don John was in the prime of youthful manhood. When he appeared among the ladies in the winter entertainments at Naples, whither he went after the victory; his figure of the middle size, and fairly proportioned; his long light hair thrown back from his temples with a certain grace, after a fashion which his example brought in vogue§; with the

most agreeable manners, and full of sprightliness and gaiety, it may easily be imagined whether he was a favourite with his fair friends. He was a capital rider; no one surpassed him in tournaments and in the use of arms; after dinner he might be seen playing at ball for five or six hours together, and not sparing himself, for in this too he would be the foremost. But this was not enough for him. He knew well how valuable a thing it is to appear fluent in discourse, courtly, able, and well informed. He comported himself very discreetly with foreign ambassadors; after having transacted business in the morning with secretaries and councillors of state, he often retired to his studies in the afternoon*. He won so far the praise he coveted; but his heart was not yet contented. His whole soul, unsatisfied by the honours daily paid him, and by all he had already achieved, panted after still greater renown. He talked of nothing but deeds of war and victory. He averred that he would fling himself out of the window if he saw any one who made more way than himself on the path of fame. His maxim was, "He who does not push forward goes back."

How did it come to pass that he was no longer content to lend his arm to great enterprises, but that he wished—and this was the change that manifested itself in him—to become independent, to have a dominion of his own, and to be a sovereign? Was this a necessary ingredient in that honour he sought in the eyes of Europe? Or did he feel that Spanish policy was no native element for him, and that he must look for some power of his own? Perhaps he was urged to this desire by the Spaniards themselves. Munificence was among the princely virtues he longed to make his own; he gave away 10,000 ducats on a pilgrimage to Loretto. His brother's privy council however thought him sufficiently recompensed by a grant of 40,000 ducats yearly. Moreover he was the son of an emperor. He often complained that his father had not enabled him to maintain any independent existence, and yet had recognized him†.

Such an independence he thought of working out for himself, and his grand aim was to win it in a Turkish war. The liga first of all gave him hopes, and he expected to render the Venetians such services that they would bestow on him an independent state. But the liga broke up before his eyes‡.

The privy council of Spain itself now set a prospect before him, by commissioning him to conquer Tunis. Don John accepted the task with delight. Juan de Soto often spoke of the flourishing empire of Carthage, which had taken its rise in that very gulf of Tunis. The Lilybæan harbour was reno-

mento, et veste sontuosamente et con tal attillatezza, in modo che è un stupore a vederlo. E poi agile et disposto compitamente, riuscendo senza paragone negli esercitii del corpo."

* Lippomano: "Molte volte sta fin a sera solo nello studio scrivendo di sua mano."

† Ibid. "Più volte ha havuto a dire con dolore, che havendolo publicato per figliuolo in vita dovea anco darli il modo da vivere in quella maniera che deve un figliuolo di così grande imperatore, senza rimetterlo ad altri."

‡ Ibid. "Hebbe pensiero che questa republica gli fusse per dar qualche stato nel Levante; ma con la rottura della lega cessò per all' hora questo disegno."

* Strada, de Bello Belgico, dec. i. lib. x. p. 259. Lippomano (Relatione di Napoli) calls John's mother "Madama di Plombee," a Fleming, (the Blombergs deny the relationship)—"di notabile stirpe in Flandria, la quale hora vive in Aversa con un marito, che le diede dapoi Carlo V. con X mila duc. d'entrata." MS.

† Original documents in Llorente, Histoire de l'Inquisition. Lippomano: "Essendo ben giovanetto non volse acconsentire a gli trattati del principe Carlo: anzi con gran pericolo della sua vita gli scoprì a S. M."

‡ Perez regards, as a peculiarly important secret, the division in the royal councils respecting the destination of Don John, "y los fines de cada vanda dellos." Segundas Cartas, 142.

§ Lippomano: "E di bellissimo aspetto et mirabil gratia; ha poca barba et mustacchi grandi: è di pel biondo et porta lunghi i capelli et volti in su, chi gli danno grande orna-

vated and called the harbour of Austria*. On the same ground on which Charles V. had won his fairest victory, Don John was likewise victor; he took Tunis by storm, and Biserta surrendered to him. His hopes now rose higher; he requested his brother, through the pope, to nominate him king of Tunis. An unexpected, an appalling request for the privy council of Spain! They had thought to employ the prince's talents for the aggrandisement of the Spanish empire, and now it appeared he thought of becoming independent. It had wisely determined that Tunis should be demolished, and the country defended only by the fortress of Goletta: how totally different would be the case if Tunis were erected into a kingdom. Philip thanked the pope for the good will he manifested towards his brother, but he rejected the request†. He went further. He persuaded himself that none but Juan de Soto was the deviser of such bold schemes; to remove him from his brother he gave him another place, and sent Escovedo in his stead. Don John was now so discontented that he deemed it a disgrace to be already twenty-nine years of age, and not yet to have won any territory of his own. He would by no means let Soto quit him; we find him employing both secretaries, and very soon Escovedo was filled with extraordinary projects more than Soto had ever been.

Now what do they purpose doing? Would they provoke a war, in order to secure an opportunity they could not otherwise have? Don John expressed himself very peculiarly on this point. "When the *comite* says, Ave Maria, the sailors respond, Be she welcome: so will I do too, and wait my opportunity, not seek it‡." Or since internal troubles might well afford him a chance of possessing himself of Genoa, would he take advantage of this, as was commonly talked of and desired by his whole court? "God forbid," he said, "that I should ever be instrumental in stirring up war among Christians. My father often had Genoa in his power, yet would not subjugate it; my brother follows his example, and so will I." All his schemes were directed against the Turks. He devised a new and well contrived plan for this war, which continued uninterrupted, and in which Tunis had just been lost again. The system of the Spanish monarchy against the Turks was altogether defensive; it cost from four to six millions a year, and yet the defence was in no place strong enough to withstand a vigorous attack. Don John suggested that this expense might be spared, and the amount employed in augmenting the fleet, so that it might command the sea, and render it possible to undertake offen-

sive measures on an important scale*. It was his ambition to have the uncontrolled command of such a fleet of three hundred vessels, or thereabouts. It was reasonable to expect that the Venetians, who had cause to apprehend from so faithless a neighbour the same fate for Candia and Corfu that had befallen Cyprus, would after all afford their co-operation. The Turks from being the assailants might then be made the assailed, and seeing the existing condition of their empire, the most brilliant results might be anticipated. But it was to no purpose he stated all this to the privy council. "Had it been advisable Charles V. would have done it," was their reply†. They took no heed to the difference between Soliman and his successors, or to the fact that in the days of Charles V. such a course as that proposed was forbidden by the interests of Doria. There was no moving these Spaniards to any innovation. Don John was forced to confess to himself how matters stood; he was forced to admit the conviction that there was no hope of a well concerted enterprise on the part of Spain alone against the Turks, nor yet of a league; it has always been a prominent tendency of European policy to preserve the Turks; at last he was constrained to turn away his thoughts from this favourite conception of his youth.

They were now entangled in the mazes of European intrigues.

Philip, weary at last of the war in Flanders, which Alva's violent measures had rather kindled than extinguished, now bethought him that the people of the Netherlands had always shown a certain partiality for Don John, who was born among them, and who so much resembled the father they held in reverence‡. Why should he remain any longer in Italy? Philip determined to send him to the Netherlands to allay the troubles there by amicable means. Don John, without hesitation, declared his readiness to undertake the office. He sent Escovedo to the court to procure what was necessary for his journey§.

But were his views directed only to the Netherlands? It would doubtless have been an honourable renown to have reclaimed revolted provinces by gentle means, and to have assuaged the rage of angry passions: but he who would seek such a renown should not be a young man. He had other objects.

He had become acquainted in Italy with pope Gregory II, and with the Guises; and these had

* Raggazzoni, Relat. di Sicilia, MS. "Don Giovanni d'Austria andando con l'armata al re Filippo all' impresa de Tunis fecce curar et aprir essa bocca et vi entrò dentro con l'armata predetta."

† Memorial de Antonio Perez del hecho de su causa, p. 188.

‡ "Non posso negare," said Don John to Lippomano, "di esser giovane et soldato, et soglio dire che chi non mira innanzi, a dietro torna: ma non voglia Iddio che io desiderai mai che sia istromento di guerra tra Christiani. Contra il Turco sono dritte le mie speranze: pure alla fine in qualunque parte mi venga l'occasione di adoperare l'armi, dirò come si dice in galera quando il comite dice Ave Maria che ogni uno risponde Sia la benvenuta: così farò io, vendendomi l'occasione."

* Lippomano calculates thus: "Le 300 galere, como si potriano tenere armati cinque o sei mesi dell' anno solamente, così tenendo anco di 150 continuo con ogni sorte di provisione et di genti da spada ancora non costeriano, per conto particolare che io hebbi da un principal signore, più che 2 milioni et mezzo d'oro l'anno, con facilità di fare quell' impresa che le Signorie Vostre Ecc. si possono immaginare."

† "Rispondendo S. M. et alcuni del consiglio di Spagna, che se il fare un numero grosso di armata et levar parte dei presidii fusse stato giudicato espedito dall' imperatore Carolo V., la M. S. l'haverebbe fatto."

‡ Lippomano: "Sendo di madre Fiamengha et il nome suo celebre in quei paesi bassi." Philip said he expressly sent him "para ser governador, no como en los principios de la guerra." Cabrera, 845.

§ Lippomano and Perez, 191.

|| It is to be remarked that Escovedo was at the court of Gregory. "A Santità Sua ho mandato a dir a bocca per lo secretario Escovedo."

directed his whole attention to the affairs of England and Scotland, and to that lovely woman in her prison, to whom the crowns of both kingdoms seemed of right to belong, and who numbered so many adherents in both countries. John entered into these schemes*; they harmonized at once with his chivalric inclinations, his catholic feelings, and his thirst to win himself a kingdom. Only the consent of Philip II. was indispensable.

At last overtures were made to Antonio Perez. Assured of his silence, the parties interested applied to him in profound secrecy to exert his influence in the matter†. The man they selected was able enough, had he only been more trustworthy. Perez went instantly and imparted the whole secret to the king.

How astounded and alarmed was Philip! He saw that Escovedo too was following precisely in the footsteps of Soto. So he forbore to dispatch his business, and he sent Don John no money. But far greater still was his alarm, when, contrary to an express command that he should without delay cross the Alps, and contrary to the order of Juan Idiaquez, Don John arrived in Spain on the 23rd of Aug. 1576, entered the roads of Barcelona with three galleys, and at once took his way to Madrid‡. Philip hardly knew how to measure out to him the marks of honour he should receive, without on the one hand offending him, or on the other encouraging his aspiring soul to greater ambition. Should he forbid his enterprise? In that case his zeal in the affairs of the Netherlands would be damped. Should he consent to it? He no longer trusted him: this would be still more dangerous. But Don John pursued his course so steadily, he proceeded with such perfect knowledge of the court and of his brother's temper, that the latter at last acquiesced in his design. He was at liberty to attempt it with the Spanish troops, which in any case were to be withdrawn from the Netherlands.

John arrived in the Netherlands provided with money, full of grander hopes and purposes than ever, and connected by new and closer understandings with the Guises. His first efforts were for the pacification of the country. The people too were disposed that way, and it was not long before an arrangement was come to on all but a few points. Who would have supposed that in those exceptional points the interests of Philip and Elizabeth, such bitter enemies, coalesced, and that the Netherlands combated them both at once without being aware of it? The matter was, that the Netherlands demanded the immediate evacuation of the country by the Spanish troops by land, and were inexorable in their determination that this should be so, whilst Don John thought of removing them by sea, and demanded three months' delay to allow of the fleet being equipped§. This frustrated the whole design, Philip's consent to which

had been specially given on the aforesaid condition. This was really a curious conjuncture of things. Elizabeth is freed from a great danger, of which she is perhaps unaware. The Netherlands are her preservers, without their suspecting that they are so. What they do, they do to the delight of Philip, their own and Elizabeth's vehement adversary. But was all this indeed not so wholly accidental? Was there a natural connexion between these events, though concealed from the eyes of the public and of historians?

There was nothing more to be expected of Philip in this matter. The pope, indeed, interceded in the most urgent manner to press the execution of the design. He ordered his nuncio in Flanders, who was best informed respecting the affair, to proceed to Madrid, charging him immediately on his arrival to make "a spirited attack" on the king; and he wrote letter upon letter to the nuncio, always to the same effect. In truth, the nuncio displayed a zeal in stimulating the king, and in propitiating the ministers, which promised assuredly in the end to further an affair which he represented as a matter not of choice, but of necessity. Philip, moreover, willingly lent his ear to such representations; he listened with interest to more detailed discussions, and he even gave access once more to Escovedo, and communicated to him papers not before in his hands, which bore upon the subject. So far the nuncio had hopes. But if, as he says, he sought to entice the king further, if he would obtain from him a decisive word, the king retreated; "the affair," he would say, "was difficult; it needed further consideration." At first, this hesitation and evasion seemed probably chargeable upon the ministers; but the nuncio soon saw that the cause lay deeper, and that the king was filled with distrust against his brother. He wrote to Rome, that if they would have the design prosper, they must at least give up all thoughts of Don John*.

Thenceforth things wore a darker and darker aspect daily for Don John. It is the nature of the soul, that when disappointed in its original purposes, it indulges in vague longings and projects, and gives itself up to far greater schemes, as though it would defy untoward fortune by the grandeur of its enterprises; doubly does it feel conscious of its repressed energies, but at the same time a gloomy discontent sits brooding in its inmost depths. In the first place, Don John became aware that he could not remain in the Netherlands. It was necessary to establish there a popular system of government, more suitable to the yielding softness of a woman, than to his temper and his youth; he was not made for the dull routine of such a government. Besides this, the presumptions against him were too strong†. Ere long we find him tormented with impatience to quit the country. He said there

states these things in detail. Even supposing him to have made use of Perez, as I think is probable, yet he has much special matter derived from other sources. The Justificatie der Staten tegens Don Jan, Bor, 159, is decisive. Wagenaar, *Niederland. Gesch.* iii. 352, follows Bor.

* *Relatione compendiosa della negotiatione di Mons^r Segra, vescovo della Ripa et poi de Piacenza nella corte del re catolico*, MS.

† *Brieven van den Heere Don Jan aen den Heere Antonio Perez van den 7 April, 1577.* See a very important piece from letters seized in Gasconne, in the *Byvoegsel van authentieke Stukken*, Bor, 167. Also Bor's eleventh book.

* Strada, de Bello Belgico, particularly i. c. viii. 232.

† "Que haga officio," says Perez himself, "con su Magestad, para que su Magestad tenga por bien que si haga la empresa de Inglaterra y que el Señor Don Juan sea acomodado en aquel reyno." The pope refers his nuncio in the year 1577 to Perez, Ministro principale del re, che intendeva bene il negotio. MS.

‡ Cabrera. Particularly Memorial de Antonio Perez de hecho de su causa, 192.

§ Perez. Cabrera, p. 899, is silent on this point. Bor, *Nederlandsche Oorlogen*, i. pp. 765. 841, edition of 1679,

was nothing he would not sooner do than remain there; he would be gone, right or wrong; he would do so, though he should pay for his offence with his blood; he wasted there life and honour, nay, his soul was perilled by his desperation*. But after all, his mind was not decidedly made up. For awhile, he thought of attempting the English project in another way; now he thought it more expedient to return to Spain, where, with the aid of his friends, he could have no difficulty in placing himself at the head of the administration; and now he requested permission to take part in the French war, as leader of an independent force of 6000 infantry and 2000 cavalry†. All these wishes had for their ultimate end a great dominion, whether in England, France, or Spain. In fact, the proceedings he engaged in, from motives of this kind, cannot have been perfectly inoffensive. It was known that he kept up intimate correspondences in Italy; the Spanish ambassador in France noticed very distinctly, how frequently his envoys presented themselves to the Guises, and how often the Guises visited him in the Netherlands‡. At last, well-informed persons spoke seriously of a league concluded between Don John and the Guises, ostensibly for the support of the two crowns, but in reality, for the purpose of subjecting both to their party. For what other object could such a league have? The very thing of which the Guises accused Henry III., a lukewarm indifference in the affairs of the catholic faith, was at this time chargeable, with some show of truth, against Philip II., who was not to be moved to any decisive warfare against the Turks, who had only yielded a forced and reluctant consent to the enterprise against Elizabeth, and who had concluded peace with the people of the Netherlands.

Philip now knew enough to be filled with suspicion, and to fear what he knew, but still more what was unknown to him. He had found means to make himself acquainted successively with all the secrets of the party, through Perez, who was in their confidence; and he even went so far as to allow the minister, for the sake of appearing more attached to them, to write disparagingly of his master, the king himself enduring to read the drafts of these letters, and to correct them with his own hand§. Such was the craft necessary to obtain a knowledge of Don John's designs. Now, what was Philip to think, when it was reported to him that Escovedo had let fall hints that all Castile might be mastered from Santander and Peña de Mogro; and when Escovedo himself soon afterwards sent him in a memorial, requesting that Peña should be fortified, and that he should be put in command there? Escovedo pursued all his affairs with an ardour intolerable to this deliberate monarch; he was importunately eager for the despatch of his business. The theme of Don John's letters was continually, "Money and Escovedo, and more money."

Now as Escovedo seemed exceedingly dangerous, dangerous if he remained at court, still more so if he went back to Don John, Philip resolved to have

him put to death, but in such a way that suspicion should not fall on himself, but on others. Perez took upon himself to see that Escovedo should be killed. Some* say, indeed, that the king did not command the assassination, that he only did not disapprove of it; but is not a king's approval in such a case equivalent to a command?

This was the sorest blow for Don John. It is hardly possible that he should not have seen into the secret bearings of the case, and been sensible of his brother's hatred. The affairs of the Netherlands had taken a turn that promised tedious wars and odious difficulties without end, a turn moreover which was imputed to his impetuosity†. He was once more indeed victorious, but he felt the vigour of his life already broken. He now only dreamed of finding in a convent the contentment which the world denied him. He comforted himself with the bitter consolation, that he would devote himself, among the hermits of Montserrat, to the service of that God who was mightier, and more gracious than his brother Philip‡. But even this was not vouchsafed him. Young as he was, his life declined as if bowed by age, and many feared that he was labouring under the effects of poison. He died in his thirty-third year, on the 1st October, 1578. His heart was found dried up, and his skin withered as if by fire. For the wretched remains of his mortal existence, of which so little other trace remained, that it was as though it had never been, he begged of his brother in his last moments a place near the bones of their father; then would his services be well repaid§.

Such is this world. It tempts a man to unfold all his innate powers; it stimulates all his hopes. He then thinks not of moderation or self-control; conscious of his own energies, he presses onwards after the proudest prizes of honour or worldly fortune. But the world grants them not; it closes its bars against him, and leaves him to die.

4. The second ministry of Philip II.

Whilst we follow the course of events, whilst we seek to explain them from their moving causes, in whatever these may have had their being, whether in the soul or in personal circumstances, or otherwise, we fall in occasionally with unexpected expressions, that suggest to us the presence of a secret element at work in the events; expressions, on which it is very hazardous to build, while on the other hand it would seem negligent to overlook them. We meet with such an expression respecting the court and state of Spain, and belonging to the year 1578, of which we are treating. It is fully authenticated; it is recorded by the imperial ambassador, count Khevenhiller, who is generally rather prone to suppress such things, and it is ascribed to the almirante of Castile, a man of the fullest information, who lived in the midst of public affairs. The almirante complained to the count that Philip's government was a government not of justice, but of revenge: the children of those who had taken part in the war of the comuneros

* Carta del Señor Don Juan de primero de Marpo de 77 a Antonio Perez. Perez 195.

† Carta de 3 de Hebrero de 77, Perez 196.

‡ Ragguaglio delle pratiche tenute con il re di Spagna dalli Signori di Guisa nella lega di Francia in tempo del re Henrico III. Inform. xvii. No. 11, MS.

§ Perez, Memorial.

* Cabrera. Perez from the king's letters, p. 200.

† Negotiatione di Mr Segà: "Restando il re mal satisfatto dalla sua ritirata in Namuro, dalla quale pareva che fossero procedute le perdite di tante piazze et provincie intiere."

‡ Strada, de Bello Belgico, x.

§ Cabrera, Felipe segundo, lib. xii. cap. xi. p. 1008.

against king Charles and the nobility, were now at the helm, and their aim was to revenge themselves on their opponents*. Can it have been, we ask, that in spite of so totally new and altered a condition of the state, the old Castilian factions still subsisted, and continued to wage secret war with each other? And if a man of such note and so intimately acquainted with the existing state of things made this assertion, can it have been that no other traces appeared of this continuous strife?

It seems that such traces did exist. Those animosities, which had formerly divided the Spaniards between Ferdinand and Philip I., still endured under Charles. We recollect it has been asserted that Chievers leaned more to the one party, Gattinara more to the other. Navagero tells us, with reference to the year 1525, that all Toledo was divided into the factions of the Ayalas and the Silvas†. The Ayalas had adopted the side of the comuneros, the Silvas that of the king. It seems however that Charles had contrived to retain both parties in his service. On the accession of Philip II. they make their appearance again. Cavallo tells us that Philip II. bestowed such high favour on the condestable, a leader of the party of the nobles and of Philip I., that the consequence would necessarily be the decline of the house of Alva‡, a house that had always been against this party, always on the side of Ferdinand the Catholic, and frequently on that of the towns. May there not have been some connexion between these facts and the enmity between Alva and Ruy Gomez de Silva, who was very closely connected with the first houses of the grandes? Cabrera does not conceal the fact that the old parties still subsisted in the time of Philip II. in Plasencia, Truxillo, Xeres, and Seville; and he extols this sovereign for the ability he showed in preventing the outbreak of their mutual hatred§.

Now if those dissensions among the Castilian nobles, which displayed themselves so violently in the war of the comunidades, were in fact not yet allayed, it remains to be asked who were those powerful sons of the comuneros of whom the almirante spoke? There may possibly have been a greater number, but unquestionably I find at this time at the court only two chiefs of the comunero party, but those two from the capitals of the realm, Toledo and Madrid. The Ayalas in Toledo and the Zapatas in Madrid were at the head of the insurgents against the king. In the year 1578 we find a Zapata, Francisco count of Barajas, mayordomomayor to the queen, and an Ayala, Pedro count of Fuensalida, mayordomo to the king; the latter so much in favour with Philip, that after the death of Alva he succeeded to all the latter's court preferences. May we suppose that the influence which Alva still maintained after his return throughout numerous vicissitudes||, the influence

of Chinchon de Bobadilla, of the house of Cabrera, which had once been in the position of that of Alva, and the high consideration enjoyed by Almazan, were regarded by the almirante as effects of the power of the comunero party? Thus much is clear, that this party had much to do with the final overthrow of that of prince Ruy Gomez, and that the before-mentioned Zapata in particular had much share in the downfall of Perez.

The prince's party belonged by all means to the opponents of the comuneros; and so in a remarkable degree did the Mendozas, the family of the princess. The wife of Perez was of the family of the Coellos, who adhered so strenuously to the emperor's party in the insurrection that their mansion in Madrid was demolished by the Zapatas*. We will not however take upon us to affirm that nothing but the old quarrel set on the enemies of the house of Eboli. Other causes may also have co-operated to this end. It is enough to say, that enemies there were, and that they were powerful.

The princess, Veles, and Perez, at this time the sole remains of the Eboli party, were soon aware of this among themselves. The princess felt most sensibly the diminished favour with which her house was regarded. When the president of Castile repeatedly refused her privileges which had before been conceded to her, and which were still constantly enjoyed by others, she addressed herself to Philip as her king and as a knight. "The president," she said, "fortified himself with the royal name. Was this the gracious reward for her husband's long services? Was her house wholly to lose all that remained to it, the credit and consideration it had hitherto maintained?†" What Veles most felt was the unhappy contest with a violently incensed party, which there was no hope of overcoming, since they had a thousand holds upon the king. He felt this so keenly that he preferred to quit the court; that in his exile he consoled himself with the reflection that he had escaped the outbreaks of this enmity; nay that he even thought of fleeing to Peru. "They oppress thee," he exclaims, "even when they do not possess the king's favour; let them once obtain that, and they will take away thy honour and thy life‡."

Lastly, Perez felt the preponderance of his antagonists as a personal mischance. Antonio Perez belonged in every respect to the number of the Spaniards of those times, who combined with a gravity, that became with them a second nature, a passionate eagerness to enjoy the world, with profound pride a still more profound craft, and with much external religion a policy regardless of all principle. He was at once a statesman and a courtier; the fortune of a royal favourite was the aim

ledo, il marchese de los Velos, il Escovedo: ma dell' altro canto il duca d'Alva con altri che lo seguitavano. Questa diversità di pareri era non solo in questo negotio (d'Inghilterra), ma anco negli altri più importanti di Fiandra."

* For the "grandes enemistades entre los padres y abuelos del Conde de Barajas y de Doña Johanna," see Perez, Relaciones, 119. Perez adds, in the later editions of his Memorial, p. 217, "En verdad, algunos ministros de las persecuciones destas personas eran descendientes de los comuneros."

† Carta de la Princesa d'Eboli al Rey, in Perez, Relaciones, 15.

‡ Carta del Marques de los Velez, 26 Jan. 1579, in Perez, Relaciones, 12.

* Khevenhiller, Annales Ferdinandel I. fol. 41.

† Navagero, Viaggio in Ispagna, p. 354.

‡ Cavallo: "Ha grande inclinazione al contestabile di Castiglia, di modo che questo farà anco che il duca d'Alva et la casa di Toledo non continuerà in favore come è al presente."

§ Cabrera, 273. The Peticion xlviii. of the Cortes of 1558 may also refer to this, where it says, "En los pueblos hay opiniones enojos y enemistades."

|| Negotiatione di Mr Segra of the year 1577. "Il segretario Antonio Perez, con quale concorrevano l'arcivescovo di To-

of his endeavours. For this he ventured to play the perilous game of sharing the confidence of two enemies, and betraying one of them; for this he looked even on crime steadily and unflinchingly; "he needed no other theology than his own, which allowed him this *;" with such a sort of ingenuous simplicity did he habitually practise these principles, that he tells all these things without reserve or apology. When he lent the king his hand in so serious a matter as the murder of Escovedo, he no doubt thought that he should thereby gain another step in the royal favour. Soon after the deed Philip conferred on him the place of prothonotary of Sicily, with a revenue of 12,000 ducats; he also gave him the office of secretary to the council of Italy, by virtue of which the greater part of the affairs of that country were also placed in his hands. In the enjoyment of this favour, still young, in the full possession of bodily and mental vigour, alert and spirited,—had Perez reason to fear for himself?†

The hostile party was in such good condition that they ventured to assail even him without hesitation. They made use of the assassination of Escovedo, the suspicion of which he had brought on himself. They particularly employed against him a man like himself, a cabinet secretary of the king's, named Matteo Vazquez. This man had acquired his master's entire favour, and great influence with him in the discharge of his office, which consisted in sorting the memorials sent in, distributing them among the several functionaries to whom they appertained, receiving their opinions thereon, and laying them before the king for his final decision. The count de Barajas and the king's confessor were his patrons, the princess and Perez hated him‡. He returned their hate. He went so far as to append with his own hand a lampoon against them both to a document addressed to Perez from the royal cabinet. Could it have been supposed that Philip should have caught up the lampoon with curiosity, read it, recognized the handwriting of his secretary, and yet not punished him! At first the king excused himself, saying, that "the man had matters of too much moment still in his hands." Afterwards he exacted from Perez, nay, even from the princess, a reconciliation with Vazquez, and he was indignant when this was not complied with. Whilst he now continued to write to Perez, whilst he consoled him for the loss of the marquis de los Veles, who died on his journey, telling him that he, the king, would not fail him, he had nevertheless resolved on his fall§. On the 28th of June, 1579, an alcalde put Antonio Perez in arrest in his chamber, and on the same day the princess of Eboli was carried off to the fortress of

Pinto. So ended the prosperity of the party of Ruy Gomez*.

It is not necessary to examine further how the affair of Perez, the chief feature of which was the prosecution for the murder of Escovedo, carried on by a relation of the murdered man, terminated after being repeatedly suspended, and taken up again, after reiterated promises and deceptions, in close imprisonment, torture, and flight. It is very remarkable of Perez, how the devotion to the king, implanted in him from his youth upwards, was not to be shaken by any indignities; how even in his exile in France, he was always discreet, betrayed no secrets, uttered no unseemly accusations, contenting himself with mere self-defence, and saying nothing worse than that he could tell more if he would; how moreover he lived on solely in the recollection of his court favour and fortune, till at last he made it his task to lay down rules for princes and favourites; rules that really display deep penetration, though I know not whether they ever proved more useful to others than to himself†.

What is most important to our subject is the change effected in Philip's ministry on the day of the arrest of Perez. On that same 28th of July, 1579, Granvella and Juan Idiaquez entered Madrid, the former called to the presidency of the council of Castile, the latter in opposition to the king's express command. But that express command had been given at the instance of Perez, who feared the influence of Idiaquez with the king. Probably the latter was well aware how slight was the hold Perez had on Philip. He followed the advice of Granvella, and went to Madrid in spite of the prohibition; the arrival of the two was fatal to Perez‡. Though I cannot distinctly show the connexion between these events, it is nevertheless manifest that there was a very intimate association between them.

From that time Granvella and Idiaquez took the helm. The potency obtained by the former, though never much talked of, nor ever placed in the same conspicuous light as that he had exercised in the Netherlands, was perhaps the most important he ever possessed. Idiaquez was in high favour with the king. There was soon associated with these two a third, named Christóval de Moura, who secured to himself a still greater share of Philip's favour. However great may have been the influence occasionally obtained by others, it was these three, and after Granvella's death the two remaining favourites alone, who managed the machinery of the Spanish empire.

A general remark presents itself to us touching

* Copia de un villete de Antonio de Perez para S. M. respondido en la margen de su real mano: the king replies, "Segun mi theologia yo entiendo lo mismo que vos." [According to my theology, I think as you do.] Memorial, p. 198.

† Contarini, 461: "Questo Antonio Perez fu intimo et confidentissimo segretario di S. M. et maneggiava il più importanti et segreti negotii dello stato, onde dalla gran confidenza che in lui mostrava il re, cominciò ad assumersi maggiore autorità di quello che si conveniva."

‡ Cabrera, 971. Perez speaks of a "Liga del amistad del conde de Barajas contra la amistad de los Veles y de Antonio Perez."

§ Palabras singulares del Rey, in Perez, 179.

* We find (e. g. in Leti) complicated stories of the amours of the princess of Eboli with the king and with Perez. Let the reader take into consideration that the princess was already in years, and had lost an eye, that the wife of Perez, doubtless not devoid of Spanish jealousy, gave proof of enduring passion for her husband; after this, let him believe such late rumours if he has a mind to do so.

† A MS. essay, "Discurso bellissimo di quello devon fare i favoriti," affords us indications of the applause obtained by these Cartas: "Con tanto e così continuo applauso! Mi fu," says the author, "al fine data questa lettera per cosa unica e singolare, et chi me la diede, come pretiosissima gioia me la porse." The letter is from the Cartas.

‡ A letter of the king's at the moment of Granvella's arrival. Memorial, 205. Cabrera, 1047—copious respecting Moura.

their policy. During the first twenty years of his reign, Philip's efforts were directed to the maintenance of peace, and to the preservation of things as they were. If he waged war in Flanders, he had there to do with a rebellion, which he had provoked indeed, but a rebellion it was. War was in this case only a means to the maintenance of his authority, and of the Catholic religion. But elsewhere Philip engaged in those years in no extensive schemes; he did not sow dissensions in foreign countries, nor had he any thoughts of universal monarchy. From the very first he plainly lacked the ambition, and the bold projects of his father. This was especially what Don Carlos regarded as censurable, and unworthy of their ancestors. The Venetians, on the other hand, and the Italians, thought this very thing highly laudable. Whichever judgment was right, the fact at least was admitted on all hands*.

That which properly brought on this monarch the world's hatred, which has so long clung to his memory, belongs to his last twenty years. It was within this period he conquered Portugal, and sent out the armada against England; it was then he had a hand in all the internal commotions of France, and sought to bring the crown of that realm into his own house; it was then he waged incessantly vehement and successful war upon the Netherlands, and then too he destroyed the freedom of Aragon, and exhausted and ruined the resources of his kingdom.

Whence proceeded so striking a change? It may perhaps be imagined that the spirit of the times drove him upon a different path from that on which he had set out; for if I am not deceived, about that same period all Europe assumed a far more warlike aspect than it had previously worn. But it is very plain that this new impulse proceeded for the most part from the Spaniards and from himself. Furthermore, if we consider that the party of Ruy Gomez, which had hitherto ruled the state, had always leaned to pacific measures; that the grantees, who adhered to that party, had invariably insisted on a peaceful accommodation even of the disturbances in the Netherlands, particularly in opposition to Alva's adherents; that it was not till the fall of the Gomez party, and the formation of a new ministry, that the new principles came in vogue; it will then appear in the highest degree probable that it was not so much a new modification of Philip's character that caused his altered policy, as the change of ministers, and if any thing besides this, nothing more perhaps than casual opportunity.

We have no difficulty in pointing out the transition by which Philip's earlier policy passed into that of his later years. Whereas there was nothing that sovereign had more dreaded than the schemes of the Guises, which embraced at once England and Scotland, France and the Netherlands, and the confederacy we have mentioned as subsisting between them and Don John; it was now that very same confederacy which his ministers adopted in his name, and those same schemes were now taken up by himself†. Europe now dreaded alike his ends, and the means he took to gain them; it feared

the means, those subtle deceitful arts of which every one believed him guilty whether he practised them or not; such, for instance, as his writing that letter, in which he, the most Catholic of sovereigns, was said to have offered money to the Protestant princes of Bearn to induce them to attack Henry III., a dispatch in which the hand of Idiaquez was recognized: it feared the end he aimed at, the establishment of an universal monarchy. The idea of the balance of power had taken a peculiar shape about this time. It was wished that two great powers, tolerably equal in strength, might stand over against each other, so that the smaller powers might always find protection from the one or the other*. The destruction of such an equipoise seemed destined to lead directly to universal monarchy. It came to pass that Philip gradually became hated and dreaded by all Europe, by those he immediately attacked, and by those who were remotely threatened by him.

Thus we perceive how important was the new ministry. Moura was so especially; he was, as a Relatione says, the soul of Philip. Whilst Philip could not sufficiently extol him, declaring, "he had never found a man so deserving of trust in the weightiest affairs, so loyal to God and his king, so free from ambition and avarice†;" the rest of the world beheld him with wonder, amazed to think how he had contrived by his services and his moderation to acquire such complete control over this monarch, who in his later years was almost inaccessible to every one‡. Next to him a considerable influence was permanently maintained by Idiaquez, who had the talent to play even the second part, and who was given credit for shrewdly shaping his course by the prevailing wind§. Contarini drew no bad parallel between these two men in the year 1593. "Idiaquez," he says, "having seen much of the world, knows how to content those who transact business with him. Moura, a Portuguese, having never been beyond the Peninsula, is more austere and intractable. The former, who long filled the office of secretary of state, is much better acquainted with foreign affairs; the latter, who did good service in the conquest of Portugal, is a greater favourite with the king. The former is recommended by long service and great experience; it is the advantage of the latter that he is placed in his majesty's chamber, and is frequently about the royal person||. It is common to them both that it is only in urgent cases they importune

* Perez: "Que se conserven en yqual peso para balanças, en que los demas se ygualen y contrapesen para su conservacion.

† Philip's words, reported by Gonzalo Davila, Felipe III. p. 13.

‡ Cabrera, 1045: "Muchos servicios y su moderacion le conservó siempre bien visto."

§ Davila, Felipe III. p. 36.

|| Contarini: "L'uno che è Don Giovanni, è Biscaino; l'altro è Portoghese. Quello ha la cura delle cose d'Italia: questo di Portogallo e delle Indie. Quello per essere stato per il mondo da maggiore satisfatione a i negotiante: questo per non essere mai uscito di Spagna è più austero e difficile. . . . Quello per la lunghezza della servitù è più atimato: questo per godere l'officio della camera di S. M. ha più spesso occasione di trovarsi (appresso): quello per le lunghe esperienze è più adoperato. . . . Il consiglio di stato e gli altri consigli di S. M. non hanno alcuna parte nelle cose importanti che alla giornata occorrono, ma solamente li sono delegate alcune di poco momento."

* Discorso al Sr Landi, MS. "Essendo questo regno pervenuto nel presente re di Spagna tanto amico et desideroso della pace et particolarmente d'Italia."

† The embassy of Alonso de Sotomayor to France, Cabrera 1009.

the king with anything novel, and that they procrastinate all business, all weighty decisions, as much as possible. By so doing they please his majesty. He gives them proof of this, not only by his munificence towards them, but above all, by the exclusive confidence he reposes in them. Only trivial matters are now laid before the privy council, and it has no power. Every thing of moment is discussed and settled by these two.*

5. Philip III. and Lerma.

Now if it is probable that a sovereign so busy, self-willed, and alive to his own interest, as Philip was, so dependent on his ministers, that with a change in these his whole policy underwent an alteration, what must have been the case under his son, who was neither efficient, nor shrewd, nor had any will of his own?

Philip II. died in great despondency. He witnessed the delivery by Moura of his key of office to the prince's favourite. The last order he reluctantly gave was to that effect. The dying monarch was not spared; he was forced to see the transference of power to that man whose influence he most feared*.

It requires a sort of self-denial to resolve on being in all respects the follower of one's predecessor. Commonly princes form for themselves a system of action that suits their nature, long before their accession to the throne; and this they continue, not making their own lives a mere sequel to their fathers'. Had not Philip II. done this? He too had committed the management of the state to the court assigned him for the service of his person. So likewise had his son, and so do all monarchs.

When Philip II., some years before, designing to form a court for his son, looked about him for persons of good birth and good reputation, yet not self-sustained and independent, he fixed his eyes on the count of Lerma, a courtier who with little property contrived nevertheless to content his creditors†, to marry his sisters well, and to sustain a character for liberality. He placed him among the rest, but the count soon overtopped his fellows. The marchesana de Vaglio‡, and Muriel, gentlemen of the bed-chamber, both of whom were in favour with the prince, rendered him services. He contrived to help the prince out of his little embarrassments. It was observed that when the latter had promised a new suit to the court fool, and could not give it him, whereupon the fool importuned him with many a biting jest for the fulfilment of his promise, Lerma failed not to satisfy even the fool. But the main thing was that the count exercised a direct personal influence over the prince, for which there was no accounting on extraneous grounds. It was to no purpose that the king banished Lerma to the Vireynat of Valencia; his very exile, his secret correspondence, and now and then a pretty present, only stimulated the prince's regard for him, and when he returned he was the declared favourite. When Philip III. ascended the throne there was no doubt as to the future.

His first act of royalty was to receive Lerma's oath; his first order, an unparalleled one, was to the effect that Lerma's signature should be as valid as his own. His first favours were conferred on Lerma; on the day the old king died it was made manifest that Lerma was in all with the new sovereign*.

Don Francisco Gomez de Sandoval y Roias, first count, and afterwards duke of Lerma, was one of that class of men who have the art of seeming. No man could bestow more care on his outward appearance, on his hair and beard. He was already advanced in years, but he did not give token of this. He had not much real knowledge, yet he seemed to have mastered all branches of study, both theoretically and practically. He perfectly understood the wonted tactics of statesmen high in office, to send away contented all who appear before them, and even those who were most aggrieved he dismissed best satisfied†. He appeared open-handed and sumptuous, and in his manners and habits there was a certain royal magnificence.

His power in the state was based chiefly on the consulta, that most private council in which all the resolutions of the various functionaries were examined, and either adopted, or modified, or rejected, and from which initiated all grants of royal favour. Lerma transacted business in this consulta with the king; and this council, which had formerly been the focus of royal omnipotence, was now that of ministerial despotism; all its decisions depended essentially on Lerma.

So potent was the personal influence he had acquired over the king. Restlessly, carefully, and jealously, did he labour to retain it without a rival. He was apprehensive at one time of his sovereign's Austrian consort, at another time of the sister of Philip II., who was still living in Madrid, and who was scarcely his friend. He would not allow the two to converse together alone, or in German, and it is supposed he removed the court to Valladolid for the purpose of parting them. He went so far as to enjoin the queen never to speak to her husband on affairs of state, not even in bed; so that miserably restricted and circumvented as she was on all sides, she often wished that she was cloistered in the convent of her native Grätz, rather than queen of Spain‡. Even Muriel, and the marchioness de Vaglio, seemed to Lerma not sufficiently trustworthy; in the end, he thought it best to remove them. He trusted no one but the father confessor, fray Gaspar de Cordova, a man who went about in

* Relazione della vita, etc. "Niuno si dubitava d'altro se non che havesse d'essere potentissimo, et così fu tanta la moltitudine della gente che concorse a visitarlo et a servirlo, che bastò per isbigottire li altri pretensori."

† Ibid. "La piacevolezza del privato è così grande che quel che Tito diceva, 'neminem e conspectu suo tristem discedere,' fa al proposito, che a chi con l'opere non si può dar sodisfazione, si dia con le parole." Khevenhiller interweaves with his German the following Spanish words respecting him: Lerma, he says, is "sospechoso, codiciosísimo, y para sacar un gusto suo no mirara cosa alcuna," p. 304† [suspectious, very covetous, stopping at nothing to gratify any desire of his]. We do not however put implicit faith in Khevenhiller.

‡ Imprimis Khevenhiller, vi. 3040. Rel. della vita, etc. "Con l'imperatrice, che sia in cielo, hebbe S. E. alcuni disparei: . . . ma sendo egli così gran potente et quella principessa lontana del mondo, li fu agevole il tutto vincere."

* Davila, Felipe III. lib. ii. p. 40.
† Khevenhiller's report of 1606: How Lerma avoided "pleito de acreditores." Annal. Ferdin. vi. 3040.
‡ Khevenhiller: the Marchesa della Valle "die nit klein Ursach dass er in dieser Privanz."

a ragged cowl and torn shoes, and who had neither talent nor inclination for affairs of government; and this man was entirely devoted to him*. Then he had in his house a young page, aged twenty, named Rodrigo Calderon, indefatigable, clever, subtle, and wholly his own. He promoted this young man to the gold key, and to the daily society of the king, and gave him the secretaryship of the consulta. Rodrigo, arrogant, full of effrontery, and greedy of gain as he was, nevertheless contrived to ingratiate himself completely with the king; but he was a man who needed a master; he was nothing but a subtle servant, without loftier views; he always employed his position for Lerma's advantage. The other persons about the king were likewise more devoted to Lerma than to himself. It is incredible to what a degree he was under subjection to the favourite. It was observed once, that he made up his mind to make a little resistance against Lerma; but upon the very first attempt to do so, he was seen to tremble all over. He could not keep any secret from him. Lerma was charged with the use of magic arts†.

The favourite next filled the most important places with his own creatures‡. If Loaisa, archbishop of Toledo, was guilty of the villainy imputed to him, of having brought up the king with the hope and intention of making him his tool, he was now bitterly repaid for this, when Lerma announced to him in the Escurial, that the king had quitted the cloisters, but that he, the archbishop, might remain in them to consecrate an altar or two. He saw his own work turn to his destruction in the hands of his enemy: He died soon afterwards, from mortification of mind as it was supposed. After this, Lerma likewise removed the grand inquisitor, Portocarrero. He bestowed the two vacant offices, of which the one was regarded with deference and submission by the clergy for its time-honoured dignity, the other for its real power, on his uncle Bernardo de Sandoval. The presidency of the council of Castile, and with it the control over the civil affairs, was lost by Rodrigo Vazquez, who had so long held the office. Lerma gave it to Miranda of the house of Zunica, a man who had acquired a name by the part he took in Don John's campaigns; fortune, by a prosperous marriage, which no one would have predicted for him, for he seemed a mountain of flesh; and consequence, even in the eyes of Philip II., by the way in which he had made his functions subservient to the support of the royal prerogatives. Lerma brought him entirely into his interest by a marriage between their children. Miranda allowed Lerma to interfere with the business of his own office, one of the hardest things for a man to submit to who covets distinction§; but

his wealth daily augmented, and his splendour grew every day more and more dazzling!

The next thing to be done was to purify the privy council. Moura was made viceroy of Portugal, and soon took his departure for that country*. Juan Idiaquez was as compliant as ever, and the king and the favourite willingly allowed him to retain some of his consequence for the sake of his name. Probably Francesco Idiaquez, the brother of Juan, was not so tractable: or was it, that his office was thought of such moment that it could only be entrusted to a person of implicit devotedness? Lerma removed him. Now, while he was looking about for a fit successor for him, it happened that a certain Franchezza was trying every art to ingratiate himself with the potent minister. This man stood high in the estimation of the world in general, from the great Indian wealth of his wife†; he was recommended to the government functionaries by his prominent activity in the cortes of Aragon and Catalonia, and his support of Lerma's interests in those assemblies won him the goodwill of the minister. Lerma bestowed the secretaryship upon him, and found in him a man of unwearied industry, and inviolably devoted to him. He himself took Moura's place.

There is no telling the multitude of other changes Lerma found necessary. He treated even those he put down with a certain generosity; he left them their titles and their incomes, but he did put them down and remove them. Above all, he exalted his own family. His brother was made viceroy of Valencia, Lemos, his brother-in-law, viceroy of Naples. One of his sons in law was appointed general of the Spanish galleys, the other president of the Indies, and his uncle, Borja, was president of the council of Portugal. He very soon allied himself by marriage with the families of Mendoza and Guzman: one of the former was made president of Italy, and another was admitted into the king's chamber; the post of grand-master of the horse was given to a Guzman. No sooner was an infante born than he was committed to the care of Lerma's sister. Gradually, too, he began to advance his sons to high dignities. The most important offices in the state were shared among this house, like a family property.

How rapid and complete was the change in this court from what it had been under Philip II. There was now a favourite invested with royal authority, a great noble family at the head of public affairs, and access to the king was thrown open to the grandees.

We shall see how the grandees lost their independence, lapsed from their warlike tendencies, and confined their ambition to leading a life of sumptuous display. They came back to the court vying with each other in this display. We find heads of families never making their visits but with twenty

* Relat. della vita, etc. "Credesi per acquistare la gratia del duca sotto ombra et colore di santità fusse instrumento di persuadere al re cio che il duca desidera et vuole."

† The serious opinion of the younger Khevenhiller.

‡ Relat. della vita, &c. "Ha saputo il duca così ben fare i fatti suoi che ha mutato et ritornato da alto a basso tutti i creati del palazzo et ha posto intorno al re huomini che del tutto son sue fatture: et se qualch' uno de creati vecchi, come Don Henrico Guzman, è rimasto di essere con S. M. famigliare, è molto certo che cerò prima et ottenne il favore del duca."

§ Ibid. "Vero è che alcune et molte volte il duca s'intramette negli negotii con poca dignità del conte."

* Khevenhiller as to the years 1599—1602, p. 2584, etc.

† Relatione: "Figliuola di un calzettaro di Alcalá de Henares, che era tornato dall' Indie con molta robba.—Le prime occasione che hebbe di farsi conoscere furono del 1585 nella corte di Monzon, ove come più vecchio protonotario di Aragona fu impiegato in quei negotii et mostròsi huomo da molto.—Partissi poi (1599) il re di Valenza et andossene a Barcellona per tennervi i corti di Catalani, et il duca di Lerma introdusse in quel negotio il segretario Franchezza, come pratico che n'era et conosceva li humori di Catalani. Di tutto diede al duca buon conio et molta sodisfazione."

carriages, and escorted by troops of gentlemen *. The ladies are accompanied each by their equerry on foot, and by all the gentlemen of her house †. The mutual reaction of the court and of the grantees produced a strange mixture of ceremony and luxury, which long continued predominant in all the courts of Europe, but which is particularly deserving of notice at the court of Spain. It has an immediate connection with Lerma's position and character.

What a singular ceremony was that by which every departure of the court from place to place was announced. On the day before the general move, a part of the establishment set out, preceded by trumpeters; the kings of arms, the German and the Spanish guards, began their march, along with many others on horseback and on foot, forming the escort of the great seal. After the kings of arms, and immediately after the keepers and the lord high keeper of the seal, followed two mules bearing a frame covered with green cloth, and surmounted by a canopy adorned with the arms of Leon and Castile: on the frame lay a crimson velvet case, and in the case the great seal ‡. Next followed four macebearers with their maces, and then the soldiers of the guards. The principal persons, however, of the escort, turned back to be present likewise at the departure of the king. This singular kind of parade was never more strikingly exhibited, than when the king or the queen ate in public. At the queen's table stood three ladies, with napkins neatly arranged over their shoulders. If the queen had a mind to drink, she made a sign to the first of these three ladies, she to the second, the second to the third, and the third to a mayor-domo. The mayor-domo made a sign to a page, and the page to a servant in the room: the servant called out in a loud whisper, "Without there," and then the page and he went out to the sewer. The page came back from him with a full covered goblet in his right hand, and a gilded salver in his left. The servant accompanied him as far as the door, the mayor-domo went with him to the dais, and lastly the lady knelt with him before the queen. The lady tasted the beverage, having first poured some of it into the cover, and taking care not to touch even that with her mouth. The queen then drank; the lady and the page rose from their knees, and the former gave the goblet and the salver to the latter, which he carried back to their place.

But with all this formality and stiffness, the thing had still its lively and pleasant side. Grantees and knights stood lounging on one side of the

room; the queen's ladies were present, the gentlemen accosted them, and a lively conversation was kept up. Even the three ladies in waiting were not so engrossed with their functions, but that they could salute their admirers *. It was this that made them so fond of the court journeys: the cavalier escorted his lady to her carriage, mounted his horse, and rode by her side, entertaining her with conversation by the way.

The luxury practised by this court was often ill directed; but again, it was allied with a better impulse towards literature and art. If Cervantes had at last the enjoyment of learned leisure, he owed it to Lerma; and it was to a great man of this court he dedicated his *Don Quixote*. But above all, the theatre was an object of passionate predilection. The king had for himself and his grantees two companies, whom he paid 300 reals for each performance; refreshments were distributed during the entertainment; it was with extreme reluctance this amusement was foregone on occasions of mourning, and during Lent. As Calderon de la Barca resided at this court from 1619, from his eighteenth to his twenty-fourth year, that most plastic period of life, when the character usually acquires its peculiar bent; as it was in such scenes he unfolded his fine talents; and as the court supplied him not only with spectators, but doubtless also with most of his dramatis personæ, and frequently with the subject of his dramas, we may fairly assert that we owe to this court, and pointedly to its fresh and original constitution, one of those few poets who have become European. The whole nation participated in this taste. To be sure, it was not permitted for any company to give representations without a license under the king's own hand †, and the permission was only granted between three fourths of every giulio paid for admission were handed over to the hospitals, and only one fourth to the players: still it was granted. In the year 1611 there were thirteen companies at the court, and in the country; and how far were the comedies, which began with the *Cælestina*, from the gravity of the court regulations!

We return to Lerma. Whereas, by his entire sway over the king, by means of the highest functionaries who were his instruments, by placing his relations in important offices, and with the aid of the grantees and nobles, whom he drew to the court, and on whom he bestowed favours and presents, he had made himself the centre of the state, he likewise conducted the foreign policy of Spain on new principles. His views at first were for peace, and to this indeed he was impelled by necessity. However strong the resistance he encountered on the part of the priests, who wished to see English protestantism extirpated ‡, on the

* Bassompierre, *Journal de ma vie*, p. 536; of Ossuna.

† *Relazione di 1611*: "Le signore per servizio loro tengono le donne che vogliono: ma sempre hanno quattro o sei gentiluomini, che non servono ad altro che ad accompagnarle fuori et assistono alle visite, non ostante che menano ancora seco tutti gli altri gentiluomini ufficiali di casa, come maggiordomo, mastro di stalla et gli altri. Tengono ancora per servizio loro due palafrenieri et almeno quattro paggi. Per uscir di casa tutti hanno sedie e cocchio."

‡ Ibid. "Vanno dietro li 4 re d'armi con li loro habiti: seguitano le guardie del sigillo, con li guardiamaggiore: et poi una cosa come una lettiera, che portano due muli coperta di tela incerata verde, con baldachino foderato, con l'arme di Castiglia et di Lione dipinte, che porta dentro una cassa di velluto chremesino con l'inchiodature indorate, dentro la quale va detto sigillo reale; quale accompagnano ancora li 4 mazzieri con le loro insegne, et guardie d'Alemagni et di Spagnoli."

* Ibid. "Ragionano di quello che vogliono, con grand' allegrezza; il che si permette in tali occasioni; et l'istesse che servono, di quando in quando salutano li loro innamorati."

† Ibid. "Nessuno può far commedie publicamente nella corte senza licenza del consiglio reale, il quale da licenza alli commedianti sottoscritta dal mano del re, come si fusse cosa di gran consideratione. Et al presente sono 13 compagnie in tutta Spagna, et si comporta che rappresentino nella corte et tutta Spagna per l'utile che viene alli hospitali, perche ogn'uno che va a vedere il commedie da di l'imosina le tre parti di un giulio et la quarta parte alli commedianti." See also Bassompierre, *Journal de ma vie*, an. 1621, l. 537.

‡ Davila, speaking of the year 1603, relates, that in order

part of all those who claimed as it were for themselves a portion of the supremacy belonging to the king in the Netherlands; from the jealousy that had subsisted for many a year against the French; still he carried out his views; he concluded a peace with England; he recognized the independence of the Netherlands, and he effected a double alliance by marriages between the infants of Spain and the children of the king of France. This helped him to success in another point. The Austrian family compact of the house of Habsburg, to which all other alliances had previously been postponed, was now pushed aside. Spain separated her own interests from those common to the whole house. The imperial ambassador lost the influence he had before possessed; count Khevenhiller was among the number of the superseded and the malcontent. Lerma maintained in politics also the same opposition which he offered to the German influence at court. So closely were these things linked together, the most important items in the impulsive forces affecting the affairs of Europe, and considerations of so very personal a nature.

And here we cannot forbear from a general summing up of our observations.

Antonio Perez states that he knew the man who then held the helm of the state, he knew Lerma from his youth up; a young Rojas, a first cousin of the latter, had been brought in the house of Coelles along with his wife, and he had himself been visited by Lerma when a prisoner. This is in itself enough to draw our attention to the early position and connexions of the favourite. But Perez affirms furthermore, that the individual of whom he speaks had been a partisan of the prince Ruy Gomez. We are aware that the Guzmans, the Mendozas, the Sylvas, and other houses, which constituted the party of Ruy Gomez, now rose once more, and that the policy of the two ministers, the prince and the duke, was directed to peace with Europe. Is it too bold a surmise that the Eboli party was revived in that of Lerma? If this could be distinctly authenticated it would exhibit to us the policy of the Spanish minister in a new bearing. As we saw the pacific Eboli maintain the tranquillity of all Europe, Flanders excepted, over which his enemies had obtained influence; as we afterwards saw a warlike party driving out his, setting all Europe in confusion, and exhausting Spain; so we should now have grounds for concluding that after the old king's death the second party declined, and the first rose again and carried its pacific views into effect. At all events the heads of the Lerma party were in immediate connexion with those of the Eboli party. We might even follow out this clue further. We might see reason to conclude that the party of Ruy Gomez was one of an aristocratic character, that which followed it popular, and the new one again

aristocratic; that the efforts of the grandees, of the aristocrats, was for peace, those of the popular party for war.

Lerma did not succeed in maintaining himself in this position till his death.

Setting aside all the few extant narratives on this subject, with which inquisitive readers are entertained on the authority of Vittorio Siri*, I find two, decisive as to the dismissal of the favourite. In the first place, it was not so certainly the work of the confessor Alliaga as of Cordova. Alliaga allowed clerical complaints to reach the king's ears. "The wretched condition of the poor people was, after all, attributable ultimately to Lerma. How could it fare well with the catholic kingdom, if people granted peace to heretics, sanctioned the rebellion, and acknowledged the sovereignty of heretics?" Religion was just the point on which the king was accessible, and through this he was acted upon by Fray Juan de Santa Maria Recolete, and brother Geronimo, a jesuit. "Even the lamb will sometimes utter a cry when too hardly dealt with." In concert with Alliaga, they made an impression on the king. They persuaded him that he acted unjustly in committing the realm entirely to his favourite†.

Next it befel, that a new union of the two lines of the house of Habsburg arose out of pretensions, which seemed destined to sever them for ever. Nothing is more important with regard to the whole body of policy, however little it be known. Philip III. laid claims to Hungary and Bohemia in full earnest, as a grandson of Maximilian II. Now this claim was not admitted by the archduke Ferdinand, afterwards emperor of Germany, who was regarded as the rightful heir to these possessions; but he promised under his own hand, in deep secrecy, and with the privacy only of his most confidential favourite Eggenberg, and of his chancellor Götz, that if he attained to the government of those kingdoms, he would consent to resign the Austrian provinces in Suabia, to Spain‡. The designs of the Spaniards on the Valtelline, their enterprises against the Palatinate, the aid they afforded Ferdinand II. for the re-conquest of Bohemia (matters all of them so momentous with regard to the commencement of the thirty years' war), are hereby, and only hereby, placed in their true light. There appeared a prospect of founding a compact Spanish hereditary dominion, which should directly link together Milan with the Netherlands, and so give Spanish policy a necessary preponderance in the affairs of Europe. These were schemes altogether different from Lerma's pacific views; in the first place they cemented the union between Austria and Spain as closely as ever; they also exhibited themselves as rigorously catholic.

to hinder a peace, proofs were adduced that the English treated the sacraments with contumely. But nothing can be more illustrative of the subject under consideration than the "Breve relacion de la vida y muerte y pios exercicios de Doña Luysa de Caravajal, que en estos dias (1605) murió en Inglaterra." Following the example of the female converts of the heathen, she went to heretical London. The narrative is to be found in "Oracion panegirica es a saber exortativa y consolatoria de la muerte della illustr. Doña Isabel de Velasco y de Mendoza." 1616. 4.

* Carta de Antonio Perez a un señor amigo, Cartas, i. p. 64; after the death of Philip II.

* Del Mercurio overo Historia de correnti tempi di Vittorio Siri, tomo terzo, Lyon 1652. He mentions these things, the "privanza del duca di Lerma combattuta dal figlio," on the occasion of the fall of Olivarez, p. 187. But we do not find where he got his information.

† The main points of all this matter are to be found in Gonzalo de Caspedes y Meneses, Historia del Rey Felipe IV. a history composed as early as 1631, by a man who had an opportunity of learning the truth, and who could venture to speak it.

‡ On this point only Khevenhiller, Annales Ferdinand. viii. 1099.

Lerma gave way before both these influences. He quitted the court on the 4th of October, 1618. He had one more quite private audience with the king for two hours. As he passed through the garden the prince met him to bid him a friendly farewell. About five o'clock Lerma stepped into his carriage. He looked out once more up to the windows of the apartment where he had so often talked and transacted business with the king, and he made the sign of benediction. Just at that moment the convent bells tolled in memory of one of the deceased queens*.

He withdrew, but not, as we see, in disgrace. On his journey he received affectionate letters, and a present of game hunted by the king himself. Philip III. was as much attached to him as ever; only he had been persuaded that it was sinful in him to give himself up to a favourite.

This event produced a conflict in the king's own mind that embittered his life, and especially his last moments. He exclaimed, "O who would not regret to have been a monarch!" and yet he was so habituated to the splendour, the imposing majesty, and the supremacy of royalty; he was heard to inquire, "Where is the prince? What is he doing? He will begin to exercise the functions of royalty; I shall no longer stand in his way." He did not wholly conceal how loth he was to part from the pleasing habit of monarchical authority. He was above all tormented with the fear of incurring eternal punishment for his abandonment of the duties of a ruler and his promotion of favourites. And yet these acts of favouritism were after all so natural to him, so strongly prompted by the constitution of his mind! At this very moment he sent and had Lerma called to him, and he bestowed on Uzeda, Lerma's son, who succeeded to his father's offices, a favour which he did not venture to accept†.

Before Lerma arrived Philip had died, in a state of dependence on the men he condemned, yet could not forego; in dread of that divine tribunal, before which it had been his serious purpose to stand clear, but under the sentence of which he fell by necessity through the consequences of that almost involuntary dependence; a man whom nature had made too good, and too weak, and too pious, for his station.

CHAPTER III.

Of the Provinces and their administration.

THE mode of investigation we have adopted, beginning from the centre and gradually embracing remoter circles, has carried us from the kings and those immediately about them, to their ministers and counsels, and now places before our eyes the administration of the several provinces. Now this was no peaceful administration, the calm growth of time and of events, but one whereof the origin and the progress were marked with continual strife. The provinces often set themselves in vigorous opposition to the central power. The struggle be-

tween the two is the precise object of our consideration.

No question is more important for the whole history of Europe, for an understanding of the current moment as well as of the century just elapsed, than the question, how came the old Romano-Germanic state to be converted into the new? The matter may be put in general thus. Whereas the old constitution was based on individual and corporate immunities, which sought carefully to repel every incursion of the central power; whereas this central power was more acted on than active, and even by the natural course of things grew weaker from epoch to epoch; whereas, finally, the constitution was not yet shut in within itself, but saw its clergy dependent on a foreign supreme head, and its nobility and its citizen classes so much at variance that each body clung more to its co-equals in other countries than to its fellow subjects at home,—how came it that in the succeeding times the central authority restricted or overthrew the liberties that opposed it, hedged in the state more closely, and raised itself to intrinsic strength and power?

This could not have happened every where in like manner, nor any where without sharp contests.

The struggle in the Spanish empire is interesting for this reason, that we see the central authority engaged at once with very diversified constitutions. The Aragonese, though it was their boast that they were more faithful to their kings than any other people, had yet possessed themselves of such peculiar rights, that although the king's prerogative was often asserted, yet it never was allowed free scope for action. Similar rights were also shared by Sicily. Castile and the Netherlands did not present such close barriers to their sovereigns; but the time was not very long past since John II. had been kept a prisoner in the former country by the barons, and Maximilian I. in the latter by the towns. But little active power to enforce their wishes remained to the sovereigns. The state of public affairs in Naples and Milan allowed the kings more influence; but in Naples there were inveterate factions, threatening imminent peril every moment from their dissensions, whilst in the neighbourhood of Milan there was a strong enemy always on the alert to take advantage of every discontent in the country to establish a footing there. Now seeing that not one of all these provinces was much disposed to recognize or further the royal authority, how came the possibility of establishing over them all a vigorous and uncompromising central authority, strong without and within? Charles found himself in great perplexity shortly after his accession. Aragon made difficulties about recognizing him; Sicily expelled his viceroy; Castile broke out into complete insurrection. Naples vacillated at this moment, and the greater part of it deserted him when his enemy's forces appeared on the frontiers. He was forced to conquer Milan with arms, and to keep it with arms. The insurrection of Ghent showed how little the Netherlands were habituated to obedience. What means then had he recourse to, and what means did his successors adopt to secure themselves from insurrections, and to give more stability to their authority?

The question we see is twofold. First, were

* Chiefly from Cespedes. Some particulars from Khevenhiller, ix. p. 1245.

† See Bassompierre, Khevenhiller, and particularly Davila, ad an. 1621.

measures successfully taken to deprive the nobles of the influence over the rest of the state, to make the clergy independent of Rome, to diminish the customary immunities of the towns? Secondly, how far was it contrived to unite in the king's hands the legislature, and the judicial authority, and the force of arms? In a word, how was the old constitution assailed, damaged, or destroyed? How was a new one established?

The question is identical for all the provinces; but as they were in themselves so various it will be best to examine them one after the other.

I. Castile.

So long as Castile was under the sway of native kings, or of kings naturalized by length of time, no country ever suffered more from intense distractions and violent civil wars. It fell under the dominion of foreign sovereigns in the sixteenth century. How extraordinary that from that moment it enjoyed profound internal tranquillity! Nor let it be supposed that this was a consequence of the spirit of the times. The passions were hushed in this country whilst most others were rent by violent intestine wars. Even under the worst rulers we find among the Castilians no trace of anything but quiet and allegiance.

Now to have a clear perception of how this came about, we must recollect that all the old Castilian dissensions merged ultimately in the conflict between the *grandees* and the towns. This was the strife that during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries kept all the nations of Europe in a continual state of warfare, always subsisting though sometimes latent, and breaking out only from time to time. The main subject of this quarrel in Castile was that the nobles had possessed themselves of the domains, and that the burthen of meeting the public wants out of their own property was thrown upon the towns. It was brought up upon every occasion; but when could a more likely occasion arise than when the succession to the throne became disputed after the death of a king? After the death of Henry IV. the towns sided with the party of Aragon, the nobles with that of Portugal; the towns were victorious, and by their aid Ferdinand and Isabella became the sovereigns of Castile. After Isabella's death the towns again declared for Aragon, for the widower; but the nobles, who were now of the Austrian party, sided with the son-in-law of the deceased queen. The nobles carried their point, and Philip I. ascended the throne. After the unexpected demise of this young monarch the old strife broke out a third time. The nobles went so far as to offer the government to Philip's father, the emperor Maximilian; it was not without vehement opposition on their part that Ferdinand, the Catholic, returned to the sovereignty of Castile; it was in spite of them, and only through the support of the towns, that he kept his ground; many powerful persons went in defiance of him to the Netherlands to attach themselves directly to the house of Austria. Was it likely that these factions should disappear when Ferdinand died? The minority of Charles V., and the mistaken measures of his ministers, caused the old ill-will of the towns to break out in open insurrection. That insurrection was decisive.

For a while the nobles looked on it inertly, for

they too were somewhat offended by the predominance of the Netherlands at the court. But when the towns brought up the old subject of quarrel, when they bethought them of demanding a restoration of the domains, the nobles seized their arms. They conquered at once for themselves and for Charles. His interests and theirs were most closely associated; they re-established the authority of the king. The grand question now was, how would Charles use this decision of the strife. Both parties were dependent on him, the nobles as his own party, the towns as defeated rebels. The question was, would he allow the former a share in his authority, and the latter opportunity to re-establish themselves; or would he find means to hold both in dependence, to keep the one party down and the other at least in abeyance.

The Nobles.

It was decisive for the position of the nobles in latter times that there was no longer war to wage within the limits of Spain. They had been used to keep bodies of troops in their pay, and to retain in their service beneath their banners a multitude of *hidalgos* who had no property. This greatly enhanced their consequence. But now the kings carried on their wars far from Spain; and the nobles were exempted from taking part in these, as well by their privileges as by the wishes of the kings, who did not choose any longer to have armies in which the formula for giving orders ran, "Such is the command of the king and the constable*."

It was furthermore of great moment for the position of the nobles, that they could no longer make their way good at court, or in the higher offices of state. Charles hardly ever kept his court in Spain, and Philip II. contrived to hold the nobles aloof. It was a maxim with both to entrust important offices only to men like Alva, whose fidelity was beyond all question, and to none besides†.

Thus withdrawn from war, and from affairs of state, the nobles were likewise excluded from the national deliberations. This was in consequence of the proceedings of the national assembly of 1538. When Charles represented his necessities to the assembled cortes, and made known his intention of introducing the excise, he did not look to experience so much opposition from his confederates and friends as from the other members. But the nobles pointedly resisted him, the constable Velasco most conspicuously, though he was a decided adherent of the house of Austria. Velasco insisted upon it that to bear burthens was in Castile the portion of the peasants, and that the least tax robbed the gentleman not only of all the immunities won by the blood of his forefathers, but of honour itself. He brought it to pass that Charles was addressed with the unwelcome and almost insulting advice to mend his affairs by staying at

* *Relazione delle cose, etc.* "Il contestabile nelli bandi mandava a dire: questo comanda il re et il suo contestabile: il che si è cominciato in Spagna ad imitazione di Francia."

† *Contarini, MS.* "I grandi sono dal re tenuti bassi, et non dà loro alcuno carico d'importanza in Spagna: et se li ne distribuisce alcuno fuori di questa provincia, sono brevi et spesso tramutati: onde non possono acquistare molta autorità. Sono ammessi rare volte alla presenza del re per non dar loro reputazione."

home, and keeping himself within bounds. Had Charles persisted in his intentions, there would have been reason to apprehend an insurrection*. Seeing, however, that his demands were refused, he resolved at least, as Sandoval says, never again to assemble such powerful persons. This was the last general assembly of the estates that was convoked.

And now whereas the constestable had asserted that the nobles were bound to serve with their persons, but not by pecuniary contributions, they henceforth did neither the one nor the other, but became mere passive inhabitants of the state, cut off from all participation in public life. They fell back upon the enjoyment of their wealth in their country seats, and their somewhat Moorish palaces, almost windowless towards the street, built in the form of a quadrangle round a broad court-yard planted with trees†. According to an apparently very trustworthy enumeration of the year 1581, the heads of the Mendozas and Enriquez, the Pachecos and Girones, that is the dukes of Infantado, Medina de Rioseco, Escalona, and Ossuna, possessed in those days each 100,000 ducats yearly income, and the duke of Medina Sidonia, a Guzman, 130,000‡. Many of them had severally 30,000 families subject to them. They maintained a royal expenditure on the strength of this opulence. Each had a kind of courtly establishment, a master of the household, of the hall, of the chamber, of the horse, a mayordomo, an accountant and secretary, and a crowd of pages and retainers. Many had sumptuous body-guards of two hundred men, and they were particularly careful to have well-appointed chapels. Contarini describes these as incredibly fine, and rich beyond description. With what pomp was the lady of the house waited on! Her women tendered their services on their knees; the page who handed her the cup remained kneeling till she had finished the draught; even the knight of the highest blood whom she addressed, bent the knee to her as she sat§. The nobles vied with each other in pomp like this, and laid aside the warlike habits and feelings of their forefathers.

Noting then, how the nobles were naturally inclined to the king, and to his party; how they gradually disarmed themselves and their subjects by the adoption of a wholly pacific tenor of life; how they next, by applying their ambition to luxury and pomp, ruined their circumstances and fell into debt, we shall clearly understand how they would

necessarily begin to fear the king, they who in former times had made kings fear them*.

The nobles of subordinate rank could now no longer expect honour and advancement in their service. Cervantes mentions a proverb of those days; "Choose the church, the sea, or the king's house." Many of the hidalgos, who used to serve under the banners of the grandes, now betook themselves to the Indies; others began to study in order to fit themselves for clerical offices; others sought service under the king, in the field when there was war, in the palace when there was peace. As the king had the patronage of the three knightly orders, and had so many benefices in his gift, they could look to him for a suitable provision for the remainder of their days†.

And thus was actually accomplished the purpose of circumscribing the class of grandes, and destroying its influence over the rest of the state. When Lerma threw the court open to them again, matters were in a very different position from that in which they had formerly stood. Their ambition hardly went beyond the right of being covered in the king's presence, or in his chapel, of obtaining for themselves the cup out of which the king had drunk, or, for one of their ladies, the dress worn by the queen at Easter. They looked up to the king as so exalted above them, that their own elevation above the rest of the nation seems to have consisted in their eyes chiefly in the trivial marks of honour he vouchsafed them, and the services he permitted them to discharge‡.

The Towns.

If such was the fate of the victors in the before-mentioned conflict, it may be asked, how fared it with the vanquished party—the towns?

All the power of the towns rested on the cortes, and in it on the rights of granting taxes and stating grievances, rights that were very closely connected with each other, since no taxes were granted unless grievances were remedied.

The earlier kings had striven to bring the cortes into a state of dependence. The royal corregidor long exercised a legalized influence on the elections. Henry IV. made an attempt directly to nominate the deputies of Seville§. Ferdinand the Catholic established the rule that the cortes should swear to keep everything secret that was committed to them, and his secretary of state, Almazan, had a predominant authority in the assembly of 1505. But little, however, was definitely and permanently effected till the times of Charles V. If Charles treated his rebellious subjects with clemency in other respects, still he was resolved to break down their legitimate power. He set about this without the least hesitation or pause, and he

* Soriano, *Relatione di Spagna*: "Tutti li signori non hanno altro obbligo che servire il re alla guerra a sue spese per la difesa di Spagna solamente: et quando Carlo V. ha voluto rompere li suoi privilegi, hebbe tutt' i grandi contrarii et il Velasco gran constestabile più di tutti, si ben era affezionato a S. M. et quello che più d'ogn'altro le fosse grato. Se non si metteva silenzio a questa novità, seguiva gran tumulto nel regno." Cf. *Oracion del constestable a la junta de grandes*. Sandoval, ii. 362.

† Navagero, *Viaggio fatto in Spagna*, 350.

‡ Nota di tutti li titoladi di Spagna con le loro casate et rendite che tengono, dove hanno li loro stati et habitationi, fatta nel 1581 alle 30 di Maggio in Madrid. *Informatt. Polit. tom. xv. n. 11. MS.*

§ *Relatione delle cose*, etc. "Parlandosi con alcune signore se si sta a sedere, li cavalieri, ancorche siano più nobili, s'inginocchiavano."

* Contarini: "Se ben sono ricchissimi, hanno però infiniti debiti, che gli fanno perdere il credito. Temono S. M. dove quando si governassero prudentemente, sariano da essa per le loro forze temuti. Sono superbi et altieri oltre ogni credenza, vivendo otiosamente."

† The Cortes of 1560 complain that the grandes cease "de tener y mantener en su casa parientes pobres y honrados." (*Peticion* 94.)

‡ *Relatione delle cose*, etc. "In tutti gli officii maggiori della casa del re sogliono servire titolati, ancorche sia scopatore maggiore, acquator maggiore et sono tenuti degni di qualsivoglia gran cavaliere."

§ *Marina, Teoria de las cortes*, tom. i. 190.

employed, generally speaking, four decisive measures to effect his purpose.

After the victory of the grantees, after his return on the 28th of May, 1523, Charles summoned the towns to a meeting in the Cortes. "But," he says in his warrant to the corregidor of Burgos, "in order that the credentials granted by this city may be complete, and not different from those of the other ciudades and villas, you shall take care that in every case they be conformable to the draft annexed hereto *." In short, he took upon him to prescribe to the towns the nature of the authority they were to grant their representatives. What then was this authority? There is extant one of the credentials drawn up in accordance with his draft. It empowers the procuradores "to vote the servicio, to treat what shall be laid before them by his majesty, to do what his majesty shall command, so far as it may be for God's service and his majesty's †." This was the first measure he adopted. This cortes met, furnished with no other documents but such as conferred on them unlimited power, with none but such as were approved of by the king.

The only remaining inconvenience now arose from that other right of the cortes, which restricted even the unlimited plenipotentiaries through the old established routine of not granting the taxes till grievances had been removed. Charles commanded positively, that money should be voted first, and grievances discussed afterwards. Though the assembly of 1523 insisted on it that he should immediately, and in the very first place, reply to the remonstrances addressed to him, and provide for what was required by the condition of the realm; though they even showed symptoms of a purpose to dissolve their sittings, still he persisted steadfastly in his determination to hear nothing, and to receive no remonstrance till the servicio had been voted; and he carried his point. This was his second measure. The custom he introduced now became a precedent, and precedent always becomes law when public circumstances long remain unchanged. Charles consented that attention should be given to grievances, not however, as previously, before the grant of supplies, but only before the close of the cortes ‡.

This extinction of all influence on the part of the constituents, was not even yet enough for him; he thought also, how he might keep the deputies themselves in awe, or voluntary submission. He effected the one purpose, by not suffering any discussion to take place, except in presence of his president, whereby every expression hostile to his interests became more dangerous to the deputies, than to himself §. The second purpose was effected by favours, either granted, or held out to expectation, which the president himself did not scruple to mention. It thus became a profitable thing to have a seat in the cortes; and we find as early as 1534, a deputy paying 14,000 ducats for this advantage ||.

These then were the four measures to which

Charles had recourse, in order to subdue the assembly; they were, as we see, unambiguously and openly directed to this end, and they perfectly effected it. From the year 1538, there was no cortes except this of the deputies of the towns; they assembled every three years, and they always granted what was demanded of them *.

The successors of Charles drew the reins he placed in their hands somewhat tighter. In the year 1573, the cortes themselves complained that courtiers, judicial functionaries, and other persons in his majesty's pay, were elected, persons whose freedom was small, and the only effects wrought by whom was dissension among the assembled members. In 1598, Philip III. summoned the procuradores to Madrid, in order that, as he said in his writ, they might consider and discuss, grant, admit, and resolve, whatsoever it should seem good to resolve in that cortes †. The only uneasiness entertained was, lest they should bring with them any secret instructions from their constituents ‡. They were to swear before God and the blessed Virgin, on the holy cross and the four gospels, that they would place in the president's hands every instruction, whether already in their possession, or to be afterwards received by them.

Henceforth everything was mere ceremony. First, the procuradores went to the castle to kiss the king's hand; the latter then appeared in person in their hall of assembly; after he had seated himself, and bidden them sit down, he stated to them first in his own words, and afterwards at more length through a secretary, why he had convoked them. Burgos and Toledo contended, according to immemorial custom, which should be the first to reply. The king said, according to immemorial custom, "Toledo will do as I command; let Burgos speak." Burgos then begged for time to reflect. This was the first sitting. The second began with a call to the royal scribes to withdraw, and ended with a resolution to petition the king for their removal. In a third, of course the king did not grant the petition, the deliberations were held in the presence of the scribes, and the servicio was voted. Thereupon they went to announce the grant to the king, who was gracious on the occasion, and gave each member his hand to kiss. And now nothing remained, but that a committee should present petitions affecting the community, each town those especially relating to it, and each member such as personally concerned himself. These were all laid before the royal council; some were granted, others not; till at last the president appeared, thanked the assembly in the king's name for the grant of the servicio, and to save the towns from incurring further expense, declared the cortes terminated §.

Digression respecting the range of action of the later cortes.

Thus were the vanquished in the war of parties kept in their condition of subjugation. The cortes

* Convocatoria para las Cortes de Valladolid de 1523 dirigida a la ciudad de Burgos por el Rey Don Carlos. Marina, Teoria, iii. c. i. 177.

† Carta de procuracion o de otorgamiento de poder que el ayuntamiento de Burgos dió a sus procuradores." Marina, ibid.

‡ Transactions reported by Marina, i. 300.

§ Marina, Teoria, i. 258, note.

|| Don Pedro de Salazar y Mendoza; Marina, i. 213.

* Ordine della casa: "Le corti di Castiglia si fanno con molta sodisfazione di Sua Maestà. Ottiene ogni tre anni ogni volta cento mila ducati."

† Convocatoria a la ciudad de Toledo para las cortes de Madrid. Marina, iii. 195.

‡ Carta de los procuradores a su ayuntamiento, 1599. Marina, i. 236.

§ A treatise "Como se hacen las cortes," in Marina, Apéndice, iii. n. 35.

had lost their old independence; they had no longer the strength to offer any real resistance; they were subdued.

But I would not take upon me to say that they forthwith became useless. Representative institutions, when once they have struck root in a nation, frequently display, even under circumstances of impaired independence, an inward vitality that still works beneficially. There was left indeed to the cortes of Castile no right save that of presenting petitions on the fulfilment of which they could not insist; but they made use of this right in such a manner, that hardly in the transactions of any delegated assembly of that century shall we find more good intention, more comprehensive and provident zeal, than was shown here.

They were by no means backward in admonishing the king. How often did they remind him of what the welfare of the country demanded, of what it was entitled to by its services. If they petition him to diminish the cost of his household and his table, they call to mind the existing dearth of money*. In their desire to persuade him they sometimes produced old pledges and written promises, made to them on former occasions of granting money†. They did still more. When he made alienations they put him in mind of the duties by which he was bound as king and liege lord‡. They appealed to his royal conscience that he should appoint none but persons of high qualities as governors and corregidores to watch over the conduct of his officers§.

Their attention is peculiarly directed to the functions of the magistrates, and to the proceedings of the courts of justice. They make it matter of complaint if the members of the supreme courts are either too old, or loaded with extraneous business, or inaccessible||; they are anxious that no family alliances should engross the audiences, that no *oidor* for instance should employ his son or his son-in-law in a commission, or promote him to advocations¶. They take it amiss if ever an *alguazil* breaks into the closed house of a peasant, or any other servant of a tribunal is guilty of violence of any kind. They require that the local councillors should inquire every first of the month into the conduct of their several courts, and if need be report their misconduct. They take pains to put an end to the collision between different jurisdictions, between the civil jurisdictions and the cleri-

cal or military. If they will not suffer that the secular court shall molest a church, on the other hand they insist that every spiritual tribunal shall be subject to the king's pre-eminence*. Besides these things they make it their business to resist sometimes the inroads of the royal councillors of finance on the rights of the estates, sometimes the domiciliary visits of the farmers of the royal salt-works, sometimes the extortions of the officers of the *Mesta*. In every way they labour to defend freedom and custom against every assault of arbitrary power.

In fact they have always before their eyes the whole condition of the state, its public economy, and its general welfare. They are not unobservant of the importance due to the affairs of the forests, the pastures, and the tillage lands. If they disapprove of the practice of burning down heaths in order to have better pastures†, neither will they sanction the breaking up of pasture lands for tillage. They go very minutely into these matters. They wish to prevent the stripping off the bark of oaks and cork trees. There are meadows on the tops of lofty mountain ridges to which cows cannot be driven; they take care that the grass shall not be lost. Innumerable are the ordinances they demand on behalf of trade and commerce. They note with displeasure the increase of luxury and the augmenting dearness of all articles. The extravagance of the *grandes* and the courtiers in dress and furniture, the introduction of carriages and litters‡, which it required a considerable fortune to keep, the disorders of the lackeys, the gambling with cards and dice that brought forward people who were seen strutting about in silk clothes with gold chains, though they had no fortune, had never filled an office, or been in any one's service,—with all these things they express themselves most strongly dissatisfied. The artisan already went so fine that he set an insufferable price on his work.

They, on the other hand, directed their care to more real wants. They desired that there should be in every town a father for the orphan children that were left to roam about like vagabonds§, and that a guardian should be appointed for the poor who should give them work. They wished also that in every town two good men should every week inquire into the state of the prisons||; it incensed them that orphan girls should be refused shelter and education in nunneries. They turned their thoughts to facilitating travelling by means of guides and better appointed inns. In this sedulous regard to things of every kind they do not overlook the

* Cortes of 1560, Petic. iii. "Los gastos de vuestro real estado y mesa son muy crescidos, y entendemos que conviniere mucho al bien destes reynos que V^{ra} M. los mandase moderar asi para algun rmedio de sus necessidades como," etc.

† Cortes of 1558, Petic. vi. "Especialmente mande V. M. guardar la cedula que la Magestad imperial dió en las cortes de Toledo."

‡ Cortes of 1560, Petic. v. "Suplicamos a V. M. que considerando la obligacion que tiene como Rey y Señor de todo," etc.

§ Cortes of 1560, Petic. xiii. "Asi conviene al descargo y sosiego de la real consciencia de V. M."

|| Cortes of 1552, Petic. i. "Las personas que residen en el vuestro consejo real, quando alli vienen, son ya viejos y enfermos, y con sus indisposiciones y vejez no pueden despachar tantos negocios como al vuestro real consejo ocurren."

¶ Cortes of 1552, Petic. iii. "Las partes reciben gran daño en que los oydores de vuestras chancellerias tengan hijos y yernos abogados."

* The same, Petic. ix. "Al juez eclesiastico no se haze agravio en mandarle que otorgue y embie el processo, para que se vea, si haze fuerza: y esta es la preheminiencia real de los Reyes de España."

† Cortes of 1555, Petic. lxvii. "No contentos con los pastos que hay en los montes, les ponen fuego para tener mas y acaece quemarse tres o quatro leguas de montes en que se recibe notable daño."

‡ The same, Petic. cviii. "Para entretenir o sostener un coche o una litera es menester una hacienda particular."

§ Cortes of 1552, Petic. cxii. "Muchos mozos de estar mal vestidos y mal tratados ninguno se quiere servir dellos —y se andan perdidos, porque no hay quien tenga enyado dellos." They wish to have "una persona diputada que recoja los tales mozos y los haga yr a trabajar."

|| Cortes of 1560, Petic. cii. "Cada semana o cada mes se nombren dos regidores, los quales se hallen a la visita de la cárcel."

smith who has the effrontery to demand 25 or 25½ maravedis for a light horseshoe, not so good as the old one which he keeps; nor the servant for whom his master pays the cruzada and who runs away from him thereupon; nor the young girl whom her cautious mother leaves shut up at home, but who goes meanwhile and sits down to the reading of Amadis, and fills her imagination with a disordered appetite for the strange incidents narrated there*. As for them, like men of sense they are more inclined to real than to fictitious history. They wish that above all the valour of the Spaniards should be known throughout the whole world, that the heroic deeds of their forefathers should be held up as examples to existing and future generations. Never perhaps was a historian more urgently commended to his sovereign than was Florian de Ocampo commended by them to Philip II.†

Nor can it be said that their suggestions passed unregarded. The king often replied to them, "We hold what you require to be just," or "Our council shall weigh the matter," or "We have given orders that your advice be acted on." Often the petition was forthwith converted into law. Philip II. probably ratified but too often the plans thrown out in such documents respecting trade and commerce; but it was not so with respect to his prerogatives, his revenues, and the augmentation of the taxes. His answer to the supplications of the cortes was very frequently that the existing law was satisfactory; no innovation was admissible.

And so the assembly of the cortes may be regarded as a council which the towns, in remembrance of older and more important rights, sent every three years at their own cost to the king, that it might help to repeal abuses, and to exercise control over the state functionaries; that it might take cognizance of ancient custom and make proposals for the general good. Care was taken that this should not in any way prejudice the supreme power; all decisions rested solely with the king. He was not a little helped, however, by this institution in keeping his officers in check, and in maintaining a complete authority over them.

The Clergy.

We return to the circumstances of the three estates. The cortes were now instrumental in making the nation bear the burthen the king thought it good to lay upon it. Two main pillars of the ancient constitution were overthrown. Did the king succeed in prostrating the third, the clergy? Or did the profound reverence for the outward forms of worship displayed by these kings, a reverence which made it with them the first of duties to spread abroad the sway of the pope, did this enable them

to allow the clergy a certain degree of independence?

The clergy by all means enjoyed an easy and even a pleasant existence. In Toledo they enjoyed such ample revenues that they were not only proprietors of the first houses, but were besides tantamount to lords of the city; they fared every day of the best, and no one found fault with them. The monks of Guadalupe derived alms to the amount of 150,000 ducats yearly from their miraculous image. Their convent was surrounded with beautiful gardens; they had excellent wine-cellars excavated, some for earthen, others for wooden vessels; their residence was provided with all the comforts of life, and they wanted nothing from without. The convents were above all frequently remarkable for their beautiful and delightful situations. Navagero is full of enthusiasm about the Carthusian monastery of Seville. How beautiful was its site, at the foot of the most charming hills clad with orange groves; in the midst of gardens full of pomegranate trees, whence the breezes wafted the good fathers the sweetest perfumes all the summer through; before it the great river, and all around the most luxuriant fields. "These brethren," he says, "have climbed a good step in advance on the way hence to Paradise*."

But it does not follow from this that the clergy possessed independence, or an influence of their own proper strength on the government. The very foremost consideration with regard to their relation to the state is, in whose hands lay the right of collation to benefices? Ferdinand the Catholic had obtained from the popes, for the kings of Spain, the privilege of nominating their own clergy†. So unlimitedly did Philip exercise this right, that he devised his own maxims of ecclesiastical administration. He made a distinction as to districts. He placed theologians in the mountains of the Asturias and in Galicia, for there doctrine was wanted; to Estremadura and Andalusia, where the people loved litigation, he sent canonists; and he sent monks to the Indies, because these men usually did the most effective service in converting the natives. In the disposal of appointments he looked by all means to birth, and to the recommendations of his ministers and of approved men; but his usual practice was, to try his men first in humbler employments before he advanced them to higher; and above all, if he anywhere discovered a poor monk distinguished for erudition and irreproachable conduct, or a bold man, like that Quiroga who would rather be excommunicated than receive bulls of the pope that were contrary to rule, he was sure to promote them. The one class gave his administration credit in the eyes of the people; the other lent it intrinsic energy. He made Quiroga the first ecclesiastic in the kingdom, viz. archbishop of Toledo. And as in all these matters he

* Cortes of 1558, Petic. cvii. Illustrative also of Don Quixote. "Como los mancebos y las donzellas por su ociosidad se principalmente ocupan en aquello (leer libros de mentiras y vanidades), desvanecense y aficionan en cierta manera a los casos que leen en aquellos libros haver acontecido, anzi de amores como de armas y otras vanidades: y aficionados, quando se ofrece algun caso semejante, danse a el mas a rienda suelta que si no lo huviesen leydo."

† The same, Petic. ccxviii. "Movido de su natural inclinacion ha escripto veynto y ocho años en la chronica de España. Con gran trabajo de su persona y espíritu las ha recopilado et teniendo lugar las sacara a luz: de que a estos reynos se seguira notable beneficio."

* Navagero, Viaggio, 353—359.

† Continari: "Ha il re il nominazione di tutti i benefici di Spagna et li distribuisce a chi più li aggrada, tramutando anco uno istesso da un vescovo a l'altro a suo beneplacito." See, above all, the law of Philip II. of the year 1565: "Por derecho y antigua costumbre y justos títulos y concessiones apostolicas somos patron de todas las iglesias cathedrales de estos reynos, y nos pertenecen la presentacion de los Arzobispos y Obisposados y Prelacias y Abadias consistoriales de estos reynos, aunque vagen en corte de Roma." Nueva Recopilacion, lib. i. tit. vi. ley i. p. 36.

proceeded entirely after his own good pleasure, it was satisfactory to him to have this acknowledged, to see the clergy, after their nomination to an appointment, present themselves before him and return thanks*.

Under these circumstances, it was not possible but that archbishops, bishops, and the whole clergy should hang upon him to whom they owed all they enjoyed, and to whom they looked for their future fortunes. Instead of adhering to Rome, which they could not support against the king, they clung to the king, who had the power and the inclination to support them against Rome. They were their master's most obedient subjects; they bore their part cheerfully in the burthens of the state. It was the common opinion that no clergy in the world was more burthened than they†. It was affirmed in 1629 that a full third of the ecclesiastical revenues fell into the king's hands, and that a single prelate contributed to the king as much as 2000 peasants or 4000 gentlemen‡.

New Constitution.

We see the third pillar too of the old institutions broken: let us now inquire how far the kings succeeded in founding a new constitution on the ruins of the old.

Now we have already perceived how the elements of the old state co-operated to the formation of the new one. The removal of the grandes from affairs of state, and from war, obliged the inferior nobility to attach themselves entirely to the king. As the nation had no other organ through which it could express its feelings than the procuradores of the towns in the cortes, the subjection of these men became a matter of great moment with regard to the general obedience of the subject. The clergy, who were linked to the king as they had previously been to the pope himself, now laboured as strenuously for the former as they had done for the latter. From the self-same three estates, which had of old offered resistance to the kings, that servility and that impassibility now originated which so distinguished Castile in this century.

But the king had still other and wholly different means for effecting and securing this state of things. The new constitution was based essentially on three things, the standing army, the judicial functions, and the taxes. The first gave the central authority plenary power against its domestic and foreign enemies; the second kept the people in dependence unawares; by means of the third, the whole course of private life, every property and calling, were rendered subservient to the community or to the sovereign. The subject of the taxes involves the consideration of the whole administration, and of the condition of the people, and will be treated of in a separate section: the character of the cortes shows at once, that the taxes were to be paid by the people. The standing army was supported by these

funds. Though these kings had such considerable armies in their other territories, and frequently in the field, that they might have considered themselves abundantly secured by them, still Castile too was filled with troops of its own. First of all, *hommes d'armes* were introduced after the precedent of France, and after the immediate example of the Burgundian house. The twenty-two companies of these, with the 5000 light horsemen*, rendered necessary by their peculiar constitution, formed the guards of Castile; a body of soldiers deemed so important, that it was thought hazardous to entrust the command of them to a private individual, and that even so unwarlike a monarch as Philip sometimes bestirred himself to review them. It was frequently no slight burthen to the several localities to furnish the contributions in aid of the pay of these men, or to afford them quarters†. Besides these, there were 1600 horsemen with targets and javelins, who continually patrolled the coasts of the Mediterranean, to ward off all danger of the corsairs. Fuenterrabia and Pamplona, the four mountain towns on the sea, Cadiz, Carthage, and other places, had their garrisons. The king had body guards round his person, a German, a Spanish, and a third, after the manner of his ancestors, composed of Burgundian nobles. This force, perhaps not strong enough to repel a foreign foe, (Philip II. established in addition a militia of 30,000 men,) was yet sufficient instantly to smother every attempt at resistance from within.

The administration of justice likewise contributed not a little to the preservation of tranquillity. I will not enumerate the tribunals and audiences which depended on the council of Castile, nor detail the manner in which the executive and the superintendence of the judicial institutions were combined in the latter. Strict equity was insisted on, and the meanest man could disarm his oppressor with the words, "I will go to the king." The chief thing we have to treat of is the tribunal most peculiarly Spanish, the court of the inquisition.

The Inquisition.

Llorente has given us a famous book on this subject, and if I presume to say anything that contravenes the opinion of such a predecessor, let my excuse be, that this well-informed author wrote in the interest of the *afancesados*, of the Josephine administration. In that interest he disputes the immunities of the Basque provinces, though these were hardly to be denied. In that interest too, he looks on the inquisition as an usurpation of the spiritual over the secular authority. Nevertheless, if I am not altogether in error, it appears, even from his own facts, that the inquisition was a royal court of judicature, only armed with ecclesiastical weapons.

In the first place, the inquisitors were royal officers. The kings had the right of appointing and dismissing them‡; the kings had among the vari-

* Cabrera, lib. xi. cap. xi. p. 890.

† Contarini: "Tutti i prelati sono obbedientissimi a S. M. sì per lo debito della gratia come per la speranza delle future. Quando hanno bisogno di qualche ajuto, non ricorrono a Roma, ma a S. M.; et così anco fanno quando da Roma sono molestati di qualche cosa, che ricorrono subito al re, che gli protegge et favorisce: onde gli è facile di cavar buona somma de danari da tutti quei prelati."

‡ Moro, Relat. della Spagna, MS.

* Contarini: "5000 cavalli obligati armati alla leggiera di lancia et targa, che nè per esperienza nè per la qualità de cavalli (che per il più sono debili et tristi) è di molta considerazione."

† Transactions of the Cortes in 1619 in Davila, Felipe III. ad h. a.

‡ Bull of Incorporation, Llorente, Histoire de l'Inquisition, i. 145.

ous councils at their court, a council likewise of the inquisition; the courts of the inquisition were subject, like other magistracies, to royal visitors*; the same men were often assessors therein, who sat in the supreme court of Castile†. It was to no purpose Ximenes scrupled to admit into the council of the inquisition a layman nominated by Ferdinand and the Catholic. "Do you not know," said the king, "that if this tribunal possesses a jurisdiction, it is from the king it derives it‡." If Llorente speaks of a suit attempted against Charles V. and Philip II. themselves§, still it is plain from his own statement (for to this we always refer for our information), that Paul IV., then in open war with the emperor and the king, proposed some such experiment,—but not that the suggestion was put in force, or that such an attempt was ever made.

In the second place, all the profit of the confiscations by this court accrued to the king. These were carried out in a very unsparing manner. Claim was laid even to the presents which had been made by the condemned long before their trials, and to the portions they had bestowed on their daughters||. Though the fueros of Aragon forbade the king to confiscate the property of his convicted subjects, he deemed himself exalted above the law in matters pertaining to this court¶. It was calculated in the year 1522, that the property of those alone who had voluntarily pleaded guilty of heresy, had even in the short period since the accession of Charles brought him in upwards of a million of ducats**. The proceeds of these confiscations formed a sort of regular income for the royal exchequer. It was even believed and asserted from the beginning, that the kings had been moved to establish and countenance this tribunal more by their hankering after the wealth it confiscated, than by motives of piety††.

In the third place, it was the inquisition, and the inquisition alone, that completely shut out all extraneous interference with the state: the sovereign had now at his disposal a tribunal from which no grande, no archbishop, could withdraw himself. Foreigners were particularly struck with this fact. "The inquisition," says Segni, "was invented to rob the wealthy of their property and the powerful of their consequence." As Charles knew no other means of bringing certain punishment upon the bishops who had taken part in the insurrection of the comunidades, he chose to have them judged by the inquisition. Philip II., despairing of being able to punish Antonio Perez, called in the aid of the inquisition. For open heresy was not the only question it had to try. Already Ferdinand had felt the advantages it afforded, and had enlarged the sphere of its activity. Under Philip it interfered in matters of trade and of the arts, of cus-

toms and marine. How much further could it go when it pronounced it heresy to dispose of horses or munition to France*?

Accordingly, as this court derived its authority from the king, it directed it to the advantage of the royal power. It was a portion of those spolia of the ecclesiastical power, by which the government was made mighty, such as the administration of the grand masterships, and the appointment of the bishops. It was in spirit, and tendency above all, a political institution. The pope had an interest in thwarting it, and he did so as often as he could. But the king had an interest in constantly upholding it†.

Now if the inquisition did mischief enough, as there is no denying, this is not to be ascribed solely to the government. Peculiar propensities of the Spanish mind particularly favoured the establishment and the perversion of the inquisition.

First, there were the prejudices with regard to the distinction between pure and base blood, which had taken hold of the Spaniards to an extent unequalled in any other nation. Proof of pure blood was required of candidates for most offices, and it was even thought a great mitigation, when the search was not carried back further than to the fourth generation‡. But, besides, the continual wars with the Moors, and the hostility to the Jews who were particularly numerous in that kingdom, had so blended together the pride of birth and a certain religious pride, that the two feelings seemed but one. Not to be of pure catholic faith seemed to this people as much a vice of blood as of mind. Hence the value they attached to pure blood (*limpieza*); hence the contempt that was mingled with their hatred of unbelievers and heretics; hence are to be explained the caste-like distinctions they introduced into America, and the religious wars to which they applied themselves in Europe. Now, as the inquisition was, as it were, a weapon of the pure blood against the tainted, of the children of Germanic and Latin Christians against the progeny of Jews and Moors, it found the strongest support in the feelings of the nation. The sons of the convicted had no claim to a place in a royal council, or in a town corporation; no, nor even their grandsons§. Nay, the man who had been merely accused before the inquisition was by the very fact dishonoured; no good Spaniard would have given him his daughter in marriage||.

This peculiarity of the nation was undoubtedly

* Segni, Storia Fiorentina, 335. Llorente, i. 402; ii. 397; iv. 123. We learn from the Lettres du Nonce Visconti, an 1563, ii. 282, that Rome attributed to the introduction of the Spanish inquisition "gran diminuzione dell' autorità di questa santa sede."

† Tiepolo: "L'inquisizione in questi luoghi è il maggior mezzo di tutti li altri di contener quel regno in quiete, cosa che conosciuta dal Signor re, per essa tende quanto più può non solo a conservar, ma ad ampliar quanto è possibile la giurisdizione di quel tribunale."

‡ Petition of the Cortes of 1532, in Davila, Felipe III. 211.

§ The Cortes of 1522, Petic. liii. complain that this law was sometimes violated. "En lo qual," they say, "la republica reçibe gran detrimento et es cosa rezia que tales personas tengan tales officios."

|| Sometimes an inquisitor held another office, and it was sure to be the case that he made his arrests in the former capacity. The Cortes complain of this: "Ainsi se infaman muchas personas." Even this was considered an infamy. The same, Petic. lix.

* For an example see La Nuza, Historias de Aragon, ii. p. 11.

† The Cortes of 1560 complained of this: "Y otros del dicho real consejo son assessores y consultores en el consejo de la santa inquisicion." Peticion vii.

‡ The king's words in Llorente, ii. 498.

§ Ibid. ii. 183.

|| Fragment d'un ouvrage espagnol: Del regimento de Principes, Llorente, App. iv. 409.

¶ Lettre de Jean de Lucena au roi Ferdinand; ib. 376.

** Lettre de Manuel à Charles quint, Llorente, i. 399.

†† Litera Sixti IV. ad Ferdinandum et Isabellam, Llorente, App. iv. 354.

mightily subservient to the introduction of the inquisition, and to its early efficiency.

But if we take into account the abuses that grew out of the statute of *limpieza*,—how enemies attacked each other before the tribunals with false testimony respecting their ancestors, so that Gabriel Cimbron says *, there was no such thing as noble birth or pure blood in Spain, save such as consisted in having good friends or malicious enemies;—we shall then find it easier to explain also the abuses connected with the inquisition. In that court the custom had been introduced in the beginning to conceal the names of the witnesses, in order to protect them from persecution, when the persons accused were rich and powerful. Thus were the most convenient opportunities afforded those whose desires were to be gratified by revenge, and above all by secret revenge. How frequently did it happen after the supposed culprits had been long condemned and executed, and their children robbed of their inheritance and reduced to beggary, that their accusers confessed, on their deathbeds, they had borne false witness.

If such an institution could hardly be established in any nation without the utmost danger, assuredly it was surpassingly perilous in a nation, the families of which bore to each other a rankling, inveterate, and immemorial enmity, and scorned no means of doing each other the utmost mischief.

Thus did the inquisition, by its secret proceedings, by the severity of its measures, by the extension of its rights over persons of every rank, and over cases of the most diversified kinds, by the religious pomp with which it surrounded itself, and by the gratification it afforded to the passions of petty souls, become a tribunal of terror that invested him in whose control it was with immense power over the nation.

The obstacles removed, which the old constitution had presented to the sovereign, the royal power firmly established by means of taxes and soldiers, it was after all the inquisition by which the unconditional authority of the government was completed.

II. Aragon.

But had the inquisition singly the power of establishing despotism?

It was likewise introduced into Aragon, and yet that kingdom preserved its original freedom unimpaired, though so neighbouring to Castile, and though so closely connected therewith by the original unity of the nation, and by the existing unity of the government.

Old Constitution.

The fundamental principle of the constitution of Aragon was that the king was entitled to exercise only a very trifling influence on internal affairs. He was not at liberty to delegate his authority to any but a native. When he would hold the cortes it was indispensable that he himself, or at least a prince of the blood should be present, to open the proceedings and to close them again with the solemnities of homage†. Nevertheless, his part

in the cortes was very limited. His proposals could never stand good if there was but a single vote against them*. Individuals could always arrest the course of the proceedings by presenting a memorial of grievances, or as they were called *greuges*, a word of fear for the Aragonese sovereigns; and till these grievances were remedied the sittings could not be closed. Especial care was taken to render the administration of justice independent of the royal will. There were royal tribunals indeed, and Philip II. established a new criminal court, but these were subordinate to the others; first to the Justicia and to its *lugartenientes*, whose duty it was, at the words "Avi fuerza," to aid all who thought themselves dealt with by might rather than right, and who were bound to hear the appeal of a condemned man, though the rope were actually round his neck. It was their office to investigate the proceedings of the former court. The justicia again was responsible to four inspectors, who heard complaints against it, and to a representative body of seventeen†. The whole constitution was secured by an express law that no foreign soldier should be permitted to set foot on the soil‡. Aragon was a republic, detached and shut up within itself, having at its head a king, but a king with very limited prerogatives.

It was inevitable in the period before us that this state of things should have been productive of numerous disputes. The king saw the supplies, for which alone he had any interest in holding a cortes, swallowed up immediately by the expenses of his journey, and of the long stay to which he was obliged in consequence of the *greuges*§. For a long while Philip II. forbore from holding cortes; the Aragonese paid no servicio; under these circumstances it was almost as though the country was without a king; the laws were administered without him, and civil affairs proceeded in their usual course. It is true indeed that no proper national peace obtained in the kingdom; we find count Martin of Aragon engaged in a sanguinary feud with his county of Ribagorza, which had expelled him and emancipated itself; we find the Montaneses of the Tena valley in arms against the Moriscos of Codo; but the king did not interpose in these matters, even admitting, as some asserted, that he encouraged the Ribagorzans; nor could he do so, his hands being tied by the constitution||. The inquisition met with peculiar resistance in this kingdom. Persons could escape from the authority of this as well as of every other royal court by manifesting, as the expression was, that is appealing for aid to the justicia. That aid was readily granted; the national court sometimes assigned the whole town of Saragossa as a prison to those who seemed already within the clutches of the inquisition.

* Geronimo Martel, Forma de celebrar Cortes, c. ii. "Es necesario que concuerde la voluntad del Rey con todos los que intervienen en cortes, sin que falta un solo voto."

† Blancas, Rerum Aragonicarum Commentarii, ap. Schott, Hispania illustrata, i. 747.

‡ Fuero segundo, De generalibus privilegiis regni Aragonum. Perez, Relat. 88.

§ Sommario dell' ordine, MS. "Sua maestà avanza poco, perche si danno 600,000 ducati, quali spende prima che si parta, nè viaggi et perche convien stare molto tempo."

|| Blasco de La Nuza, Historias ecclesiasticas y seculares de Aragon desde 1556 hasta el 1618, tom. ii. lib. i. cap. xx. cap. xxxvi.

* Gabriel Cimbron de Avila, quoted by Davila, 212.

† Blancas, Modo de proceder en Cortes, c. lii. "Quien puede llamar Cortes."

tion, and they were to be seen walking about in freedom as though nothing were the matter. Upon this the inquisition would excommunicate the *lugartenientes* who had robbed it of its prisoners; but the Aragonese did not give way for all that. They sent to Rome, and did not spare 30,000 ducats to procure a revocation of the excommunication: what a triumph for them to obtain it! Still they were incessant in their complaints of the usurpations of the inquisition, and in the cortes of 1585 they forced the king to promise them a speedy inquiry into the matter*.

Much as the Aragonese boasted of their position with respect to the king, proudly as they dwelt on the words of Peter III. †, "If there be vassals faithful to their lord, it is you; for you are not under a tyrannical dominion, but endowed with many immunities; I can distinguish you from other vassals,"—words which they maintained were still applicable to them; nevertheless there existed an antagonism between the government and the estates, which only waited for an occasion to break out into open strife ‡. Queen Isabella is stated to have said in her day she only wished the Aragonese would rebel, that there might be an opportunity of having recourse to arms against them, and changing their constitution. When disputes again arose between the royal functionaries and those of the kingdom, the duke of Alva exclaimed, "If the king would give me only four thousand men, four thousand of those I have myself disciplined, I would soon lay low the immunities of Aragon §."

Revolution.

While things were in this inauspicious state the affair of Antonio Perez occurred. As a native of Aragon he took refuge under the immunities of the Aragonese constitution, and they protected him. But was the king to allow his rebellions subject an asylum in the midst of his own dominions, where he could not but be irksome to him? He left no means untried to obtain the condemnation and surrender of Perez. When all failed he had recourse to the inquisition, which then arrested on a charge of heresy the man who might in case of the worst be tried for treason. Upon this the people of Aragon called to mind all the injuries they had sustained at the hands of that tribunal; "Besides it was accepted only for a hundred years, and they are now elapsed:" accordingly they broke into open insurrection and rescued Perez ||. If the king thought himself justified in putting down the insurrection by force of arms, the people on their part thought they were justified in resisting force with force. The Aragonese banner of St. George waved once more in the field. But whether it was from want of experience, or from cowardice, or from treachery, their resistance was almost no-

thing*. The Castilians marched into Saragossa almost without a check. The justicia, that bulwark of Aragonese liberty, now met its doom; the chiefs of the people perished in prison, many fled the country. The king summoned the cortes to Tarra-gona, in order to modify the constitution, whilst the terror of arms still prevailed.

Spittler has said, and many have repeated it by rote after him, that the Aragonese immunities were left untouched on that occasion. But this opinion cannot rest on a general view of the facts; they are too plain and unambiguous.

The cortes proceeded in violation of the law. They were not opened either by the king or by any one of royal blood, but by a Chinchon, archbishop of Saragossa, to whose family was justly imputed a certain share in the measures adopted by the king. The Aragonese were vanquished, terrified, prostrated; they dared not contradict him. As if it had been purposely intended to set an example of the breach of the law, the archbishop suspended the proceedings in the midst, and held a court of homage to confirm what had been so far done. Homages were pushed still further. The king was consulted by letter in dubious cases, and his decision was adopted. "A thing never heard of, a thing never deemed possible," exclaims Martel; "the king was not only not in the cortes, but even not in the kingdom. From the Hieronymite convent of our Lady of Estrella, in Castile, the king issued his orders, which were solemnly communicated to the officers of the justicia, and enrolled in the records †. The maintenance of other immunities was now not to be thought of, and the thirty-first article of the resolutions of the cortes expressly declared that for the future it should free to the king and his successors to nominate viceroys, whether native or alien ‡."

Next those laws were overthrown which bore upon the king's influence over the cortes. A definite time was fixed for hearing grievances, after which no more were to be listened to §. The force of an opposing vote was abolished with respect to most cases, and the voice of the majority declared valid. "The majority of every estate constitutes the estate; even if a whole estate be wanting, this shall have no influence upon the course of the cortes, provided the same shall have been duly summoned according to law ||." This was the more important as the king possessed great and legitimate rights with regard to the convocation of the assembly. Only eight titled houses of the *grandees*, not a single one of the lesser nobility or of the *hidalgos*, could claim to possess a seat and a vote; the king summoned them at his pleasure ¶. Some of the towns had an unconditional right; but the king

* Llorente.

† Molinus (Blanca's Commentarii, p. 763) appears in error when he names Martin

‡ Tommaso Contarini: "Quando per avventura il re procurava moderare alcuna di quelle leggi (Contarini charges the Aragonese nobility with 'infiniti sforzi,' and 'cose monstruose,') tutto il popolo et tutti li grandi si sollevano sotto pretesto di voler difender la libertà loro."

§ Soriano, Relazione di Spagna, 7.

|| See the account given by Perez himself,

* "A pena furono a vista dell' inimico, che senza essere assaliti si voltarono tutti in fuga. . . . Forse sariano anco restati superiori, se fossero stati così bravi nel difendersi come furono arditissimi nel ribellarsi. . . . Hora S. M. ha scemata et riunita la libertà loro, castigando tutti i loro capi con bandi, con prigione perpetua, con togli la vita."

† Martel, Forma de proceder en Cortes, c. vi.

‡ La Nuza, Historias, p. 325, where there are also some limitations.

§ Fuero: "El tempo dentro el qual se han de dar los greuges." Martel, p. 56.

|| Fuero: "Que en las cortes la mayor parte de cada braço haga braço." Martel, c. ii.

¶ Martel: "Los hidalgos no pueden alegar possession de aver de ser llamados," etc.

might add as he pleased to their numbers. Now if the old *fuero* was based upon this usage, for without it it would have been absurd to make complete unanimity an indispensable condition of every measure, it is likewise plain that the validity of the majority of votes involved in it a kind of command. For this reason the practice was still retained, for certain cases, of requiring an unanimous vote.

The tribunal was next taken in hand. Philip did not indeed change its form, but he changed its essence. The independence of the court sprang from the manner of appointing the *lugartenientes* of the *justicia*, and their acting deputies, for they themselves were usually gentlemen not versed in legal studies. These functionaries were nominated by the cortes directly, or in such a way that out of those proposed to him the king selected those who were to fill the existing and the future vacancies respectively. Philip still continued to allow them a certain part in this choice, but such a one as was almost ridiculous. He settled that he should himself put nine eligible persons in nomination; from these the cortes made a selection no doubt, but a selection of eight, so that they had only the right of rejecting one; and of these eight the king appointed five to act at once, and three to fill up vacancies*. This was in fact no whit better than though he had named his own men absolutely. He also suffered the four inspectors to continue, and the court of the seventeen, though he diminished the number, and he took them alternately from the four estates, but the real nomination was entirely with himself†. The independence of the courts was wholly destroyed; and as they were thenceforth all royal courts just like the inquisition, there were few collisions afterwards between them and the latter; they and it had but one common interest, and that was the king's.

To perfect these arrangements Philip converted the *Alfajería*, near Saragossa, where the inquisition was established, into a fortress commanding the town‡.

Thus the king successfully made the most decisive inroads upon the old rights of Aragon. The national tribunal was subjected to him, the legislative assembly exposed to his influence, the country opened to his soldiers, wider scope given to the inquisition, and great rents made in the compact body of the old constitution. But everything cannot be done at once; there still remained many privileges unimpaired, and the old unanimity of all the members of the cortes was still required even for the grant of new taxes. The Aragonese had still before them, for a future day, another open struggle against the new constitution.

III. Sicily.

The example of Sicily shows how arduous such a struggle continued even yet to be for the royal authority.

There the king had two thousand five hundred Spanish troops; there the inquisition was in operation; the administration of justice was for the most

part under the king's control; he was therefore further advanced by two important aids to despotism, than he had been in Aragon previously to the late events there: yet was he far from being absolute; no where was the situation of his viceroys more difficult.

For, although the new system of government had gained some footing in Sicily, still the old feudal constitution subsisted in unbroken strength. The towns boasted that they had accepted the Aragonese kings voluntarily and by treaty, nay that they had paved the way for them to the kingdom. Messina deduced its rights from the first arrival in the island, not of the Normans merely, but of the Romans*; and in fact it possessed, in the opinion of competent judges, greater prerogatives than any city in the whole world subject to a sovereign. Those of Palermo were not much inferior; but besides these it was proud of its then flourishing condition, and of the residence of the viceroy within its walls: it laid claim to paramount consequence in the kingdom†. If these two cities were sometimes jealous of each other, they were both still more so of the supremacy of the Spaniards. How often did Messina point its cannons against the ships in which Spaniards were approaching it! How often did Palermo revolt against the inquisition! If the towns had opened the country to the kings, the barons had helped them to conquer it. Capmany gives a list of fifty baronial families of Sicily, all of Catalonian blood‡. They clung with jealous pertinacity to the claims to which they were thus entitled; they were also strong through armed feudal service. Lastly, the clergy were rich and powerful; many of them were Spaniards, and these were so much the prouder. The circumstances of the *Monarchia Sicula* (for the Sicilian kings asserted that they were the pope's born legates), to the pretensions of which the pope yielded, but with reluctance, made him their natural protector, and they had frequently just grounds for appealing to him in consequence of the abuses made of the royal rights§.

Now, when these three estates, severally so powerful, assembled in parliament, which happened in their case as well as in that of the cortes of Aragon and Castile, only that they might vote a *servicio*||, it was no very easy thing for the viceroy to obtain this. The barons indeed were very ready to vote what they were not liable to pay; their vassals paid for them, and remained in consequence only so much the weaker and more submissive. But the prelates who were called on to open their

* Ragazzoni, *Relazione della Sicilia*: "Messina adduce li privilegi che gli furono concessi dal Senato Romano." Roger's *Charter* to Messina, an. 1229, in Raumer's *Hohenstaufen*, iii. 435.

† Ragazzoni: "Per la verità Palermo per la grandezza di popolo, che fa intorno 100,000 anime, per ricchezza e per nobiltà, habitandovi quasi tutti li signori del regno, et per la continua quasi residenza della regia corte in lei et per il traffico et negotio è la principale che sia in detto regno."

‡ Capmany, *Del establecimiento de varias familias ilustres de Cataluña en las islas y reynos de Aragon. Memorias sobre la marina*, tom. ii. *Apendice de algunas notas*, p. 37.

§ Scipio di Castro, *Avvertimenti al S. M. A. Colonna quando andò vicerè di Sicilia.* Tesoro politico, tom. ii. p. 350.

|| Breve Clementis VII. ad Carolum V. anno 1531, ap. Rainaldum, *Annales Ecclesiastici* xx. 624.

* Martel, p. 90: "Nominacion de personas per lugartenientes del justicia de Aragon."

† La Nuza, *Historias*, p. 319.

‡ Contarini: "... Citadella che si edifica nel luogo dove era situato il palazzo della inquisitione, dal quale per essere in luogo eminente si dominerà tutta Siragossa."

purses frequently resisted. The viceroys made it their study to have among them some more obsequious adherents, such men as were disposed to make themselves acceptable to the court, on account perhaps of some lawsuit. They even adopted the petty stratagem of holding the assembly in the worst season of the year, so that the superior spiritual princes rather than attend in person might be inclined to send proxies, who were sure to be more easily managed. It was a special advantage that the principle of making even the vacant places pay had been definitely established; the royal treasurer voted on behalf of those places. Thus the viceroys after all usually obtained what they wanted of the clergy. But the towns still remained to be dealt with. These had commonly to impose a tax on themselves to make up the amount of the donative; they therefore chose for their representatives the most obstinate of their citizens, those who were most injuriously affected by the tax, and who were most independent of the viceroys. It seemed necessary to the latter to get their own officers among them in some way or another, and indispensable to gain over to their interests the prætor of Palermo, who gave the first vote, and whose example was usually followed by the other members. They did not open the assembly till they had first struck an accurate balance between the favorable and unfavorable votes, and assured themselves that they possessed a majority*.

Thus there was associated, and in constant relation with the viceroy, a power really very superior to his, a power the preponderating influence of which he strove to get rid of by all manner of contrivances, but which continually threatened him from the background.

His most important functions concerned the administration of justice. The government had indeed succeeded in getting the remains of the baronial jurisdictions into the hands of doctors of law; it had placed presidents in the supreme court instead of the *maestro giustizia* and the *luogotenente*†; nor was it possible to find men more obsequious to the viceroy than the majority of the ministers of justice; nevertheless, these functions of his were coupled with the greatest difficulties.

The main thing was, that all the real active powers of jurisdiction belonged to the functionaries, whilst all the responsibility was heaped upon the viceroy, and he could appoint none to judicial offices but native born Sicilians‡.

Three evils were remarked in the class of judicial functionaries, and all three seemed incurable. In the first place, Sicily, like Italy and Spain, abounded throughout in private feuds, feuds so widely ramified that the judges in any important cause were seldom free from the bias of personal interest, and so rancorous that no effort of force or kindness availed to allay them§. Secondly, the members of the tribunals had no fixed salaries, but depended

on the fees upon suits. These fees being technically known by the name of candles, it became a standing joke to say, that the litigant was sure to win who lighted most candles for his judge, so that he might the better discern the truth. Shameless bribery prevailed. Thirdly, the two superior tribunals, called the Great Court and the Holy Conscience, were constituted by functionaries appointed only for two years, who made it their utmost endeavour to please the viceroy, so that they might be again employed by him at a future time.

Whilst all these judges were thus more intent upon their own advantage than upon justice, they were dexterous enough to conceal this from the viceroy, to prevent his perceiving the truth, and to cozen him with their unjust judgments. The biennial judges exerted every effort to appear such as they thought he wished them to be: they did not only whatever pleased him, but whatever they fancied would please him, and strove to read in his countenance the decision it imported them to pronounce. But what would be the consequences, so soon as these dangerous motives of interest found footing in the viceregal house itself? There were instances of persons, who to gain the goodwill of a public officer of high station and to make use of him for petty ends, contrived by extraordinary hints and suggestions, to fill him with flattering anticipations that resulted in nothing but confusion. There were women, whose property was more in expectation than in actual possession, and who sought to ally themselves in marriage with some of the viceroy's ministers, in order to strengthen their interests. Accordingly, the viceroy was sometimes in the condition of the duke of Messina, who had sometimes five law-suits at once in his house. His chamberlain was engaged in litigation with a commune, his most confidential favourite, Pietro Velasquez, with a duke; his auditor and his secretary laid claim each to a barony, and his son's chamberlain even to a county. These claims became entangled in the ramifications of the general feuds, and clashing with each other made his house seem a hell*.

In this state of things the tribunal was an institution for injustice, an arena for private feuds; the most iniquitous verdicts were inevitable. What could the viceroy do? If he would delay judgment he was hated like death. If he did not show himself upon the tribunals, all the faults committed were charged upon his absence, and he was censured for neglect of his duty: but if he made his appearance the sentences were ascribed to his influence. If his house had but the most remote interest in the affair in question, the most righteous decision was forthwith set down as being a work of partiality.

Herein was manifested the natural character of these Sicilians; submissive, crouching, and seemingly born to be slaves, so long as one could promote their advantage, but who started up the instant their rights and privileges were in the least invaded, and maintained them with the utmost vehemence†. The number of the malcontents was

* Scipio di Castro, Avvertimenti.

† Buonfiglio Costanzo, *Historia di Sicilia*, li. lib. viii. p. 595.

‡ Ragazzoni: "Alcuno non può esser giudice che non sia dottore e cittadino del regno."

§ Soriano, *Relatione di Spagna*. "Partialità sono fra loro le quali se bene Don Ferrante Gonzaga et altri vicere hanno cercato di comporre, non hanno però potuto far tanto che basti, perche la discordia invecchiata è come una infermità venenosa sparsa per tutt' il corpo."

* All this is from Scipio di Castro, *Avvertimenti*: "dell' arteficio de gli ufficiali," p. 371; "dell' interesse de servitori," p. 377.

† *Avvertimenti*: "della natura de Siciliani," 346. Ragazzoni.

presently swelled by the functionaries appointed for life, who, in direct contrast with the biennial functionaries, were always in opposition to the viceroy, and ascribed to their own influence whatever good he did, and all that was bad to his neglect of their counsel. Next came those of the powerful landed proprietors, who had some cause or another of complaint. Their resistance, which appeared never to be directed against the king and the law, but always against abuses and the viceroy, affected a very legitimate character.

And thus we have here this singular spectacle; a governor endeavouring to circumvent the natives by stratagem, to get money from them, and the natives again besetting the governor with a thousand intrigues, with the effect, if not with the intention, of getting rid of him.

For what was this or that viceroy to the court? We know this court, where an enemy was to be found for every man; where slander opened a sure road to the royal ear; where to be doubted was to be ruined. The conflict was speedily transferred from Sicily to Madrid. The viceroy and his antagonists made themselves each their party in the council of Italy. Their struggle lasted for awhile; but by and by the complainants usually gained the upper hand, particularly when they backed their complaints with presents. Then followed first of all reproofs, and next investigations called *sindications*, and lastly condemnations, for the *sindicators* acted in accordance with the will of the king, who had by this time lent his ear to the complaints. There was no help for it; the viceroy was obliged to retire, or if he remained in office it was with obloquy and disgrace.

The strife that convulsed Sicily was in reality carried on between the royal authority and the rights of the several classes of the native inhabitants. But the whole hatred which the island might in such continuous strife have bent upon the king, became personal and fell upon his viceroy. The latter was then abandoned by his sovereign, and the battle began anew.

And hence it was, not one of these viceroys ended his career with honour*. Juan de Lanuza in vain sacrificed his own son to the claims of justice; Ferdinand the Catholic, said that his virey did the deeds of a Roman, but from stupidity, and he deposed him. Don Ugo de Moncada was expelled in an insurrection by the Sicilians. Though the duke of Monteleone was old and weak, he was compelled to go to Spain to justify himself. Don Ferrante Gonzaga was accused of maladministration of the corn revenue, and subjected to a very severe *sindicacion*. Juan de Vega experienced one no milder, having been implicated through his father-in-law in the internal quarrels of the Sicilians. The duke of Medina was forced to witness the punishment of those confidants who had thrown his house into confusion, and then to quit office. Don Garcia de Toledo was overthrown by his enemies at court. It was in vain the marquis of Pescara kept himself aloof from every private interest; his most confidential minister committed the faults he himself avoided; the strong reprimands addressed to him would infallibly have been followed by his dismissal, had not his death anticipated this. Though Marc Antonio Colonna, having

had all these cases urgently put before him, profited by the warning, and on the whole conducted himself very well, still even he did not escape suspicion on the king's part. Upon the strength of some letters found in the inventory of a baptized Jew at Messina, Marc Antonio Colonna was recalled, and his accuser made president of the kingdom*.

So stood matters in Sicily. This strife between the two powers was never brought to a definite decision. The Spanish kings found themselves constrained to limit the privileges of the inquisition, and when they re-established it, to bind the inquisitors to greater moderation in the discharge of their office†.

IV. Naples.

If the towns and barons of Sicily derived a greater degree of independence from the fact, that they had rendered services to the royal house; those of Naples could compare with them in this respect. There the Aragonese faction of the barons had thrice proved victorious for their king, and obtained a distinguished position in consequence. The first occasion was on the arrival of Alfonso V., and in the wars connected therewith, waged by Ferrante the elder, against his rebellious subjects. The second was on the conquest of the kingdom by Ferdinand the Catholic, when Gonsalvo de Cordova portioned out no few possessions of the vanquished among the chief persons of his army. The third was at the successful defence of Naples by Charles V. against Francis I., when eleven of the most eminent men of the defeated party were punished with the confiscation of their property, six others with confiscation and death, and many other persons of inferior station were implicated in the mischance; the property of all these persons was transferred to the victors. The prince of Orange was almost too liberal in disposing of it. The burghers of Naples took a lively part in all these conflicts, and on the same side. In the third greatest peril of Ferrante the elder, and of Ferrantino, they were their main supporters. On the first arrival of Gonsalvo de Cordova, with whom they had long kept up an understanding, they opened their gates to him. In the siege of 1528 they displayed a pertinacious fidelity that determined the issue of the war. Notwithstanding all this, there was in Naples nothing like independent strength, on the part either of the nobility or of the towns; the viceroy was there free from the difficulties encountered by his compeer of Sicily. The condition of Naples excited the wonder of politicians, still more than did that of Castile; they saw the government despotic, the subjects proud; the former hated, and the latter disposed to revolt; yet the former firmly established, and the latter obedient‡.

* Buonfiglio Costanzo, *Historia di Sicilia*, p. 658.

† Llorente, *il.* 125, limited by the words of Scipio di Castro, p. 371: "Li padri inquisitori, i quali hanno potuto conoscere che alla maestà del re catolico è stato più grato colui il quale nel suo procedere ha usato maggior modestia, doveranno guardarsi da rottura."

‡ Al Sr Landi, MS. "In vero, consideratosi il governatore et il governato, quello Imperioso et altiero, questo superbo et indomito, quello odiato per la repentina grandezza et per la natura insupportabile da molti, questo inclinato alle rivolte et perciò atto a poter essere sollevato et favorito da diversi interessati, essendosi quello talmente stabilito nel

* Cabrera: "Sicilia fatal a sus virreyes."

Thus we come again to the old question; how was the feudal system humbled? How was a new constitution established on the basis of the royal prerogative?

The nobles and the towns.

In the first place, the nobles were divided among themselves. Often as the Aragonese faction had prevailed, it could never altogether put down that of Anjou; hence it was never possible for the nobility to combine in any united effort against the government. The nobles used to assemble in the *Seggi* of Naples, and there they exercised some rights affecting the general interests. There was no need of disturbing them in the exercise of these. The majority possessed by the government party was so strong and so much to be relied on, that Thomas Campanella advised the king to establish similar institutions in his other states, as certain instruments for securing allegiance*. No additional member could be admitted into these *seggi* without the king's express permission†. To prevent the possibility of unanimity ever occurring in these assemblies, the king bestowed the vacant fiefs on persons of the burgher class, or on foreigners, such as Genoese merchants; and these new men claimed all the privileges of the others, but naturally incurred the mortification of not being recognized as equals by their fellow members.

Secondly, the king of Spain contrived to bind the ambition of the Neapolitan nobility to his own cause. There was no baron so petty that he might not aspire to the rank of count or of duke; the kings of Spain even bestowed the title of prince, which had always before been withheld. Now this did not merely attach the recipients of favour to its dispenser; the shrewd politicians of those times noticed also an effect of a totally distinct kind resulting therefrom. All the people of rank in the land flocked to Naples, where, as their natural emulation gathered strength from the concourse of numbers, each strove to outdo the others in splendour, and every man endeavoured to live at least in a manner suitable to his rank. But as their titles alone rose, but not their incomes, this was not always possible, and most of these ambitious persons ruined their fortunes‡. From the affluence which would have sufficed to maintain them in consideration and importance, they fell into debt, poverty, and that embarrassed condition that cut them to the quick. If they then retired to their estates to retrieve their affairs, they still needed the indulgence of the king. He left their hands free as to their manorial possessions; he did not

stand in the way of their assumptions against the clergy as he might have done; how often did these nobles appoint needy priests to benefices, who contented themselves with a small portion of the income of their cures, leaving the rest to their patrons! On these occasions the royal tribunals often enough shut their eyes to the abuse.

But there was another still more direct way to humble the nobility, viz., the exercise of impartial justice in the city. The better to understand the advantage of this, we must call to mind the relation in which the nobles stood to the people of Naples.

This was the same relation of jealousy, of hatred between class and class, of secret or open dislike, which has shown itself more actively in Germany than in any other nation in the world. This cannot be more strongly exemplified than by the circumstances that accompanied the attempt of the Spaniards to introduce the inquisition into the country. Pietro di Toledo made little account of the first movements, and of the isolated resistance offered by the several ranks; but when both united in arms, and nobles and burghers flocked together at the sound of the tocsin, took hands and marched two and two, a noble and a burgher together, to the church, shouting, "Union!" as they went, then the viceroy was alarmed*. He called to him, to Puzzuolo the old *eletto* of the people, Domenico Terracina, the consultores, and the chief people of the different localities. There he represented to them that it was he who made the burghers and the nobles equal; he would now grant them something which he had not granted the nobles when they stood alone, nor now when they had at last united with the burghers; he would grant it to the latter, and to them alone. He gave them a written assurance that there should never be any question of the inquisition, nor of any prosecution to be begun on account of these proceedings†. So urgent did it seem to the greatest viceroy Naples ever had, to keep alive the hostility between the two classes.

But how, we ask, could he boast of having made the burghers equal to the nobles?

When Pietro di Toledo departed from the imperial court at Ratisbon, to assume the government of Naples, and reflected by the way on the condition and the disorders of that kingdom, he made up his mind to a rigid and unbiassed administration of justice. This man, who gave the city a new form, did as much by the state. Under his government marquises, dukes, and princes, were seen committed to prison for their debts; their causes were tried before judges of plebeian extraction; in criminal prosecutions they were not spared the rope, but were punished even capitally‡. In this

possesso et nel regimento che questo non possa così facilmente nè scuotersi nè ricalcitrare,—si deve ammirare et stupire di così fatto successo."

* Campanella, *Monarchia Hispanica*, c. xiv.

† Beaumont, *Statistics of Naples and Sicily*, chap. vi. of the six *seggi* of the city of Naples.

‡ Alla Santità di Paolo V. MS. c. 2. "Come quelli che si pascono assai di fumo et belle apparenze, cominciarono a pretendere diversi titoli, intanto che ogni minimo barone si procurò titolo di duca, principe, marchese et conte: Il che facilmente essendoli stato concesso dal re, che sempre hebbe mira di tenerseli grati, . . . et per mantenimento di essi titoli essendoli stato necessario spendere largamente, mentre hanno voluto far residenza in Napoli, et conseguentemente essendosi indebitati, sono stati forzati a ritirarsi nelli loro stati, dove si cominciarono a dare in preda tutto."

* These particulars are from the MS. "Delle scritture del Sigr. Hettore Gesualdo, commissario per Sua Maestà nella causa delli romori di Napoli." *Informatt.* vol. xxxiv. and in particular from the Relatione di detto Sigr. Hettore di detti romori a Sua Maestà: I have not found them elsewhere.

† From the same Scritture, "Eccettione presentata per la città." Pietro di Toledo assures the citizens, "che l'haveva equalati con li signori principi di questa città et regno;" moreover, "che voleva più tosto fare detta gratia al popolo solo che a tutta la città insieme."

‡ Lippomano: "In Napoli, massime nelle cause che si trattano innanzi al viceré, veramente si fa giustizia, et non si permette che huomo per grande che sia opprima le persone basse, perche si procede contra di loro, benché siano marchesi, duchi et principi."

way the old disorders were put an end to. The nobles and the burghers were made equal before the law. The rebellious necks of the former were bent; the latter were inspired with a lofty feeling of self-esteem. The passions of this people were made use of to keep it in allegiance. New food was given the secret hate it cherished against the nobles, by appointing a man of burgher rank to judge the offences of the princely transgressors, and in point of fact that judge gave free course to a certain spirit of vengeance.

Complaints were now raised by the nobility, and that not by the Neapolitan alone. The Venetian nobili also, to whom we owe our *Relationi*, were dissatisfied with these things. Had not nature and fortune established an ineffaceable difference between the two ranks*? Were people to imitate the Turks, among whom all were equally slaves? Besides the noble would be reduced to despair, finding himself debased, and the burgher would become arrogant when treated like a noble.

Pietro de Toledo however knew very well what he was doing; he knew that by the course he pursued he kept the two ranks apart from each other, so that neither could now attempt anything without the other†. He saw that by this means he tranquillized the kingdom, and so he pursued his way unswervingly, and the greater the rigour of the judges, the greater were in his eyes their claim to promotion and titles. In this way he broke all the remaining strength of both these classes. They had still the right of granting the donative, and at times we see them assembled in what were called general parliaments; but these are not to be compared even with the Castilian cortes in their last aspect; the influence of the *Sindico* gave them their determinate bias, and they vied in granting all that was demanded of them. Their existence was almost overlooked‡.

The Clergy.

But there remains yet a third estate to be considered, the ecclesiastical, and this was more important in Naples than any where else, in consequence of the peculiar position of that kingdom.

The popes, we know, never made upon any other country such strenuous or such successful claims of complete supremacy; here they had immediately in their own hands the patronage of most ecclesiastical places; and were not all clergymen natural allies of the pope? The Neapolitan clergy carried into actual instantaneous operation those decrees of the council of Trent which the king rejected, those namely that had reference to the jurisdiction of the church over the laity. The famous bull *In Cœna Domini*, which pretends to limit the right of the temporal sovereigns to impose taxes on their subjects, met with their entire approval. Though the viceroy strongly prohibited its promulgation, six bishops and an archbishop of Naples did not hesi-

tate to threaten with excommunication those who should endeavour to exact taxes*. The close connexion of the clergy with Rome was on every occasion very dangerous to the whole state.

The viceroys however derived advantage from the fact that the higher clergy of the catholic church are actuated by a twofold interest. The one interest is in favour of the fulness of ecclesiastical authority, and, in as far as this is directed against the laity, is by all means in opposition to the welfare of the state. But it has another interest in conflict with the absolute supremacy of the pope, which falls too heavily upon its own body. It was under the influence of this feeling that the great councils were held; it was for the same reason the clergy had recourse to the royal authority against the ecclesiastical, against the supreme bishop. This last named interest was very prominently exemplified in Naples.

It may be that the Roman curia often set up very unjust pretensions; but at times it really had very well founded causes of complaint. If the Neapolitan bishops demanded extraordinary fees for every act of their office, though this was otherwise amply remunerated; if they required compensation even for the completion and execution of papal dispensations to marry, this might possibly have been excused; but was it to be endured that upon bestowing small benefices they should demand half the income of the first year, and besides this higher fees than the papal *dataria* and *chancery*? that to secure these profits they never troubled themselves as to whether the benefices were reserved to the pope or not, but even looked out for pretenders to the right of patronage, and uniting with them, proceeded at once to fill up the appointments†? Many other things besides were complained of by the papal nuncios. The bishops had empowered the apostolic chamber to fix at a certain tariff the tithes accruing to it from the kingdom, and to leave the collection of the amount to them; but upon this they not only arbitrarily augmented the rate, but they also established collectors' places, the burthen of which fell upon the tithepayers, and disposed of them by sale; and yet for all that they paid the papal chamber badly. The camera had also compounded with the chapters for its right to *spolia*; the bishops collected the specified sums in this case also; but here again they increased the amount, they appointed collectors unduly, and they were equally dishonest in their payments to the apostolic chamber. Thus they at once oppressed those beneath them, and defrauded their superior. The council of Trent had enjoined the establishment of seminaries for the education of young persons without fortune, and directed that the expense should be defrayed, first, by contributions from the clergy, and next, by the combination of smaller benefices. Now the Neapolitan bishops levied contributions at first, and then they united benefices; but no matter how many of these they put together, they never desisted from levying the

* Tiepolo: "Una diversità che non si può mutare chi non muta la natura et li costumi di tutt' il mondo."

† The author of the *Ragionamento del re Filippo II. al principe suo figliuolo*, MS. "I popoli godono mirabilmente di questa giustizia, col mezzo della quale ponno vedere i conti loro contra lor baroni, et i baroni senza il popolo sono capi senza membro."

‡ See some particulars in Parrino, *Teatro de' Vicerè*, from which Giannone has taken almost all he communicates on this subject. Both are very unsatisfactory.

* Giannone, *Istoria Civile di Napoli*, lib. xxxiii. c. iv.

† *Relatione alla Santità di Nro Signore Papa Paolo V.* "Per avidità di guadagnare l'emolumenti delle espedizioni delle bolle hanno conferito detti benefici indifferentemente, non havendo riguardo se sono affetti o riservati alla sede apostolica. Et in caso che sono riservati,—pongono in campo che siano di juspatronato, et operano che li figurati pretendenti del juspatronato ricorrano in Napoli."

contributions*, and no matter how much they raised from both sources, they never admitted into the seminaries any but persons who could pay. They were at constant variance on these and other subjects with the papal chamber, with the nuncios, and the visitors of the Curia. What could have been more to be dreaded by them than a strict control and supervision such as Rome had in view?

Now if the first purpose which we noticed in the clergy, namely that of extending their jurisdiction over the laity in concert with the popes, was attended with inconvenience, nay with danger to the government, though the latter always contrived to avoid the danger by means of its relations with Rome and new treaties,—this second tendency of the clergy to counteract the apostolic see was on the other hand of extraordinary utility to the government. For to whom could the ecclesiastic have recourse? He was always obliged to take refuge with the government; he was forced to appeal to the interest it had in putting bounds to the church's jurisdiction, an interest which on other occasions he himself warmly opposed.

Thus it was that the Neapolitan clergy surrendered to the laity among other things the administration of its seminaries, and if the pope desired to have these inquired into, the clergy obtained a declaration from the government that no sort of authority over the laity should be conceded to a papal commissioner, and they contrived that the pope's instructions should be refused the *exequatur*†. Again, what an easy matter it was to uphold and confirm before the royal chamber the claims of those pretenders to the right of patronage before mentioned. It was plain that a patronage once in lay hands might, from the peculiar circumstances of the country, fall one time or another into those of the king, but that this could never occur so long as the patronage was acknowledged to be vested in the church. This was a principle of frequent recurrence in other cases besides. An alliance grew up between the government and the ecclesiastical order; an alliance directed in the first instance against the encroachments of Rome, but one by which the temporal power of the clergy was necessarily limited, and the power of the crown over the body greatly enhanced.

New constitution.

Here, as in Sicily, the contest was carried on with arts that cannot be justified; the consequence in Sicily was that the viceroy became impotent and his credit unstable, whilst in Naples the government grew strong, nay unlimited. It availed itself of the ambition of the barons, of the antipathy of the burgher class to the nobles, of the craving of

the clergy for wealth and enjoyment, to divide and humble them all. But perhaps it would not have succeeded in this if it had not at the same time contrived to establish its strength securely upon the basis of a rigidly defined hierarchy of officials, devoted troops, and considerable taxes. The destruction of the old constitution, and the creation of the new, proceeded always hand in hand. We separate them only that we may set the various points of the matter in a more distinct light.

Relation to the Pope.

Let us then confine our attention in the first place to the point already touched on, the securing of the country against the machinations of the pope, who, as feudal lord, asserted here a twofold claim to legitimate influence. The palladium of the kingdom, the true bulwark against all papal encroachments, was the royal *exequatur*. The catholic kings of Spain were not so catholic as to allow of this being wrested from them. Ferdinand indignantly commanded a courier of the pope, who had entered the kingdom with a brief, and without an *exequatur*, to be arrested and hanged*. Charles V. laid it down as his most decided will that no decree should be published in the kingdom without his permission†; no one was to contravene this who valued his favour and service. Philip II. gave orders to punish any one who should have the audacity to publish any decree in the kingdom without his own approbation‡. These kings adhered firmly to these principles, notwithstanding all the vehemence with which the popes protested that they were in contradiction to the clauses of their investiture. A *capellano maggiore* had been appointed, only to determine whether a decree was of purely ecclesiastical import, or whether it bore on secular matters; the papal adherents complained however of that officer, that his pretended independence was only apparent, and that the decisions he pronounced were in every instance dictated by the royal councils. This position of the kings was however the easier to maintain, inasmuch as all the three orders, not only the clerical, of which we have spoken, but the two others likewise, had a great interest in getting rid of the pope's influence. During the troubles with which the kingdom was constantly afflicted, the nobles had received a vast deal of church property from the archbishops and bishops, at first perhaps on lease or by way of pledge, or for safe keeping, and this they had afterwards retained as their own. They had therefore

* Ferdinand au viceroy de Naples, Burgos, 22 May, 1508. Spanish and French Lettres du roi Louys XII. i. p. 109. Afterwards given to the press by Van Espen, Lünig, and Llorente.

† Edict of Charles V. of April 30, 1540, in the Relatione "alla Santità," &c. not known, as it appears, to Giannone. "Perche sono le regie pragmatice nel regno, che qualsivoglia provisione che venghi fuori del regno non si può eseguire senza nostra scienza e licenza, le quali sono in viridi observantia, . . . per questo ordiniamo che così le debbiate eseguire et far eseguire: e se si facesse il contrario con li notarii et altri laici vi assenurarete delle persone loro, et se fossero clerici, gli ordinarete che ne venghino a dare informazione, perche si possa da noi procedere come si conviene."

‡ Philip's edict of the 30th of Aug. 1561. Ibid. Already known.

* Alla Santità di Paolo V. "Molti vicarii hanno uniti benefici semplici più di quello che saria bisognato al vitto et sostentamento di detti seminarî, et molti altri n'hanno uniti in buona parte, et nondimeno seguitano d'esigere tutta detta tassa, quale incorporano con l'entrata degli ordinarii."

† Alla Santità di Paolo V. "Il commissario, Carlo Beluomo, ancorche molto tempo facesse istanza per havere l'Exequatur regio, mai potè ottenerlo, poiche li vicarii secretamente fecero intendere a li regii officiali che non lo dovessero concedere, asserendo che saria stato interesse alla giurisdittione di Sua Maestà, essendo che l'administratori di detti seminarî erano tutti laici et non dovevano essere astretti a render conto a giudici ecclesiastici."

the utmost reason to fear the pope, who was always intent on the recovery of alienated church property. Fortunately for them the papers, by which the church might have proved its priority of possession, had been lost in the troubles; still a multitude of lawsuits were continually going on about these matters, and the nobility were incessantly in need of protection on the part of the royal against the clerical authority. In no less degree must the burgher corporations, which would never tolerate the exemption of the clergy from the public burthens in their towns, have wished to keep out a power, the influence of which would have upheld or restored the exemptions. And thus the three orders co-operated with the king's decided will to restrict the operation of the supremacy of Rome to such a degree, that it brought in to the pope little more than the white palfrey every Peter and Paul's day. Those who inclined to the papal interests dreaded they should see a counterpart to the Monarchia Sicula arise in Naples.

Functionaries, the Army, Revenues.

In this way the viceroys had the kingdom so much the more freely at their disposal. The old dignities indeed still subsisted; there were still to be seen at times the supreme judge with his banner of justice, the grand prothonotary with his honorary emblem the book, the high chancellor with his doctor's laurel, but all essential power had passed away from them to the presidents and councillors of the royal courts. At the head of the real effective judiciary was the holy council of Santa Chiara. Even the native inhabitants were content to see five Spanish councillors sitting in it besides ten Italian; it seemed to them that one set would be free from the party feelings prevailing in the country, and that the other would be furnished with adequate knowledge of local circumstances, so that the two together would co-operate the more efficiently to the ends of justice*. Appeals were referred to this court from all the others of the kingdom, particularly from that of the vicaria and the seven other tribunals of the city. It enjoyed so much the more consideration, because it formed an exception to the rule affecting all the other courts, inasmuch as its members could be removed, either not at all, or only with extraordinary difficulty. It was well known that the president could be more serviceable to his friends than many a prince; and it was remarked that even the king, by whom he was appointed, gave him the title of Serene. This court is fairly comparable with the great council of Castile†.

* *Littera Scritta al Cardⁱ Borgia.* "Gli uni, spoliati come stranieri dell'affetto del sangue et dell'amore et dell'odio che nell'istessa patria sugliono alterare li animi nostri, vengono a far contrapeso alli altri collegli talvolta ingannati da queste passioni; gli altri come pratiche nel paese delle inclinazioni, fini et interesse della gente, dan molto lume alla discussione delle cause." According to Lippomano it had, as early as 1575, fifteen members, a thing which is left undetermined by Tapia. *Jus regni Neapolitani ex constitut.* etc., Naples, 1605, p. 146. The number was augmented in the year 1600.

† Lippomano. "L'ufficio del consiglio detto, nel quale si riducono quasi tutte cause d'importanza concernenti la roba et la vita degli huomini, è di grande autorità. Gli ordin stabiliti et le leggi di quel regno in questi officii sono mira-

Only those matters however belonged to its jurisdiction which did not appertain to the king's patrimony; all these latter were disposed of by the Sommaria della Camera. The Davalos still filled the office of grand chamberlain, but they had to content themselves with carrying the crown in procession on occasions of solemnity; even the show of their connexion with the exchequer was put an end to, when this was removed from the palace. As matters concerning the taxes and feudal tenures were under the control of the Sommaria, it may in some degree be likened to the council of finance of Castile.

There was over both a council immediately connected with the viceroy, called *consiglio collaterale*, his own consulta, consisting of two Spanish and one Neapolitan *regent*. It assembled daily in the viceroy's palace, and finally determined all cases otherwise left undecided. The Cappellano Maggiore made his reports to this council: Lippomano calls it the papacy of the doctors; it was the centre of all public business.

Under these magistracies there was a whole hierarchy of subordinate functionaries. The manner of nomination was that each college proposed three or four candidates, and the viceroy appointed one of these. The court of Madrid never ventured to promote any one in opposition to the viceroy's will; it left his hands perfectly free. The best places fell to the lot of the Spaniards. The most favoured after these were those who were of mixed Spanish and Neapolitan blood, and who were called by those who disliked them, janissaries. They formed as it were a colony sent out to exercise dominion; they hung very closely together; they were almost all equally proud, impetuous, harsh, and inaccessible; they devoted themselves above all things to the extension of the royal and the viceroyal power*.

By the side of this host of functionaries there was a standing army consisting chiefly of Spaniards, ready to execute their commands, and to quell all attempts at resistance. The viceroy was attended in war and peace by a hundred gentlemen splendidly mounted and armed, called the *Permanents*, a picked body, half Spanish half Italian. Besides these there were sixteen companies of *Huomini d'Armi*, five Spanish and eleven Italian, each always led by officers of its own nation, and four hundred and fifty light horsemen. This was the whole cavalry of the kingdom, for though the barons were still bound by law to do feudal service, the practice had been wholly discontinued†. The main strength of the army was constituted by four thousand Spanish infantry quartered in the heart of the kingdom, and one thousand six hundred others employed in garrisoning the castles and towers extending in an uninterrupted chain from Pescara to Reggio, and from Reggio to Gaeta. These troops were all under the orders of the viceroy. The time had been when the constable was the first person

billi, causati forse dalli disordini delli officiali et della malitia delle genti."

* Lippomano: al Signor Landi; al Cardinale Borgia; in several places.

† Lippomano. "Nè altra cavalleria si trova nel regno. E ben vero che li baroni sono obligati a servire in tempo di guerra a difesa con le proprie persone. Questi per quanto che ho inteso per nota cavata della summaria, erano l'anno 1564 da 600, et hora il numero e poco alterato."

in the kingdom, and sat on the king's right; but now he was of no account; a *maestro del campo* was next in command under the viceroy. A general arming had also been provided for here as well as in Castile, and at a still earlier period. Every hundred hearths were required to furnish five men, who were bound to serve for five years, and the number of troops thus raised was computed at 24,078 men. They were mustered from time to time, and the captains were empowered to dismiss those that were inefficient*.

Now all this together, the functionaries, the army, the fortresses, the previous debts, and the king's necessities, rendered heavy taxes inevitable. I will treat in the succeeding chapter of the style and character of the administration, and the way in which it worked. For the present it will be enough that I state the amount and the gradual augmentation of the taxes, so far as I have been able to make them out. Under Ferrante the Elder the royal revenues amounted, according to the calculations of his son Federigo, to 800,000 ducats†. To this I will subjoin two other statements. Whereas Giovanbattista Spinello computed that, all drawbacks deducted, there remained to the king only a net income of 450,000 ducats, it agrees very well with this, that Alfonso II., Ferrante's eldest son, calculating his father's outgoings for all the necessities of the state, for salaries and the expenses of the household, found the whole to amount to 342,780 ducats‡. Thus there would have remained a net 450,000 ducats at king Ferrante's disposal. This sum could only have been brought together by so rigorous a system of administration that it would seem as though the king was bent on being the only merchant in his kingdom. This income must have been much diminished in the wars after his death, particularly as Ferdinand the Catholic bought off the opposition of the Angevine barons partly with the royal estates; in short, in the year 1551, it had not risen much higher than it had been in 1490. Cavallo estimates the combined revenues of Naples and Sicily at a million and a half. But from that date they began to rise under Philip II. In the year 1558, Soriano sets down the income of Naples alone at 1,770,000 ducats. Tiepolo reckons that in the year 1567 it amounted to two millions. Only seven years later Lippomano reports 2,335,000 ducats, and in 1579, the estimate was two millions and a half. The augmentation went on in the same ratio. We find this revenue enlarged to five millions of ducats in the year 1620§. Without any increase in the prosperity of the country, without the addition of one foot of land to the kingdom, we see its public income augmented six or sevenfold within a space of sixty or seventy years.

A more palpable proof could hardly present itself of the total subjugation of the country.

* Al Signor Landi: "Questi sono nominati dagli eletti di ciascuna terra, pero se non piacciono a i capitani, bisogna trovare degli altri: questi sono armati sufficientemente et atti più al patire che al guerreggiare, et è chiamata questa gente la fanteria del battaglione. Et questi se ben non sono pagati son se non servono, -i capitani però et gli altri ufficiali hanno le provisioni loro ordinarie."

† Zurita, *Anales de Aragon*, lib. iv. fol. 187.

‡ Ib. vol. i. p. 338, and Passero, *Giornale*, p. 340.

§ Cavallo's *Relatione* respecting Charles V.; Soriano's and Tiepolo's respecting Spain; Lippomano's to Sig. Landi and to Card. Borgia respecting Naples.

Thus it appears that the Spanish court observed a different line of policy with regard to the representation of royalty in this province from that it employed in Sicily. In Sicily the exasperation against the viceroy, if not guarded against, might have turned into revolt against the sovereign; but here this was not so readily to be apprehended. Here they were but slow to listen to complaints; here the authority of the viceroy was upheld as long as ever it was possible. When the king sent him out from Spain, he declared, "He took him from his right hand, and sent him as his other self into his kingdom of Hither Sicily; he gave him high and low jurisdiction, pure and mixed lordship, and the power of the sword; he endowed him with the right of remitting punishments, legitimizing natural sons, dubbing knights, granting fiefs and bishoprics, and even doing that wherein of right the king's own presence were requisite*." He was upheld in the exercise of this authority, even when he abused it to the prejudice of the country,—if so he only did not turn it against the interests of the king.

V. Milan.

Lombardy acquires an interesting character with reference to general history, from the fact that so many wars, important to all Europe, were fought out on its plains. We may look upon it that Charlemagne achieved there his supremacy over the Germanic nations. There the German emperors gained so much of the country as was destined to be theirs, and what Otho I. won on that soil, was lost upon it again by Frederick II. In Lombardy was decided the old conflict between the houses of Burgundy and Valois, in which all Europe was implicated. Even the French revolution first achieved a complete preponderance over Europe in these plains. So important is the possession of these, and of the mountains at whose feet they extend, to the establishment and maintenance of a commanding position in our quarter of the globe.

Never, perhaps, was there a more obstinate strife waged for the possession of Lombardy than in the first half of the sixteenth century. How often was it the battle ground where met Italian and foreign arms, Swiss and German, French and Spanish. How often was the country taken, lost, and taken again! How many treaties were concluded about it and broken! How many bloody fields were fought for its sake!

When the Spaniards were at last masters of Milan, they saw clearly how important it was to them; how Italy, now for the first time surrounded by their power, could best be kept in check from that position; how their relations with Germany and Switzerland were now, for the first time, secured by this acquisition; how serviceable it was towards connecting the rest of their empire with the Netherlands; and what a bar it was to the ambition of their neighbours the French†.

Nevertheless they could not venture at once to deem themselves quite secure. No sincere abjuration of their own claims was ever to be expected of the kings of France. Never were the neighbour-

* The viceroy's patent in the time of Charles II., Parrino, *Teatro de Vicerè*, tom. i.

† All this was fully perceived by Soriano in his day.

ing powers to be implicitly trusted*. What fears were felt at the designs of Pierluigi Farnese alone! The Swiss, it was asserted, might still be heard saying in the second half of the sixteenth century, in the spirit of their forefathers of old, that it was not right he should ever want bread who had steel in his grasp, that they must look out for the lands where corn was to be reaped†. There were Milanese exiles whose hatred to the Spaniards was compared to the rage of infuriated bulls‡. In the interior, the old factions were by no means extinguished.

It was found so much the more necessary at once to secure the country, and to keep it in subjection by means of an armed force, by a standing army and fortified places.

Above all, care was taken to fortify the capital. Here they had that castle which even the French admitted to be the most complete in the world, and to lack nothing but a French garrison§. But, besides this, Ferrante Gonzaga strained all the resources of the state to surround the whole circumference of the city with excellent walls and bastions||. Pavia had a castle that more resembled a palace than a fortress, but the defence of 1525 gave it reputation and credit. Cremona could not trust to its walls, which were somewhat decayed; but its castle was very strong, and there were in the city itself two companies of *huomini d'armi*. Como—not from any apprehension of danger from within, for no town was truer to its allegiance, but for defence against any possible attack on the part of the Swiss—Lodi, Tortona, Novara, Alessandria, six smaller fortresses on the most exposed points of the frontiers, were not less carefully strengthened and garrisoned. The infantry quartered in them constituted the *Terzo di Lombardia*; they were all Spaniards. It was only among the cavalry, the eleven companies of *huomini d'armi*, armed half with lances half with arquebuses, that Italians were admitted. The government scrupled to introduce here even that infantry militia, which was formed from the native husbandmen throughout all the rest of Italy, Naples not excepted. In the infantry, as we have said, none were employed but Spaniards. They had the reputation of being very apt proficient in military duty, and in moments of peril the most expert among them were sent to the wars in Flanders¶.

* Juan de Velasco al Rey nuestro Señor, MS., calls Milan, "provincia di tantos confines y en que tan de ordinario suele bullir la guerra."

† Avvertimenti et ricordi di Scipio di Castro al duca di Terranuova, MS. "Sperando che una morte (di Filippo II.) possa aprir loro qualche grande occasione."

‡ Mémoires du Sieur de Villars. Coll. univ. 38, p. 23.

§ Voyage du Duc de Rohan fait en Italie, etc., en l'an 1600; in the duke's memoirs, Paris, 1665, tome ii.

|| Leoni, Relazione di Milano e suo stato nel 1589, MS., makes some remarks respecting the walls, which are not without interest as regards the art of fortification in those days: "Ha molti et spessi bastioni o piateforme, le quale se si fossero andate convertendo in alcuni più rari baloardi, saria forse maggior fortezza et minore spesa. Resta la muraglia imperfetta per li parapetti et per qualche altra cosa che le manca. Non ha di fuora quelle spianate che haver sogliono le buone fortezze al meno d'un miglio intorno. Ma ha ben provisto per dentro alla sua securità con larghe e spatiose piazze, nelle quali, quando anco la muraglia venisse a perdersi, haverebbono li difensori grande agio a bastionarsi."

¶ Leoni: "Sogliono anco a tempi convenienti farsi le

If, according to all this, Milan was to be regarded chiefly as a military post, equally well situated for defence and for aggression, the country was likewise governed on the principle of keeping it sufficiently obedient to supply all that was called for by the continuous state of warfare.

Upon this principle the commander of the troops was also placed at the head of civil affairs. For we must by all means admit that the power of the governor in this duchy was founded upon military force, and that he was before all things captain general of the forces maintained therein. His rank was neither more nor less than that of a field marshal, whom Charles V. associated with the administration of the last Sforza. When the race of Sforza was extinct, and both the civil and military authority fell into the hands of the king of Spain, an attempt was made to separate these, and to establish a civil government independent of the military commander. It was twice essayed; but the bad understanding between the two leaders showed soon how impracticable it was. In fine, the civil government devolved upon the commander of the forces*.

He was not counterbalanced by any clergy numerous enough to constitute a distinct order in the state; there was no superior nobility, or next to none; he had no cortes to contend with. Would it not seem as though the general, at the head of an imposing force, restricted by no privileged orders, was free to exercise a purely arbitrary authority?

There were no magnates, yet there existed a senate with distinguished rights; an united order of clergy was unknown, but so much the more prominent were the pretensions of the archbishop, who represented in his own person, and exerted, the entire ecclesiastical authority; if the towns did not assemble in regular parliaments, they nevertheless, each for itself, and all privately, looked to their own rights. There existed a state of things, for which there were analogies in other states, but which was peculiarly modified by the special history of this country. At first the archbishops had possessed great power; afterwards the towns had formed themselves into independent communities; and, lastly, a monarchical government was established. Every thing of a self-sustained character that had survived these three mutations, now set itself in opposition to the Spaniards. The governor fell into a distinct position with reference to either party.

The Senate.

When Louis XII. conquered Milan, the supreme authority was exercised by two ducal councils, a privy council and a council of justice. That monarch, who won for himself an equally good name among his Italian as among his French subjects, would not govern the duchy despotically, but in accordance with law; he combined the two councils into a senate on the model of the French parliament, with the right of confirming or rejecting the royal decrees†. Thenceforth the senate appeared as the protection and bulwark of the country. It contri-

scelte di più veterani di tutti li soldati da presidii per mandare in migliori occasioni o in Fiandra o altrove."

* Ripamonte, *Historia Urbis Mediolani*, lib. x.

† The *jus decreta* ducalia confirmandi et infirmandi. Verri, *Storia di Milano*, ii. 104.

buted not a little to the fall of the French authority, that Francis I. undervalued the senate and disregarded its privileges, and that his representative made encroachments on the course of justice, and took upon himself of his own good pleasure to publish decrees not ratified by that body. For this reason Charles V. was careful not to commit similar offences. In the year 1527 he renewed the privileges of the senate through the constable Bourbon*. No doubt he reserved to himself a certain influence by means of the nomination of its members, and by filling three places with Spaniards†, but the members retained their seats for life, so that this precaution was not decisive; they were expressly pledged to regard nothing but law and reason. The articles of Worms, a fundamental charter of this state granted by Charles V., enjoin the senate to care for no bye-considerations, and not to suffer themselves to be misled from observing the law by any royal edict, even though it concerned the exchequer, much less by any order of the governor's‡.

With the senate was associated a twofold magistracy, an ordinary and an extraordinary, on which devolved the administration of the revenues, the superintendence of the subordinate functionaries, and the decision of all disputes affecting the royal exchequer; it was a remnant of the administration as it had subsisted under the Visconti and the Sforzas, retaining even a certain pretension to independence§. But as it was usual for a senator to be associated with the members of this magistracy, on such terms that his weight was equivalent singly to both theirs together, it is plain how great a preponderance remained to the senate. Much depended on this, and on the relations between the latter body and the governor.

Now, if the governor had the right of appointing to all places which were retained for two years, all podestaships, vicariats, captainships, all inferior judgements, all commissionerships, refendary's places and fiscalates, the senate on the other hand had the right not only of rejecting, if necessary, the candidates elected, but above all of instituting the strictest inquiry into their conduct, on the termination of their offices, through a syndication. The governor indeed could modify the resolutions of the senate, and even pardon condemned persons; but it rested with the senate to admit or reject these acts of grace. The governor represented the supreme authority, the senate right and law. As the governor had but a transitory position, but the senate a permanent one, it was hence the more easy for the latter to effect whatever it pleased: there was always a living interest at hand to withstand any despotism on the part of the supreme authority, while at the same time the governor exercised a wholesome control over the senate.

But a radical discordance was thus produced between the two sections of the magistracy, which often led to bickerings and contention. When

Ferrante Gonzaga governed Milan, he suffered himself to be induced by his private secretary, Matróna, to pardon without consulting the senate, and to fill up places without concerning himself to know its wishes on such occasions. Upon this the senate enforced its own rights; it opposed the acts of grace and commissioned sindicators over the governor's functionaries, men capable, so to speak, of finding a hair in an egg. But Gonzaga was not dismayed. He procured himself an unlawful influence over the senate through secret understandings with some members, and by various acts of annoyance and compulsion. Even his wife Hippolita succeeded in accomplishing her own whims. Nothing then remained but complaints at court, and open strife*.

In this strife Charles V. sided with the senate. There were few men perhaps to whom he was personally so much attached as to Guasto and Gonzaga. Nevertheless, at the entreaty of the senate, he resolved to commission sindicators over them, who dealt so severely with the former that he is said to have died of vexation, and removed the latter from all participation in public affairs. Such was not the temper of Philip II. Possibly, too, the senate may have overstrained its rights in its elation at the advantages it had won. At any rate there is extant a paper of Philip's, full of violent invectives against the senate. He says it forced matters before its tribunal upon which it was not competent to judge; that it violated decrees and constitutions; it recognized no law but its own arbitrary will; it punished small offences with severity, and overlooked great ones; its justice was excessively slow. Philip determined to curtail its rights. He forbade its open protestation against the governor's acts of grace, alleging that it was derogatory to the royal authority. He made the magistrates more independent of the senate; all complaints against the former should be addressed directly to the governor. He forbade the senators to interfere with the marriage of wealthy heiresses; if any interference was requisite in such cases it should come from the governor alone. "This," he concludes, "shall be an inviolable law, command, and decree; as such it is given, as such shall it be accepted, held, and executed†."

Thus did Philip give judgment in the contest in favour of the governor, though not so as to render the power of the latter unlimited. The right of issuing arbitrary decrees, or of directly interfering with the tribunals, was not conceded to him; the Milanese continued quietly to enjoy the protection of their laws, and of their senate.

The Archbishop.

But it came to pass that a third power rose up beside these two, which obstructed them both, and against which they made common cause. This was the archbishop.

We are familiar with the archbishops of Milan, who claimed the first place in the general councils

* Rovelli, Storia di Como, iii. 1, from a Diploma nell' archivio di stato, dated Jan. 1, 1527.

† Leoni: "Il senato di Milano consiste solamente nel presidente et dodici senatori dottori, tra quali ne sogliono essere tre Spagnuoli."

‡ Ordini di Vormatia, In the work, Ordines Senatus Mediolanensis, p. 26.

§ "Il magistrato ordinario consiste in sei persone, tre togate et altrettanti cappe corte, che hanno cura dell' entrate ordinarie della camera et delle spese ancora."

* Scipio di Castro, Avvertimenti. It is remarkable that William of Orange in his "Verantwoording," ascribes Gonzaga's mischance to the envy of Granvella.

† Ordini dati nuovamente di Sua Maestà Católica al Senato Eccellentissimo di Milano, of the 17th April, 1581. Originally in Spanish. Italian Ordines, p. 109.

on the pope's right hand*; who were so influential from the very first in their own city, that very many persons refer to them the whole growth of the duchy's greatness†; and who, when they happened to be men like Heribert, and like those two Visconti, Otho and Giovanni, by whom the whole greatness of that house was established, might easily attain to really princely dignity. Was it likely the Spaniards should regard the renewal of so influential a power within the walls of Milan as a thing to be desired? No doubt it was a very welcome circumstance to them, that archbishop Hippolito d'Este never took up his residence in the city. They contrived too to keep his successor Archinto away from Milan up to the day of his death. But Archinto's successor, Carlo Borromeo, was far more to be feared. What if that man, backed as he was by the renown of a life blameless to sainthood, should avail himself of the personal credit he enjoyed, to restore the fallen grandeur of the archiepiscopal see‡? What if he should turn to account the general tendency of his times to tighten the reins of church discipline, a tendency, originally indeed created by the protestants, and first fully realized in Geneva, but which had now extended among the catholics likewise,—what if he should apply this to the end of bringing the laity into complete subjection to the Church and its jurisdiction?

If we reflect that nothing was so well adapted to counteract such an influence as the Spanish inquisition, for the very reason that it was of a kindred nature with it, while, at the same time, it was so totally dependent on the king; and, moreover, that Philip made the attempt to introduce it just at this time, namely, in the year 1563, we may well ask, was he indeed disposed to make use of it against the authority of the archbishop?

The attempt failed however. When the duke of Sessa, the then governor, published the names of the first inquisitors, a tumult broke out, nearly in the same way as in Naples. The people shouted, "Long live the king! Death to the inquisition!" They had on their side their senate and their bishops, and even the fathers of the council of Trent, the cardinals, and the pope. The duke and the king found themselves obliged to withdraw their institution §.

Two years after this Carlo Borromeo arrived in Milan, and at first he appeared to be on the best terms with the governor, who received him with solemnity ||. But when, not content with reforming churches and churchmen, monks and nuns, he proceeded to curtail the public amusements, to

insist on a stricter observation of the fasts, and to keep watch over the sanctity of marriage, in a word, to direct his attention to the lives of laymen as well as of ecclesiastics; when he clung with the most unyielding pertinacity to his jurisdictional rights, published new laws, and provided himself with an armed force to give them effect, a violent opposition instantly arose; the royal functionaries complained that their orders were brought into contempt; they caused servants of the archbishop to be arrested and punished with the cord, and his palace to be surrounded with soldiers; Borromeo on his part encountered them with ban and curse*.

Borromeo was the victor in this conflict. It demands a certain strength of mind to march with so firm a tread in the warfare between spiritual and secular pretensions, that the combatant feel not at last some scruples of conscience. The duke of Albuquerque, the then governor, had no such force of mind; he was reduced to the extremity of beseeching pardon of pope Pius V. He only obtained it upon presenting an explanation, respecting which he neither consulted his privy council nor the senate, and which he did not venture to record in the public archives; an explanation which satisfied the ecclesiastical functionaries, and tied up the king's hands†.

But the matter did not end here. The new governors began the contest anew; sometimes it was provoked on the part of Spain; the pope and the king interchanged unfriendly letters. But there exists in a moral tendency truly and deeply implanted in the mind, a power that not only vanquishes foes, but even calms them. It was found after all that Borromeo devoted himself wholly as a true bishop to his spiritual duty; he was seen day and night, whilst the plague was raging, rendering at once bodily and spiritual aid in the streets, and in the dwellings of the poor, stripping his house bare and giving up his own bed‡: the conviction was felt that he had no merely secular purposes in view, that his only desire was to renovate his church and to gather together his scattered flock. Towards his opponents he invariably displayed a fatherly good will, and he inspired them with reverence even in the heat of contest. Hence matters already assumed a certain state of equilibrium during his time, and in that of his successor, Gaspar Visconti, all strife seemed ended.

But Frederick Borromeo, the next archbishop

* Laderchii *Annales Ecclesiastici* ab anno 1566, p. 103. Natalis Comes, lib. 24, p. 531. Rippamonte, *Historia Urbis Mediolani*, p. 815: the best authority. Saxius, 1047—superficial.

† This very important point, not known to other writers, not even to Catena (*Vita di Pio V.* p. 144), whose purpose it would have suited, is mentioned by Don Juan Velasco alone (al Rey nuestro Señor, MS.). He tells how the people made a punning epigram upon the duke, whose Christian name was Gabriel, and on two of his councillors, Gabriel Casato and Herrera, on whom they laid the blame of the affair:

"Du' garbui ed un error
Faran perd el stad al nost signor."

‡ The special ground of his canonization. It is especially dwelt upon in the *Votum* Smi D. N. D. Pauli V. in the MS. "Vota seu suffragia Illmorum et Revmorum DD. S. R. E. Cardinalium, Patriarcharum, Archiepiscoporum, et Episcoporum, super canonisatione Beati Caroli Cardinalis Borromei olim Archiepiscopi Mediolanensis, celebrata Romæ in Basilicâ S. Petri primâ Nov. 1610."

* Antonius Saxius, *Archiepiscoporum Mediolanensium Series*, p. 423.

† Leoni: "Si può dire che dalli arcivescovi cominciase la grandezza del dominio."

‡ Leoni says of him, "Paragonando la pietà Christiana alla grandezza temporale, si può dire che non minor reputazione habbia conseguito questa sede archiepiscopale dalla volontaria povertà, di questa devota memoria del Cardinale di S. Prassede, che da quanti la resero mal con li maggiori titoli di potenza e d'autorità secolare."

§ *Llorente, Histoire de l'Inquisition*, li. 193. Thuanus, lib. 36, p. 719. For the senate's proclamation, see Natalis Comes, *Historiarum* lib. 14, p. 312. For the best and most authentic information, see Pallavicini, *Histor. Concil. Trident.* lib. 22, cap. 8.

|| *Ex literis Borromei, Verri*, li. 376.

after Visconti, who seems to have stood to Carlo in the relation of an imitator to his original, more intent upon externals than the latter, more obstinate and narrow-minded, and destitute of the conciliating blandness of genius, provoked the slumbering discord again. He found in the post of governor Juan Velasco, a Spaniard, proud of the name of a Christian cavalier, of his descent from the first grandees of Castile, and of his position in the service of his king. Velasco has very characteristically expressed this in his own words. "By God's grace," he says, "I am sprung whence I am sprung, was brought up where I was brought up, and serve whom I serve. In how many works of piety, how many endowments of hospitals and convents, has the munificence of my ancestors been illustriously displayed! There is not a hill nor a valley in Castile where my ancestors have not shed their blood for the catholic faith." Was a man like this, so singularly imbued with the religious, the ancestral, and the personal pride of the Spaniard, likely to bend to the archbishop? Would he take it quietly when the latter denied him the customary place of honour in the church, or had meaner cushions laid for him on occasions of religious solemnity? They were soon hotly at war with each other. The archbishop would not tolerate any dancing in the country on Sundays, or any theatrical performances in the city. The governor insisted that the poor peasant, who toiled through the week in digging and ploughing, could not dispense with the one, nor the citizen with the other, unless he would neglect his business on working days*. The archbishop would have the agriculturists on church estates freed from the services to which others of the rural population were liable: the governor made the magistrates proceed with all the rigour of the law against the recusants. Whilst Frederick Borromeo evoked before his tribunal all suits in which either a clergyman was concerned or an ecclesiastical law infringed, and filled his prisons with laymen, Velasco issued proclamations threatening the violators of the secular jurisdiction with arbitrary punishment, proclamations so severe and peremptory that the subjects, almost of their own accord, desisted from appearing before ecclesiastical courts. The priests then had recourse to personal measures. The vicar, Antonio Seneca, who took the most active part in these proceedings, excommunicated the president Manuquo, an otherwise irreproachable old man. Borromeo himself grappled with the governor. He appointed prayers to be read similar to those offered up during Diocletian's persecution, and the priest of a church, in which Velasco made his appearance, placed himself near the governor and chanted the prayer in a particularly audible voice. Borromeo summoned his synod, had resolutions passed against the governor, and caused threatening remonstrances to be addressed to him. But Velasco was quite impracticable. In vain monks passed backwards and forwards day and night, between the two palaces, to reconcile the incensed rivals. At last the archbishop's monitories, threatening the governor with ex-

communication, were seen one morning posted up at the street corners and on the churches.

The whole country was now in commotion. No other subject was talked of in the public lounges and assemblies, and in public despatches. Velasco boasts of the fidelity displayed in this matter by Milan, "a city as devoted to the king as any of the most faithful in the whole empire*." To be sure its loyalty was put to no very trying test, when it was considered a proof of attachment to the royal cause to play a showy part in the celebration of the carnival. But the excitement was so considerable, that some old antagonists of the Spanish dominion already conceived hopes of a political change, and entered into correspondence with France. Did it not seem indeed matter for grave reflection, that the clergy removed from some places the portraits of the prince and the infant as being too profane?

The governor suddenly put an end to all this. He too, as well as Albuquerque, turned to the pope, but the latter was no Pius V., and Velasco had no thought of soliciting absolution. His king had already interceded for him. Velasco says, that through the gracious hearing accorded his envoys by Clement VIII. and his nephew Aldobrandino, through the support of the duke of Sessa, then at Rome, but above all, by force of the truth which these mediators defended, he succeeded in dispersing the mists and bringing forth the bright sunshine of justice. Two days before the threatened excommunication was to have taken effect, letters arrived from Rome to stop the act. And now, Velasco boasts a year afterwards, his holiness is satisfied, his majesty is served, and the city and state of Milan are edifyingly administered; justice takes its free course.

Such was the struggle in this province between the spiritual and the secular power. At last a compromise was concluded between the two in the year 1615, but I cannot say that it appears to me to have been of a satisfactory nature†. In any case, the independence of the archiepiscopal see must have proved a continued source of division, and have thwarted and impeded the growth of an unlimited power.

The Communes.

A strange form of constitution in truth was that of Milan, in which public liberty was not secured by regular institutions, but by the antagonism between the superior powers. Nevertheless, the communes, which constituted the real body of the state, still retained some remnant of those immunities for which they had once shed so much of their blood.

Up to the beginning of the Spanish rule, the communes were so independent of each other, that in no district could real property be acquired by a freeman of another district‡. The communes still retained a considerable share in the administration of justice within themselves in these several dis-

* Velasco al Rey. "La ciudad estava muy escandalizada y offendida: la nobleza, ciudadanos y todo el pueblo. Juntaron su consejo general, y en voz comun se resintieron con el cardinal con palabras vivas." The rest is from the same report.

† Concordia jurisdictionalis inter forum ecclesiasticum et forum seculare, c. x. Ordines Sen. Med.

‡ Novelli, Storia di Como, iii. c. ii. 15, from an edict of 1539.

* Don Juan de Velasco al Rey nuestro Señor. He dwells particularly on theatrical performances. "Por bandos particulares han dado a los farsantes los Governadores convenientes ordenes respecto de los vestidos, sujetos, palabras y movimientos, mandando que en las quaresmas, viernas y pasquas del año no sí represente."

tricts. Every half year there were elected by lot four consuls of justice from the two colleges of native doctors and caudici, of the former of which there were twelve, of the latter fourteen, about the year 1550, at Como. These consuls went in their togas every day to the tribunal in the palace to hold their judicial sittings*. Every year in May a judge travelled, by order of his commune, through the highways and byeways of the district, to see to the repairing of the roads, bridges, and embankments by the villages and localities upon which that duty devolved. It was left to the towns to collect the mensuale in the manner they found most convenient. In contrast with the general body of the state, they held fast by the unity of a close corporation. They were not content with sending one of their number to Milan as often as their affairs required it; they had also their regular representatives, their oratori, there, who were bound, in consideration of the salaries they received, to act as the advocates, attorneys, and solicitors of their respective towns, and who were wont, when any general question was to be discussed, to assemble in a congregation under the presidency of their Milanese colleague. This congregation no doubt occupied but a subordinate position, but still it always enjoyed a certain consideration; for instance, in the year 1548 the mensuale was not imposed till the congregation had first been satisfied of its necessity. But not unfrequently even single towns, particularly Cremona, offered obstinate resistance to the governor. The Cremonese never looked to the example of any other town; they always acted upon their own devices; they never yielded in any point to the governor or the Spanish settlers. In the year 1585, the duke of Terranuova had come to a tolerably satisfactory arrangement with the other towns respecting a new donative, but he never could gain the consent of Cremona. "They were their sovereign's most faithful vassals; they were ready to serve him with their lives and substance; but they were not minded that the governor should ingratiate himself with their king at their cost, and without their receiving any credit for the same." They contrived to prevent the donative, and they enjoyed so much consideration, that the other towns on all occasions made it their first business to see what Cremona would do†.

Now if there is obvious herein undoubtedly a remnant of municipal independence, the question is, who were they in whom this was specially invested? We still meet repeatedly with the democratic name, Consiglio Generale; was this general council identical with the old one?

We must confess it was not so; the fact is evident from the example of Milan. There we see the still somewhat democratic element giving way

with extraordinary rapidity to a completely aristocratic system. When the general council assembled in the year 1512, on a green between the market and the new gate, it certainly did not consist of a great popular multitude, but it still numbered nine hundred members. Even then it appeared indeed that the resolutions adopted were dictated by the few rather than by the many*. But who could have foreseen, that but six years afterwards, this council should have dwindled down to a sixth of what it then numbered? An election of the general council took place in the year 1516; twenty-five members were chosen for each of the six gates, in all one hundred and fifty. And yet even this council was thought too numerous by the French. On the 1st of July, 1518, Lautrec, governor for Francis I., in Milan, named sixty persons of noble blood to constitute the consiglio generale†. To these was transferred all the power that belonged to the communes.

Something similar took place in the other towns likewise. We find a general council in Como also. It assembled at least every Monday and Friday under the presidency of a podesta. Every man was at liberty to speak his sentiments in his turn, and that even twice. The votes were taken by means of balls differently coloured, and the majority decided‡. But there are two points to be remarked on this head. In the first place the number of this council was continually made less and less. In the beginning of the sixteenth century there were a hundred ordinary and fifty supernumerary decurioni. These hundred and fifty were reduced in the year 1534 to seventy-five, in the year 1583 to sixty, in 1614 to fifty, and lastly, in 1638, to forty§. The more important affairs were managed by a committee of twelve, presided over by a doctor of noble birth. Secondly, it was noticed that the decurionate fell entirely into the hands of certain families. The fact of being a member of the general council was often advanced as a proof in corroboration of the evidences of nobility called for on many occasions||. This abuse was the more incurable, inasmuch as the council filled up the vacancies in its own body.

The same thing happened in other towns, as in Milan and Como. Leoni tells us, in the year 1589, that every town in the duchy had usually a council of sixty members for the management of its internal affairs (that of Como just then consisted of this number), but that the chief controul was exercised by twelve of their body, whom he names distinctively decurioni.

Now, this remnant of municipal independence had an important bearing on the whole state. The towns possessed a power, not merely defensive, but even actively influential on the conduct of the government. The chief places succeeded in filling the senate with their own citizens. In the year 1547, Como, desiring for itself a firm footing

* Ibid. iii. c. ii. 66, 227, from the Ordinazioni of the city. For the consuls of justice in Milan, two from the college of doctors, four from the college of notaries, see Statuta Mediolanensi, cap. 55. The colleges proposed the candidates, the sovereign nominated them.

† Leoni: "Il popolo di Cremona di bravura tra ogni altro dello stato Milanese pare che tenga il primo vanto. E constantissimo nelle sue risoluzioni le quali pretendi et si sforza di far maturamente, et però è quello che nell'occasione, o particolari della città o pubbliche dello stato, fa sempre testa nè si lascia tirare dall'autorità nè di Milano nè d'altro luogo."

* Ariuni de Bello Veneto, v. 204. In the Statuta Mediolanensis, p. ii. cap. iii. under the title De Consilio Nongentorum Virorum Communis Mediolani, published in the year 1502, it is stated, that the Nine Hundred were chosen by the sovereign "de melioribus et utilioribus."

† Verri, Storia di Milano, from MSS. ii. 170, 171.

‡ Novelli from the Ordinazioni of 1567, iii. c. ii. 75, 76.

§ Ibid. iii. c. i. 472; ii. 109, 153, 181.

|| Novelli from the Ordinazioni of 1577, 1588, and 1591, iii. c. ii. 117.

in the senate, appealed to the example of the other towns, which were already in the enjoyment of that advantage. Accordingly, for a century and a half from that date, we always meet with a citizen of Como in the senate. In the year 1560 that city had also a place of questor in the magistracy, occupied by one of its own people*. Leoni informs us that a place in the senate was accorded to every chief town in the duchy, not by virtue of any law, nor even by virtue of any very ancient usage, but in consequence of a certain sense of convenience. Now this must have been of vast advantage to the towns, seeing what a considerable portion of the whole government was in the senate's hands.

While such were the mutual relations in this state between governor and senate, associations and communes, soldiers and inhabitants, there was also a court in which both elements were combined, namely, a consulta connected with the governor. This privy council, consisting of the superior officers of the troops and of the presidents of the tribunals, was in reality invested with the care of both interests. The soldiers required to be fed and paid; the citizens desired the maintenance of their lawful condition. Both objects were effected. Much as the citizens complained of the taxes, single and double, imposed upon them, and of the light and heavy cavalry required of them, they still paid their dues. Their independence did not reach the length of enabling them to refuse this. But so much power at least they had, that though their rights and laws might not be preserved utterly inviolate, at any rate not in every individual case, or when especially persons of inferior consideration were concerned, still they were on the whole maintained and enforced†.

So it was at least under Philip II. But how, when these frontiers were directly approached with arms in the seventeenth century, when war was levied against Savoy, against the Valtellina, and to settle the disturbances in Montferrat, and lastly, when the country became entangled in all the perplexities of the thirty years' war? The military element then gained the ascendancy over the pacific; the royal court neglected the practice of inspecting and controuling the provincial administration; the Spaniards assumed in Milan, as elsewhere in Italy, an oppressive predominance; to scarcity and disease were added the intolerable burthens of military contributions, and the quartering of troops on the inhabitants. Many a Milanese then wished that Don Philip II., of blessed memory, might rise again from the dead, and live as long as the world stood‡!

VI. *The Netherlands.*

All things considered, it cannot be said that the Netherlands enjoyed particular freedom under the house of Burgundy, and under Charles V.

* Novelli, iii. c. ii. 28, and in other places.

† Leoni: "Patiscono come possono al meglio la signoria de Spagnuoli, all' humor de quali per la lunga assuefazione hanno di maniera accomodato l'animo, che da quel desiderio impoi ch'è naturale in ogni popolo, di veder mutazione, si può dire che vivono non in tutto mal contenti sotto il governo del re di Spagna.—Sono governati con qualche dolcezza maggiore che li Napolitani, conoscendo che la natura Lombarda più mansueta che la Napolitana ha anco bisogno di minor asprezza."

‡ Ii vasalli della Maestà del re catolico nello stato di

Monarchical Authority.

Here too we have to deal with the three estates. The clergy who filled the higher places were nearly all nominated by the sovereign, as was likewise the case with the majority of the inferior clergy. Without his permission they durst neither admit any command from Rome, or acquire a new property any where*. The lord had only restricted rights over his vassals, more restricted than those directly exercised by the sovereign†: he served the latter in peace and war; how then should he have been independent? Lastly, we must admit that the sovereign exercised an influence also over the internal administration of the towns. Antwerp, which pretended to be very free, was not at liberty for all that to nominate its own schoeppen, or local justices; a council consisting chiefly of the senior justices proposed two for each place at the yearly nomination; but the selection and the nomination were left to the sovereign. Even the burgomasters were elected in conformity with the sovereign's views. Now, if we reflect that upon these burgomasters and schoeppen, the choice of the presidents of the *wicks*, and that of the fifty-four presidents of the guilds, was so far at least dependent that they decided on one out of three candidates, we shall see how deep down the influence of the government could extend‡. In Brussels the court yearly nominated the seven schoeppen out of the seven septs; in most of the towns there were old colleges of councillors, called Breede Raede or Vroetschappen, which proposed two of their members as candidates for every schoeppen's place; the nomination rested with the court. The court had influence likewise over the college of councillors in Rotterdam; it caused three names to be presented to it for each vacant place, and selected one of them§. The consequence of the insurrection in Ghent, in 1539, was that on the 10th of May, every year, the court put whomsoever it pleased into the twenty-six places of the schoeppen||. As far as I can discover, there was but one place, Valenciennes, which still possessed a general assembly, but I do not find that it was of much importance. Such then was the composition of the estates; clergy named by the king; nobles in his service; burgomasters scarcely ever chosen without his interference.

This state of things paved the way—it could not have been otherwise—for the establishment of the new constitution in this country. The supreme authority had no little influence on the judicial body, high and low. It nominated the schoeppen in the towns, by whom justice was locally administered; and it appointed and deposed at pleasure the schultheissen or bailiffs connected with the former, whose duty it was to look to the sovereign's rights and the laws, the prosecution of the guilty,

Milano alla santissima ed gloriosissima vergine Marla, MS. An essay not so prolix as its title.

* Guicciardini, *Descriptio Belgii generalis*, Amsterdam, 1660, p. 85, and *Compendio degli Stati et Governi di Fiandra*, Informatt. i. p. 95, MS.

† *Ibid.* *Descriptio Belgii particularis*, p. 256.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 171.

§ De Laet, *Belgii confederati, Respublica Hollandia*, cap. vi. p. 83. 88. Cf. Philip a Zesen, *Leo Belgicus*, p. 148.

|| *Additamentum ad Guicciard. Descriptionem*, p. 343.

and the execution of judicial sentences*. The provincial courts, such as the council of Flanders, the chancery of Brabant, and the court of Holland, courts not only of appeal, but charged also with some portion of the duties of government, received from it their functionaries and their salaries. Here and there it was even allowed to admit foreigners to seats on the tribunals; two at least in that of Brabant, and in that of Friesland all the members but four might be foreigners†. Over all these tribunals Charles the Bold had established a supreme one in the great court of Mechlin, which he called a parliament. Before it the knights of the Golden Fleece were tried. This court was likewise wholly dependent on the sovereign. With whatever violence the question was agitated elsewhere, whether the members of the supreme courts should be appointed by the sovereign or the estates, that right was here exercised without dispute by the sovereign. He had here too a standing army. Some native infantry were always maintained, in addition to which Charles V. set apart one hundred and eighty thousand ducats a year for six hundred lancers, each with five horses‡. Whilst these armaments afforded the means of keeping the nobles employed, and of retaining them in a sort of ambitious dependence on the sovereign, Charles devised the plan of dividing them into unequal companies of thirty, forty, or fifty, by which means the occurrence of every vacancy gave him an opportunity for bestowing favour and promotion that cost him nothing. This was an institution which Marino Cavallo thought especially worthy of imitation§. Lastly, Charles was in the receipt of considerable taxes. Soriano estimates the income of a few years at twenty-four millions of ducats; William of Orange computes the contributions to a single war at forty millions||.

Provincial Rights.

Now, if the estates were under the controul of the sovereign, if they left the administration of justice in his hands, paid him taxes, and maintained troops for him, wherein consisted the freedom of which they boasted?

No doubt the supreme power has its influence in every state, but it always encounters a resistance in the local interests. If the sovereign chose the schoeppen, on the other hand every town, Ghent alone excepted after the insurrection, prescribed to him those from among whom he was to choose them. Though the before mentioned college of councillors had little else left it to do than to take the necessary steps in the elections, nevertheless the actual government was usually linked with that body; all the officers elected were necessarily members thereof; besides which other members, charged with the protection of local rights, were

in many places associated with the schoeppen*. In Zieriksee there were two burgomasters, one for matters pertaining to the jurisdiction of the sovereign, the other for those belonging to that of the town; the former was selected from the schoeppen, the latter from among the other councillors†. Moreover, though the sovereign had a share in the concerns of justice, still he could not alter the laws, and every province clung jealously to its own; the North Hollanders to their Asingish law of inheritance; the Groeningers to their peculiar laws of debtor and creditor, and the men of Guelders to their peculiar feudal usages. Lastly, if he could exercise an influence over the domestic administration of the provinces, still he was every where met by some privilege. Flanders boasted of being the freest lordship in the world. Brabant had seven invaluable privileges, the last of which was, that if the sovereign broke through the rights of the country, and did not listen to its remonstrances, it should then be absolved from its oath of allegiance‡. Mechlin was free from all imposts for subsidies upon the real estates of its inhabitants. Holland and Zealand relied on the great charter granted them by the daughter of Charles the Bold. Just about the middle of the sixteenth century the provinces took up the question of their privileges with renovated zeal; they brought forth the genuine documents dispersed through registries, chanceries, and convents, and put them in better order; they hesitated in disputed cases to impart the originals to the court§. They aimed at no unconditional authority; they had no desire for unrestricted freedom; but their privileges seemed to them a property, as much so as any material possession of the community, and they would not part with them.

When these estates assembled at the sovereign's summons, they listened in common to the proposals laid before them; but when the time was come to discuss these, they separated province by province, each deputy mindful of the privileges of his own. Now, many of these committees were only empowered to hear and to report at home; others demanded a gratuity for their assent, and it was always some extension of rights they required: others again were flatly resolved on opposition. They were agreed only on one thing, that, unless confirmed eventually by a general vote, no assent previously given was at all binding. The governor had often to treat with the several states, with the several towns, and it must be admitted that the example of the consenting majority had a certain influence on the recusants. Sometimes however the governor found himself compelled to grant some new immunity; sometimes he had even to forego his plans||.

* *Decretum ordinum Hollandiæ et Westfrisiæ de antiquo jure reipublicæ Bataviæ*, in the work entitled *Respublica Hollandiæ et Urbes*, Lugd. 1630, p. 148.

† *Additum ad. Guic. tom. iii. p. 171.*

‡ Among others *Meter, Nederl. Historie, tom. i. p. 68.*

§ *Wagenaar, Allg. Geschichte der Vereinigten Niederlande, tom. i. p. 548.*

|| From the Examples of the transactions of the estates in *Wagenaar, Giucclardini Descr. gener. Hugo Grotius de Antiquitate Reipublicæ Bataviæ, p. 62. Soriano: "Si tratta prima con li principali delle città et degl' stati et poiche questi sono persuasi, chi con parole, chi con promesse et altri con premii, son seguitati dagl' altri. Così sono stati aggravati da sussidii li paesi bassi."*

* An excursus on this subject in *Addit. ad Guic. Descr. p. 429.*

† *Ubbo Emmius ap. De Laet, Belgii confederati Respublica Frisia, c. 8.*

‡ *Cavallo, Relatione: "Computati li suoi condottieri et officiali a ducati 140 per huomo d'arme et 120 per leggieri."*

§ *Cavallo: "Con la vacanza senza accrescimento alcuno di nuova spesa s'accresce dignità o ntile a tre o a quattro condottieri li che saria benissimo fare la Serenità Vostra."*

|| *Soriano: "L'imperatore ha potuto cavare in 24 milioni d'oro in pochi anni."*—*Verantwoording des Prinzen van Oranje, ap. Bor.*

Balance of the Constitution.

Upon this antagonism between the central and the local authorities, an antagonism so characterized that there was, if not constant strife, at least perpetual jealousy between the highest courts and those of the provinces, between the latter and the schoeppen of the towns, between the schoeppen and the sovereign's schultheiss on the one hand, and the common councils on the other, and lastly, between the councils and the guilds and communes;—upon this antagonism, and, above all, upon the natural opposition between the state authority and the provincial rights, rested the balance of the constitution. The sovereign usually obtained the money he required, but it cost him pains to procure it; he could not conceal from himself the fact that the subject had the power of refusing it. Charles V. was used to say he would concede liberties and immunities to his territories, but they should not chaffer with him. Upon this the country would answer, that it would support him with ample supplies, but of its own free will; only he should not arbitrarily burden it. They, both the sovereign and the country, had their respective rights; the act of homage consisted in their swearing reciprocally to these. The sovereign swore, "truly and sincerely to observe all statutes, privileges, briefs, exemptions and immunities, all justiciary and manorial rights, all town laws, land laws, water laws, and all customs of the province, old and new." The inhabitants swore "to be, in consideration thereof, good and lawful subjects to him, to guard him from hurt, to provide for his advantage, and to preserve his sovereign authority *." They swore to uphold each other's rights and claims; but whereas the monarch was given two titles, viz. sovereign prince and natural lord; the former was more pleasing to the monarch, because it seemed to infer a more absolute right; the latter was more acceptable to the people, because apparently involving the idea of a limitation founded on custom and prescriptive rights. Even the small towns of Holland were used to close a petition with the words, "Thus doing your imperial majesty will do right †."

Misunderstandings under Philip.

In such a state of equilibrium was the administration of the Netherlands in the times of Charles V. Philip II. however resolved to give the sovereign's authority the preponderance.

Wherever Philip II. looked around him he saw his authority in his other dominions based chiefly on a considerable addition of Spanish, or rather Castilian material, to the old stock of government. He had there Spanish viceroys with their own privy councils, independent of the respective countries; he had along with them Spanish troops and Spanish functionaries; he had there the inquisition, which acknowledged a supreme head in Castile. True, these means and instruments of dominion had not been fully introduced into any country.

* Oath taken at Antwerp and Valenciennes on the occasion of tendering allegiance to Philip, in Guicciardini. *Eed gedaen en Gröningen* un Byvoegsel van autentyke Stukken, Bor, Nederlandsche Oorlogen, ed. of 1679.

† Wagenaar, ii. 537.

Sicily preserved itself from Spanish functionaries; Milan and Naples succeeded in keeping out the inquisition; but either of these was singly enough to keep a country in perfect allegiance.

What, then, if the attempt were made to effect similar measures in the Netherlands too?

There can be no doubt that Philip entertained this purpose. Contrary to all the laws of the country, he designed to leave the Spanish troops there during peace, the presence of which had been rendered necessary by war *. When he committed the government to his sister Margaret, he appointed indeed with her a council of state consisting chiefly of native nobles; but he crippled the powers of that council, not only by establishing along with it an independent privy council under a president who could be implicitly relied on, Viglius van Zuichem, but he also instructed Margaret that in difficult cases she should only consult and hearken to the most trusty members, especially Granvella, bishop of Arras, taking their advice in a privy consulta, such as was usual at the king's court, and those of the viceroys †. Finally, if he still avoided putting forward the name of the Spanish inquisition, still he made so many innovations in ecclesiastical affairs, he so rigorously enforced and aggravated the old edicts against heretics, that every one was persuaded he would introduce that institution, and a rumour that he had already obtained a bull to that end from Pius IV., gained unhesitating and entire credence ‡.

Whilst the king thus resolved to reduce the Netherlands to the same footing of obedience as his other provinces, was it likely the country should second his purpose with alacrity? The leading men of rank, men whose fortunes had been founded in the civil and military service of Charles V., set themselves against it.

Three things seem more particularly to have determined them. Whereas, in the beginning of the reign of Charles V., nobles of the Netherlands had ruled the whole empire, and had afterwards been forced to share at least with Castilians all the influence accorded them by the sovereign, it now turned out, as every one must have expected from Philip, that he excluded the men of the Netherlands from all participation in the government of the empire. The Castilians had rebelled against the Belgian administration under Charles V. Egmont could fairly compare his services in the field and in the cabinet with those performed by Alva. Count Hoorn had formerly stood as high at the court of Philip as Feria; they both commanded body guards of his, the former the archers, the latter the Spaniards §. But now Alva and Feria sat in the king's council of state; Egmont and Hoorn were of little account. Spaniards and Ne-

* Tiepolo, *Relatione di Spagna*. "Il re fece gagliardissimo sforzo, perche si contentassero i Fiamenghi, che restasse nelle fortezze più principali per guardia di esse 3000 Spagnuoli."

† Strada de Bello Belgico, Vienna, 1754, i. p. 25. The same thing is mentioned by Burgundus.

‡ Tiepolo: "Oltre che havevano per cosa sicurissima che Sua Catholicæ Maestà haveva ottenuto da Pio IV. un breve col quale voleva mettere la inquisitione in quel stati per ridurli in quella stretta obediencia che le sono Spagnuoli. Da che venivano essi a perdere totalmente l'autorità et la libertà solita et gli antiquissimi privilegii suol."

§ Sandoval, Carlos V. lib. xxx. p. 657.

therlanders had been equal and alike jealous of each other in the service of Charles; but now the Spaniards were granted a predominant consideration*.

But this was not all. The people of the Netherlands not only saw themselves excluded from public affairs, but beheld their own country threatened with a foreign administration. When Montigny was afterwards despatched to Spain, he did not conceal what it was the nobles of the Netherlands most dreaded. When they became aware that the barons in the Italian provinces were reduced to a condition of mere insignificance, they feared that the Spaniards would fain bring them too to the same footing; they saw, too, every preparation taken by the king to that end; hence, Montigny owned, proceeded the whole discontent of the nobles†. Here that peculiar propensity of the Netherlands for local exclusiveness came in play. In like manner as each several province claimed to be governed only by its own natives, a claim occasionally indeed, but only occasionally disregarded, so they would not have any foreigner, any Spaniard, admitted to a place in the general government of the provinces at large. This was so vehemently insisted on, that the king is said to have exclaimed, "I too am a Spaniard; do they mean to reject me also?"

Lastly, personal connexions also produced in this case their natural result, particularly those of the prince of Orange. When it was first discussed to whom the administration of the Netherlands should be entrusted, the prince of Orange wished to see it in the hands of Christina, duchess of Lorraine, niece of the deceased emperor, a neighbour, and one familiarized with the national habits. He hoped to make her daughter his wife, whereby he would have been sure of obtaining the greatest influence over the government. But others probably feared this as much as he desired it. Granvella and Alva were for the emperor's natural daughter, Margaret, who had lived upwards of twenty years in Italy, and who was regarded as a more trusty Spaniard. This party prevailed; it caused Margaret to be appointed governess, and even prevented the marriage which the prince was seeking‡. This was enough to put Granvella and Orange at open enmity. But soon after the prince brought home a wife from that Saxon house which had dashed the emperor's fortunes; and thenceforth a bell was heard at the court of Brussels summoning to the Lutheran worship§. The ill-will between the parties was aggravated, not only in consequence of the fact that Granvella, as a bishop, approved of all measures that were rigorously catholic, but also because the princess was the grand-daughter of the landgrave, whose family ascribed to Granvella everything untoward that

had befallen their head, and hated him therefore with all their hearts. It must, moreover, have stirred up ill-blood when Granvella let fall the observation, that the distinguished position of the prince in Brabant was not consistent with the king's dignity*. Was the prince to endure patiently that all the power to which he thought himself entitled as a native prince, should pass into the hands of an alien, and his enemy? that he should be put off with an empty title without real authority? Charles V. had thought otherwise, and had reposed a more affectionate confidence in the prince than in the bishop.

Perez asserts that he was acquainted with the direct causes of the Flemish troubles, and could point them out as distinctly as any one could indicate the unquestionable sources of a river†. It seems to me not improbable that he alludes to these and other similar personal circumstances.

Putting all this together, we find, in the first place, that the king's designs involved him in open war with his province. He wished to make it as submissive as the others; the province, on its part, wished to maintain the freedom of which it saw itself plundered. He wished to hold the ecclesiastical and the secular administration in more complete obedience, through the instrumentality of functionaries exclusively devoted to himself, and of new bishops: the province desired men who had a home interest to be at the head of affairs, and it thought the old church constitution more convenient. The king desired to leave foreign soldiers quartered in the country; the people were incensed at the sight of arms after peace had been restored. Then we see that the superior functionaries of state, by whom the allegiance of the country should have been cultivated and confirmed, were led, by the position of the empire and of the court, to adopt the cause of the people instead of that of the king. It was the good fortune of the country that they but indifferently administered the central and sovereign authority which they should have represented, or rather that they looked to the advantage of the province. They were the very persons who most opposed the king. Let us consider the course their opposition pursued.

The Troubles.

First, they set themselves against what was certainly the most alarming thing of all, the leaving behind of the troops. The prince of Orange hastened home from France for the express purpose of preventing that design, and he actually succeeded in exacting a promise from the king. But how was the latter to be brought to fulfil his promise? Long after the term he had himself assigned was expired, he set the shrewd wit of the governess to work to gloss over the delay‡. The natives were resolved to force the removal of the troops. The Zealanders threatened to break down their dams, and to let the sea in upon the country, rather than endure the presence of the Spaniards in it. The districts refused to contribute subsidies; they refused to pay back the money that was taken up in their name;

* Soriano: "I popoli mal contenti per assidue gravezze et perche il governo d'ogni cosa che soleva essere in mano sua è tutto in mano de Spagnuoli."

† Hopper, Recueil et Mémorial des troubles des Pays bas du Roy, chap. ii. 8, makes this remark in the very beginning of the troubles. Montigny (Hopper, iii. chap. 3, § 100) calls it "la vraye ou au moins la principale cause de ces maux et altérations."

‡ Bentivoglio, Relazione delle provincie unite di Fiandra, lib. ii. Relazioni del cardinale Bentivoglio; Venetia, 1667, p. 21.

§ Cabrera, Don Felipe segundo, p. 284.

* Vita Viglii ab Ayta Zuicchemi in Hoynk van Papendrecht, Analect. Belg. i. n. lxx.

† Perez a un cavallero amigo. Segundas cartas, n. 115, p. 143.

‡ Strada, de Bello Belgico, iii. p. 49, from the king's letter.

may, they would not furnish the pay of their own troops till the Spaniards were gone*. Seeing, therefore, the imminent peril of ruin to the finances, and pressed by the open resistance of the towns, and by a mutiny among the native troops, the king gave way. Reluctantly, late, and on compulsion, he recalled the troops.

But another urgent danger manifested itself at this moment (1561). At that period the Netherlanders saw all the remonstrances they addressed to the king, all the arts of policy they tried with the pope, to prevent the purposed introduction of new bishops remain of no effect. This in itself was alarming with regard to the freedom of the country, and the old constitution. One of the three estates, the ecclesiastical, was injured in its property, for it was intended to provide out of this for the new bishops; but all three were threatened, because the new clergy, more numerous as it was, and wholly devoted to the court, would easily sustain its pretensions to superiority in future assemblies†. But it was a still more formidable consideration, that the new Flemish churches were to be formed into a hierarchy, at the head of which was to stand that same hated foreigner, who was invested at once with the primacy of the bishoprics and with the cardinal's purple. He was already the actual wielder of the state council's authority; Viglius his friend, nay dependent, managed the privy council according to his views; and now he was becoming the head of a clergy which had in old ecclesiastical laws strong weapons against all who displeased them. All the powers of the administration, of justice, and of the church, were subservient to him, and in his hands; the distinguished rank of a cardinal seemed calculated infallibly to exalt him above every assault‡.

The greater the fortune designed for Granvella, the greater was to be the resistance it provoked on the part of his antagonists. Orange and Egmont, who had previously not been on very good terms, hastened to renew their mutual connexion; they were joined by Hoorn. And, first of all, they tried what their combined credit could effect with the king. They declared to him that the affairs of the country could never go on well as long as they were all, in the aggregate, in the hands of Granvella; that he was too much detested, his life was not adapted for the edification of the people, the country would be ruined under him. But these remonstrances, and those they addressed to the governess, were all in vain§. They resolved to go further. Tiepolo confirms expressly, and with more accuracy of detail, what others besides have hinted at. First of all Orange, Egmont, Montigny, Hoorn, Bergen, and

Megen, united together, nearly in the manner of German potentates, and formed a strict league for mutual defence against all who should attack any one of them, a league to which they admitted others also, and to which they pledged themselves by solemn oaths*. A sound of perturbation now filled the country. It was alleged for certain that Granvella had said there was no hoping for quiet in the provinces till some heads should have fallen;—that it were well the king should come, but with a strong army, and with a predetermination to bind the necks of the people by force. It was currently reported that Granvella had serious designs against the prince's life. What a talk there was then of foolscaps and and of arrowsheaves on liveries! What a multitude of satires and caricatures were circulated! At last, when not only the three opposition leaders declared they must abstain from attending the council of state so long as Granvella sat in it, but the estates too refused to enter upon their proceedings so long as Granvella was the mouthpiece of the government†; when a formal resistance to the prime minister appeared then organised, Margaret likewise bethought her, and yielded to her feelings of discontent at being obliged thus to play as it were a secondary part: accordingly the king at last consented to the removal of the cardinal.

Thus the Flemish lords had obtained their first and their second objects. They had got rid of the troops that threatened their freedom; they were quit of the foreigner who had both domineered over and threatened them, and whom they had hated and feared. What were the means by which they obtained this success? Let us mark the facts well. They petition, they make remonstrances: nothing is done. But when they begin to offer resistance, when the king has reason to apprehend an insurrection, then their desires are complied with.

After Granvella's removal the lords returned to the council. They applied themselves with the greatest diligence to business; they were at their posts from an early hour till evening; whilst endeavouring to instruct Margaret, they succeeded also in gaining her over to their cause; standing on the best terms with the estates and with the people, they hoped to free the country entirely from the Spanish influence, and to be able to govern it upon their own principles‡.

New difficulties however occurred. While they were striving with Granvella the new bishops had been introduced into no few places, and invested with that ecclesiastical authority so commanding in those times, and which they had themselves such good reason to regard with jealousy and alarm. Was

* Arcana Gubernatricis Epistola; Strada, iii. 51.

† For the manner in which this fear was expressed, see Hopper, Recueil, chap. iii. § 8. Viglius calls it "nubecula in serenitate." Vita, n. 77.

‡ Tiepolo: "Si accrebbe il sospetto che il Re non avesse intenzione di soggiogarli a fatto, vedendo esser del tutto escluso il consiglio loro nelle cose di stato e non esser messo in alcuna considerazione di Madama, la quale si aderiva a quello del cardinale Granvella e voleva anco che fosse con molta severità eseguito, con che si conveniva distruggere la autorità sua."

§ For this letter in the shape in which it was finally drawn up, Lettre par diverses fois réformée et corrigée, see Hopper, chap. iv. n. 10. The extract in Bentivoglio's Historia della guerra di Flandra, l. c. i. p. 48, is but dubious.

* Tiepolo. "Si strinsero insieme il principe d'Oranges, li conti d'Egmont et Horn, il marchese di Berges morto, Monsignor di Montini et il conte di Mega, conseguiti da molti altri grandi per l'autorità et dipendente grandissime che havevano quelli signori, et conclusero una lega contra'l cardinale predetto a difesa commune contra chi volessero offendere alcun di loro, la qual confermarono con solennissimo giuramento; nè si curarono che se non li particolari fossero segreti per all hora, ma pubblicarono questa loro unione fatta contro il cardinale." Hopper also, chap. vii. n. 19, mentions the "confederation avecq serment tres estroit." Wagenaar says the tenor of this league was never divulged; iii. 49. Tiepolo gives some information though not complete.

† Vita Viglii, n. 82.

‡ Hopper, Partie seconde, ch. i. n. 20.

not Granvella, even though removed, still archbishop and primate of the national church? Moreover, the court of the privy council was still swayed in the same spirit as had prevailed under Granvella's rule. Their foe's administration had struck such deep root that its influence was not to be annihilated at once by the mere removal of the leader. If the nobles would avail themselves of victory they had won, it was incumbent on them to get rid of these obstacles.

They endeavoured to effect this sometimes directly, sometimes by a variety of indirect means. They brought it about that the president of the privy council should no longer make his official communications directly to the governess, but only in the sittings of the council of state, a device by which a wholly new share in public business was necessarily secured to themselves. It is alleged that they prevented the introduction of the new bishop, where it had not yet taken place; that they favoured every refractory disposition towards the judicature of the church and of the privy council; that they filled up offices at their own pleasure, nay, for money; and that they deliberately postponed the dignity and consideration of the governess to their own*.

But whatever means they might employ, these never fully sufficed to compass their ends. They resolved to apply directly to the king. If the decrees touching religion were mitigated, and the penal orders repealed, there was no ecclesiastical power which could cause them either alarm or obstruction. They resolved to petition first for the mitigation of the decrees in question. The number of the new religionists, they argued, was so great that it would be impossible to inflict the punishments prescribed without exciting a rebellion. Next, they complained that the partition of business amongst independent councils only impeded its progress. It would be well, they said, formally to render the other councils subordinate to the council of state†. They lost no time in sending count Egmont with these petitions to the king. Egmont had frequently private audiences with the monarch. Philip treated him with peculiar marks of honour, and in the answer he gave him he afforded encouragement to hope for the fulfilment of both requests‡.

But Philip's government was doubletongued, and its motto was "From afar." On the very day the instruction was made out for Egmont, the king wrote to Margaret that he did not think fit to increase the power of the council of state§. After this, when some bishops and divines, whose opinions were consulted, did not even pronounce in favour of a mitigation of the penal ordinances, as it might well have been guessed would be the case, Philip declared their opinion to be true as truth itself: heresy, he said, grew by neglect; who could think of diminishing a punishment whilst the crime for

which it was ordained was growing*. He granted therefore neither the one petition nor the other. The privy council pronounced his determination wise and holy. The decrees of the council of Trent were everywhere proclaimed. The king's new orders were sent into all the provinces. The magistrates were called upon to aid the inquisitors.

How fiercely, says Hopper, did the fire now blaze up that had hitherto smouldered under the ashes! The higher nobles thought themselves especially perilled. Granvella could assail their estates, nay, their lives, under cover of the proclamations†. Hatred to him mingled intensely in all their common views and feelings.

What then did they do to secure themselves? We find that the nobility of the second class hereupon joined in the famous compromise. It is true indeed that the most eminent chiefs did not personally unite in this league. But their brothers, their nearest friends, and the retainers of their houses, belonged to it. Can there be any serious question that they were themselves privy to it‡? When the country was now thus brought into a state of open ferment, when civil war seemed actually broken out, when all the elements of strife were already in motion, the two petitions before mentioned were once more addressed to the king. Was it not to be expected that in a moment of such imminent danger he would give way a third time, as he had done once and again before? They declared that if he would abolish the inquisition, mitigate the stringency of the proclamations, and grant them a general amnesty, tranquillity should be restored in the country; if not, he should not see them take horse to put down those who were in rebellion against him. They had not miscalculated; they knew their sovereign well: he now promised them actual abolition of the existing inquisition, moderation of the proclamations, and amnesty§.

When he did this, the time was already past when the concession could avail. The impatient confederated nobles held armed meetings; the iconoclastic storm swept the land from end to end; there was open insurrection. The lords had only wished, as Tiepolo says, for an alarm of rebellion, but not for the thing itself. But it fared with them as with a man who leads a canal from a river to irrigate his field, but finds the whole force of the current desert the main bed, burst through the canal, and inundate his whole property.

The iconoclastic mania split the confederates themselves into two parties; it put weapons into the hands of the governess, and the catholic party; it snatched the reins from the hands of those who had hitherto been the leaders in these movements. The first result was that the king actually acquired the complete mastery. He sent an army of Spaniards

* Respecting these purposes and proceedings, see chiefly Viglius himself in his Vita, n. 87; also Hopper, and Cabrera, Don Felipe segundo, lib. vi. c. 17, p. 335.

† See, above all, Hopper, p. ii. ch. 3. n. 126. The last point was laid to Egmont's charge as a special crime. "Tenor sententiæ capitalis in Egmondanum." Schardius, Rer. Germ. tom. iv. pp. 83. 85.

‡ Instructio earum rerum quas tu princeps Gauræ, etc. exponere meo nomine debes sorori meæ: Extracts in Strada, lib. iv. 88.

§ From the king's letter, April 8, 1565. Strada, ibid.

* L'apostille mise en marge de l'Ecrit des Evesques, Hopper, n. 64.

† Hopper, Partic. iiii. ch. 1. n. 88.

‡ Tiepolo: "Se bene li più principali cercavano di dissimular, però avvenne che quattro nobili, non però di molta considerazione, ma della lega, si scoprirono per capi a popoli, che altro non aspettarono che questo." He alludes undoubtedly to Brederode and counts Nassau, Berghes and Eulenburg, of whom Hopper says, n. 92, "Tous amis de la ligue des dicts seigneurs." It strikes me Hopper too comes under the category, "et de la ligue d. d. s."

§ All this from Hopper, particularly n. 113.

and Italians into the country, and there was none to venture on opposing it; he appointed as governor, the general of his army, with almost unlimited power; he established a council which far outdid any inquisition; and that all this might be irrevocable, he had castles built commanding all the chief towns.

Fortunately, however, matters did not take the course he expected. When things had arrived at the highest pitch, they took a change. The local interests once more asserted their force in opposition to all encroachments of the supreme authority. The triumph of those interests constitutes the revolution of the Netherlands. Tyranny for once had freedom for its result.

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE TAXES AND THE FINANCES.

1. Under Charles V.

THERE is on record a curious conversation of Charles V. with a peasant of Toledo. The emperor fell in with him as he was roaming about the woods in pursuit of game, and entered into discourse with him. Upon the peasant saying that he had seen five kings in his time, Charles, who was unknown to the man, asked him which of the five was the best, and which the worst. Upon this he had to hear what could hardly have been very agreeable to him. "The best," replied the peasant, "was Don Fernando, who was rightly called the Catholic; and the worst—well, I do think the one we have got now is bad enough." "Why so?" said Charles. The peasant objected that the king was always leaving wife and child, and setting off for Germany, for Italy, or for Flanders; that he carried off with him all the wealth he drew from his rents, and the treasures he derived from the Indies, enough to enable him to conquer the world, and that not content even with all that, he ruined the unfortunate husbandman with taxes*.

The feelings expressed by the peasant were in fact those of most Castilians, nay, of most subjects of Charles throughout his dominions. They found fault with him precisely for what he was most forced to by the condition of his empire, and by his position in the world. Each of his states would care only for itself, and not for the whole; he alone had a comprehensive feeling for the whole, by the combination of which the wars and the expenses complained of had been occasioned. Hence, from the very first, Charles found himself under pecuniary embarrassments, which exercised the greatest influence on his public life, and on the condition of his states. On both accounts it is necessary to take into consideration the financial position of this monarch.

It was common to all his states that the royal domains in them were greatly reduced in value. Isabella had not recovered nearly so much as she could have wished from the vast donations of former sovereigns; and even what she retrieved was again much diminished by Philip I., and Ferdinand the Catholic, whose lot it again was to be under

the necessity of courting the favour of the grantees. In Naples, too, Ferdinand the Catholic was obliged to satisfy the French party, and the exiled Anjevines, out of the royal demesnes. In Milan they reckoned nineteen alienations made by the last Visconti, sixty by the first Sforza, seventy-four by Louis the Moor, all out of the ducal possessions; how much could the remainder amount to? It is asserted with regard to the Netherlands, that the old possessions of the dukes and counts were found in the time of Charles V. to have been for the most part alienated.

The monarch no doubt had other sources of income altogether distinct from the proceeds of real estates. There were customs upon foreign and domestic commerce, there were tolls, and regalia had been enforced.

In Castile there existed, at least in its main features, that system of taxation which continued there down to modern times. First of all the country was inclosed all round within custom lines. These did not comprise Biscay, the Asturias, and Galicia†. Whatever was landed in Biscay and Guipuscoa, and in the four mountain towns on the sea, Laredo, Santander, Castro, Urdiales, and San Vincente, and took the road thence to Castile, had to pay the sea tenth in Orduña, Vittoria, and Valmoseda. Goods from the Asturias paid in Oviedo; those from Galicia, in Sanabria and Villafraña. From these points, extended westward along the borders of Portugal, eastward along the frontiers of Aragon, Navarre, and Valencia, those so called dry ports, which separated those kingdoms from Castile, after they had been united with it, as fully as before. It was only in the south that Castile stretched with reference to the tolls as far as the sea. No new partitions had been made in that quarter, but the *almojarifazgos* of the Moors had been retained in the ports. In Seville, besides the general custom-house (*almojarifazgo mayor*) there was also another exclusively for the American trade‡.

The internal trade of the country was no less liable to duty than the external. Here the *alcavala* applied. This impost, by virtue of which every seller was bound out of every ten maravedis of the selling price, to pay one to the king, and which extended even to barter, an impost from which the law declared that no town or village, no royal, ecclesiastical, or manorial place, no knight or squire, no judge, or civil functionary was free§, and from which there were in fact but few exemptions allowed, furnished, after all deductions, very considerable proceeds, particularly after the *tercias*, a portion of the ecclesiastical tithes conceded to the government, had been reckoned in with it. Its obstructive, nay, fatal operation, was in some degree evaded by the *merindades*, towns and villages combining to make a composition with the govern-

* Verri, Storia di Milano, li. 121.

† Galicia, at least, not since 1553. Cortes of 1558, Pet. 47.

‡ Printed tables of the Spanish imports at this period are given in Laet, Hispania, Lugd. Bat. 1629, p. 387; Rehfuës, Spanien, Bd. iv. p. 1246; and Les estats, empires et royaumes du monde, 1616, p. 322. Llorente, Provincias Vascongadas, t. ii. gives lists of the old and new duties arranged alphabetically.

§ Three laws respecting the Alcavala in the Recopilacion of 1545, vol. ii. pp. 617, 623; all three by Ferdinand and Isabella, an. 1491.

* Sandoval, Historia del Emperador Carlos V. lib. xxiv. p. 369.

ment, and raising among them the specific sum agreed on, called *encabezamiento* *. The new encabezamiento too, which came in force under the administration of Ximenes, instead of a tenth did not amount to a twentieth †. It was renewed from time to time. When the appointed years were elapsed, the first and most earnest petition of the cortes was sure to be for a continuance of the rate to a further term ‡. But the alcavala was not the only burthen on the domestic industry of the land. Special dues were levied on Granadan silk at Granada, Murcia at Almeria. When the flocks migrated to Estremadura, the farmers of the royal servicio y montazgo sat down in the passes of the country, reckoned flock by flock, and demanded the money, or the cattle per hundred or per thousand, due to them §. Salt was a monopoly. Fines, confiscations, the rents of the grand masterships, and smaller contingencies were added to these regular sources of revenue.

Altogether I find the income in the times of Charles V. calculated at 920,000 ducats ||; but if we may judge from not much later accounts, it may have reached a million. It was founded, as we have seen, chiefly on commerce; over this, above all things, the government had acquired a complete control.

It aimed at the same result in the other provinces likewise; but it was not successful in all.

Sicily was the freest of them all from taxes, as well as from other interferences on the part of the central authority. The custom houses in Messina and Palermo could yield but small returns, seeing how inconsiderable was the commerce the kingdom carried on with foreign countries. Sicily had but one important branch of commerce, the corn trade; Sicilian wheat continued still to be consumed in Valencia and Malta, Genoa and Lucca, and even in Venice since the Turks had begun to annoy that state. The government kept this trade completely under its own control. The proprietors having conveyed their superfluity to eight places on the sea-coast, where the corn was received by a royal storekeeper, and kept till a purchaser was found, the viceroy had the power not only of determining how much should be allowed to be exported, but also at what price. The government received some tari on every salma. It was not the easiest part of an office encompassed with so many difficulties to arrange these matters. It was necessary to have a near-guess calculation of the probable proceeds of the whole harvest, and it was only when this exceeded 800,000 salme, that exportation was allowed. Then if a great profit might be realised from some advance of price, it was necessary to employ the utmost caution in the matter. Instances had been known of an advance of four tari the salma sending away purchasers to Provence or

Alessandria. The prosperity of the citizens depended on this trade; as soon as exportation stopped, they could neither clear off their debts of the past year, nor make provision for that ensuing. The tranquillity of the country depended upon it; for a slight dearth was enough among these men, naturally so intent on their profits, to cause a great rise of price, and consequently multiplied evils, nay, dangers. The government itself depended on the trade for its best source of income, and so it may easily be imagined what care it exacted with regard to it *. The sovereign was here the real merchant; he fixed one price for the buyer and another for the seller; the difference between the two was his profit. But as the buyers did not pay more here than elsewhere, it needs little penetration to perceive that this arrangement was a real tax upon the country. This source of revenue rendered somewhat about 250,000 ducats, and this was nearly all the Sicilians suffered to be extracted from them. The remainder of the revenue, some time after the reign of Charles, was computed at 160,000 ducats. I do not believe that the government in his day collected more than between three and four hundred thousand ducats.

The Netherlanders ranked next to the Sicilians in point of freedom and immunities. In fact they submitted to still fewer burthens on their trade, on which their existence and their fortunes depended. The government did not receive much more than 200,000 ducats from the Antwerp customs †. But another impost, called for by the wants of the state, was facilitated by the prosperity of the province, a duty, namely, on articles of consumption, particularly wine and beer. By means of this and other dues the regular income of the Netherlands was raised even above that of Castile, to the amount of 1,250,000 ducats.

If trade was taxed in Sicily, and in the Netherlands a portion of the consumption, we find the government in Milan the possessor, in addition to these sources of profit, of the monopoly of salt. It imported yearly some 330,000 staja of salt, and sold it to the inhabitants. We find the regular income of the duchy in the time of Charles V. calculated at 400,000 ducats ‡.

No other country perhaps ever suffered more from financial measures than Naples. The harsh policy of the emperor Frederick II. is well known §. Much as the Anjous hated him, they nevertheless followed his example in this respect; much as they, in their turn, were detested by the Aragonese, they were nevertheless imitated by the latter in their extortions. Charles V., too, went greater lengths here than any where else. Not only were export and import, internal trade and consumption taxed, and that so rigorously that even the herdsmen driving their cattle in winter from the mountains to the plains of Apulia, were bound to pay a considerable toll to the custom-house of Foggia; but what particularly distinguished the Neapolitan administration was, that since the collections of the Normans and of Frederick II. a direct tax on hearths had been

* Estimated in Ulloa, Restablecimiento de las fabricas y comercio Español, p. 20.

† Origen, progresos y estado de las rentas de la corona de España, por Don Francisco Gallardo Fernandez; Madrid, 1805, tom. i. lib. ii. artic. ii. p. 164.

‡ Cortes of 1558, Petic. v. "De dar el dicho encabezamiento perpetuamente en le precio en que estava, a lo menos prorogacion por otros veynte años."

§ Nueva Recopilacion, lib. ix. tit. 27. ley vi.

|| Marino Cavallo: "De dattil et altre entrate ordinarie di Spagna 800,000: dalli gran mastri, che tutti sono nella persona dell' imperatore, 120,000 ducati."

* Ragazzoni in the Avvertimenti di Don Scipio di Castro. † Cavallo, and a list appended to the otherwise useless Compendio degli statì, etc. Informatt. i. f. 96. MS.

‡ From the Sauli contract with Francesco Sforza II. in Verri, Storia, ii. p. 190. Likewise Cavallo and Leoni.

§ On this subject, see Von Raumer, Hohenstaunen, Bd. iii. p. 548; Schlossers Weltgeschichte, iii. 21, p. 415.

introduced, which bore with particular severity on the poor*. From all these different sources the country contributed, in the times of Charles V., about a million of ducats.

All this put together, we find that Charles V. derived some four million ducats regular income from his European states collectively,—for the provinces of the crown of Aragon administered their own revenues, and in such a manner that no surplus was left. The special object contended for by his subjects was, that he should make that sum suffice for his expenditure. The towns of Castile affirmed, in the year 1520 †, that so enormous a sum of maravedis were collected from the regular sources of income before mentioned, that they should be amply sufficient without new taxes, without, as they said, laying new loads on the royal conscience, to uphold and enlarge the realms belonging to the crown.

They meant, of course, on condition that the sovereign arranged his measures in accordance with his income. They complained of the introduction of the Burgundian court establishment; they calculated that Charles, though unmarried, required twelve times more for his court than his grand parents had expended, including the prince's 12,000 maravedis daily, and the 150,000 maravedis daily for the numerous grown-up daughters ‡. They called for economy. But when we find the same author setting down the regular expenditure of Castile at 250,000 ducats more than the regular income §, it must seem to have been almost impossible to rectify the balance by economy alone. Certain it is the rectification was not effected, either in Castile, or in the other provinces; there was not one in which the expenditure did not more or less exceed the regular income.

Hence it came to pass that the mere internal administration of every province indispensably required pecuniary aid from the estates. Nor was there one in which this was not supplied. Castile granted every third year a *servicio* of 300 *cuentos* (the hundred *cuentos* for each year make 267,300 ducats) a sum about equivalent to the deficit in the revenue. Sicily granted a donative of 75,000 *scudi* ||. Naples, though already burthened with a direct impost, was by no means excused from the donative; reckoning that it paid in the seventeen years from 1535 to 1552, 5,185,000 ducats ¶, this donative amounted yearly to something more than 300,000 ducats. Milan contributed about as much. The towns paid 25,000 ducats monthly. They gave their grant the name of *mensuale*. It was the same thing as what was called in the Netherlands the *Schild-zahlen*. The latter tax brought in 500,000 ducats. The urgent necessities of the state induced the Aragonese kingdoms also to afford some aid; they

agreed to pay 200,000 ducats yearly; but they found means nevertheless to pay little or nothing.

This tax is important with reference to the constitution in a twofold point of view. In the first place it was the means of keeping up the assemblies of the estates in Castile, Sicily, and the Netherlands; and even in Naples it kept up an assembly resembling these, though but remotely. In the second place the nobility for the most part excluded themselves from liability to the tax. This was usually portioned out among the communes, which were required to furnish the sum voted from their incomes, their estates, or from individual contributions. It was only in case the vassals of the nobles were hard pressed*, that they too were allowed to put in a word on the occasion of the grant.

But all the money thus raised, served after all, as is plain in the case of Castile, for little more than to meet the domestic wants of the administration, and to defray perhaps the expenses of the royal household. What remained for the general government, and for extraordinary contingencies?

The provinces were compelled to furnish extraordinary supplies. From the time the Castilian cortes in the year 1538, just at the period the *grandees* displayed such obstinacy, granted in the first instance fifty *cuentos*, and as much in the next sittings †, they continued every year to pay the king something over 400,000 ducats. The Sicilians too submitted to extraordinary taxation for the building of bridges, palaces, and fortresses ‡. The donative of Naples, and the *mensuale* of Milan gradually augmented in amount. The Netherlands were the hardest plied. They contributed, though not without continual negotiation, one year with another, 400,000 ducats, extraordinary taxes §.

In all the proceedings connected with these matters, each of these provinces appeared in its own peculiar character. The three Aragonese kingdoms kept themselves quite apart, and almost without any participation in those burthens. Sicily resisted, but granted after all just as much as was unavoidably necessary. Milan certainly gave more, but it stood out successfully against exaggerated demands. It was only in Castile that the king, and in Naples the viceroy, effected more perhaps than was wholesome for the country. In those provinces the habit gradually grew of looking more to the wants of the sovereign than to the resources of the country. The Netherlands unquestionably occupied the worthiest position. On every occasion they paid the largest sums, but they paid them voluntarily. They were so rich that they were not ruined thereby; they enjoyed so well-grounded a freedom, that they were not thereby reduced to servitude.

* Speech of the Condestable Velasco, of the year 1538, in Sandoval, proves this for Castile; Castro's *Avvertimenti* for Sicily; Leoni for Milan.

† Carta de Carlos I. of the year 1542, in Marina, iii. n. 28. It was not quite gratuitously they did this. Charles gave them in return a written promise, "que no le esentaria ni apartaria ninguna volta ni lugar de su jurisdiccion." Cortes of 1558, *Petic. vi*.

‡ Ragazzoni: "Donativo straordinario per la spesa delle gallerie della guardia del regno *scudi* 5000; per le fabbriche delle fortresse 16,666, delli ponti 8000, de palazzi 6666," besides quasi donatives, a duty on flour 100,000, and a duty on the trade of Messina 62,000 *scudi*; these were of late origin.

§ Cavallo "Delli paesi bassi per ordinario 500,000 ducati, sussidio straordinario 450,000."

* Lippomano, *Relatione*. Cavallo.

† *Capítulos del reyno*, Tordesillas, Oct. 20, 1520, in Sandoval, i. 316.

‡ Remonstrances of the Cortes in Marina's *Teoria*, ii. 426.

§ The several items of the taxes enumerated by Cavallo amount together to 1,188,000 ducats; he reckoned the receipts at no more than 920,000 ducats, so that there appears a deficit of 268,000 ducats.

|| Ragazzoni, "Angaria antica et ordinaria, di 7500 *scudi* instituita per la spesa della persona del re, et si chiamano donativo ordinario."

¶ Parino, *Teatro de' Viceré*, i. 156.

We return to the sovereign. Besides all we have enumerated, he had turned to account his close connexion with the church. The pope not only allowed him now and then imposts on ecclesiastical estates, but also afforded him a continual and not inconsiderable source of income, through the sale of the cruzada bull, which allowed the eating of eggs and milk on certain days, and which every Castilian was forced to buy whether he chose to make use of it or not. But in spite of such various resources, the remains of the old demesnes, the imposts on commerce, the two subsidies, and, lastly, the ecclesiastical aids; in spite of the difficulty of getting all these together (how many assemblies was it necessary to hold in order to obtain some two and a half million ducats of the extraordinary contributions!) Charles was yet far from making these means suffice for his expenditure. In extraordinary cases he was always forced to have recourse to extraordinary means. To enable him in the year 1526 strenuously to resist the assaults of Francis I., who had broken the treaty of Madrid, he required the rich dowry of his Portuguese bride. Yet what a little way did this reach. His army was without pay in the year 1527, and marched off to take the pay the emperor was not in a condition to give it from his enemy the pope. In the year 1529 Charles was only enabled to undertake his journey to Italy by surrendering to the Portuguese the Castilian pretensions to the Moluccas for a considerable sum*. But it was not on every occasion he had a dowry to receive, or dubious claims on remote regions to dispose of. His wars on the other hand, and his journeys, went on unceasingly. Nothing was left him but to have recourse to loans.

But to raise loans was a thing attended in those times with two difficulties. One consisted in the pledges which it was still the rule to exact, the other in the usurious and extravagant interest demanded by the creditor. Now, as Charles had not much left to pledge in the way of real estates, he was forced to hand over to his creditors the produce of the taxes in his dominions (the *jueros*, of which mention is so often made), and his direct sources of income. The right of levying taxes was regarded as an estate, the administration of which was alienated till payment should be made of the sum lent. This operation was the more easily effected, as the amount of the taxes was nearly defined by the encabezamientos of the communes. When he adopted this course he usually got off with $\frac{7}{8}$ per cent†. But he had frequently occasion to borrow without pledges, and then, notwithstanding the strictness with which Charles used to abide by his engagements, public credit appeared so insecure, the scarcity of money so great, and the wants of the moment so pressing, that he paid not only from 10 to 20, but 20 to 30 per cent. interest‡.

Now, these loans had a very depressing effect. The first kind forthwith consumed the revenues indispensably requisite for the current expenses,

and thus swept away the ground on which the whole economy of the state was founded. The second kind made new and extraordinary efforts necessary within a brief period. The former swallowed up the taxes before they had yet come into the treasury, the latter anticipated those of the succeeding year. It was plain, that if this system was not pursued with the greatest moderation it would infallibly ruin the whole state.

Charles was well aware of this. Often did he complain of it loudly and bitterly. "To keep war away from his realms, to withstand the Turks, and to meet the wants of the kingdom, he had been forced to expenses not to be covered by the royal rents, nor by the servicios, which were but trifling, nor by what the pope granted out of the ecclesiastical revenues; but he had been constrained to raise large sums by the sale of his hereditary estates, so that these were no longer nearly sufficient for the maintenance of his royal household; besides this, he had taken up so much on interest that the remains of the royal revenues could not possibly defray that interest, much less suffice to pay back the capital*."

Now, as his loans were principally contracted on account of the wars he was forced to wage, the latter were attended with this serious result, that whether their issue was prosperous or not, they necessarily produced a diminution of the royal revenue, a loss in the rents previously enjoyed by the crown. No war waged by Charles terminated with such startling and complete success as that of Schmalkalde. Nevertheless it was a question weighed by the enemies of the house of Austria, how much that war had impaired its circumstances†.

We may here fitly institute a comparison between the oriental and the western strategy of those times. In order to raise an army, Soliman handed over his estates and his revenues to others; and so did Charles. Soliman made the transfer to soldiers, who thenceforth fought all their lives beneath his banners, and did him gallant feudal service. Charles surrendered his property to mercantile men, who gave him money instead, but that only once, so that he was enabled indeed to raise troops, but only for a very short time. The obligation of the one class of soldiers was personal, permanent, unconditional; that of the other was always dependent on pay, it had to be renewed from month to month, and never afforded the monarch full security.

Charles was constrained by his continual wars to employ such pernicious means without remission. Cavallo calculates that there were pledged in the year 1550, 800,000 ducats of the 920,000 regular income of Castile, 700,000 of the 800,000 Neapolitan and Sicilian, the whole 400,000 of Milan, and the larger part of that of Flanders. Whereas in the year 1567, they calculated at thirty-five millions of ducats the sum for which so many properties of Philip II. were pledged, by far the greater portion of that amount was chargeable to the account of Charles‡.

* Sandoval. Gomara. Soriano.

† This was the rate of interest sanctioned by the Cortes, 1552, *Petic. cxi.*

‡ Cavallo: "E gran cosa, nelle guerre passate hanno pigliato da x fino a xx et xxx per cento l'anno, nè mai ha voluto l'imperatore mancare alli mercanti della parola sua, di modo che se bene ha sentito qualche incommodo ha pero conservato talmente il credito che per guerra grande che potesse havere li mercanti non mancheriano mai a lui."

* *Proposicion de las cortes generales de Toledo de 1538, Sandoval ii. 355. Carta of 1542, Marina.*

† *Relazione della casa d'Austria, MS.*

‡ Tiepolo speaking of Philip II. "E solcito quant' ogn' altro al accrescimento del denaro: et certo ha grandissima ragione di farlo, essendo impegnate le entrate sue per 35 milioni d'oro."

But if we call to mind those loans which were not founded on pledges, it must appear obvious that the state revenues were hardly sufficient to pay the interest on its debts*. Hence the extraordinary servicios, destined for extraordinary contingencies, were necessarily applied to meet the current expenses; hence war, and every new enterprise, continually required new loans. How rapidly the consumption of the public wealth proceeded is proved by a calculation Philip II. caused to be laid before the estates of the Netherlands. According to that document, the remains of the regular income derived by Charles from the Netherlands amounted, in the year 1551, to 927,960 gulden; but even this was so encumbered in the year 1557, that there remained little more than a net 18,000 gulden.

From all this it appears, that though there was some exaggeration in the expression attributed to Ruy Gomez de Silva, that the reason why the emperor abdicated was very simple, namely, that he did not know how to manage the affairs of his crown any longer; nevertheless there was at bottom a certain degree of truth in this. Charles saw his means exhausted. It is very possible that this exhaustion may have had some share in bringing about his determination.

Income from America.

As we ponder over all this, and sympathize with the painful feelings which so embarrassing a condition must have created in the mind of an active monarch, we turn as to a welcome relief to the thought of the Indian wealth, the treasures of the Incas, and those mines of Potosi and Guanaxuato, the deepest, the most extensive, and the richest in the world, which were then in the possession of the Spaniards and their sovereign. For a long time language seemed at a loss to express the magnitude of the revenues that already, in the days of Charles V., flowed into the royal treasuries from that source. There are authors of the seventeenth century, who estimate the sums of money registered for importation into Spain between 1519 and 1617, at one thousand five hundred and thirty-six million pesos†; so that the quinto due to the king must, allowing for all deductions, have certainly averaged three millions yearly; and later authors have found this calculation very moderate‡. In fact, Don Diego Sandoval asserted in the year 1634, that the mines of Potosi alone (he was procurator there) brought the king in yearly four million pesos in the middle of the sixteenth century§.

How fortunate for Charles had this been so! But how happens it that we find not the least trace in his European finance of such ample supplementary supplies?

* Cavallo: "Di sette milioni di ducati (thus high Cavallo estimates the revenue in the total) the several items given make up together only six and a half millions. Soriano too, in the year 1558, reckons only "6 milioni e più" regular expenditure (and income) l'imperatore non avanza, quando siano pagate tutte le obligationi d'assegnamento, 500 o 600 mila ducati l'anno."

† Ustarez, *Teorica y practica de comercio*, c. iii.

‡ Robertson's *History of America*, ii. 449.

§ Quoted by Ulloa, *Entretenimientos*.

It is well known that these bold assertions, put forward by Spaniards, and taken up on credit by the English and the French, received their first successful contradiction from a German. Alexander von Humboldt was the first who brought to light the genuine accounts of Potosi, which, far from setting down the quinto at four millions, make it fluctuate for twenty years after 1556 between a quarter and a half million. Its maximum in that interval was 519,944 pesos; but it often fell much below this, sinking even to 216,117 pesos. Are we to suppose that the earlier years, since the discovery of these mines in 1545, were so vastly superior in their returns? To cut off even this evasion, Alexander von Humboldt has directed attention to a report by Pedro Cieza de Leon, which sets down the royal quinto of Potosi at between 30,000 and 40,000 pesos weekly, 120,000 monthly, and at 3,000,000 within the four years, from 1548 to 1551. This account, though, as we see, somewhat fluctuating, and not in accordance with authentic computations, nevertheless confutes the extravagant statements above mentioned. Proceeding then to a closer examination of the gains made by the Spaniards, Humboldt comes to the conclusion, founded partly on facts, and partly on conjecture, that the annual import of the precious metals from America amounted, from 1492 to 1500, to somewhat about 350,000 piastres; between 1500 and 1545, to 3,000,000 piastres; and that after this it may have risen between 1545 and 1600 to 11,000,000 on the average*.

We should scarcely expect to deserve the thanks either of this distinguished and profound writer, or of the public, did we content ourselves with a mere repetition of his conclusions. On the contrary, may it not be possible to discover yet other facts which shall further restrict the range of conjecture? There actually exist documents—some of them in our manuscripts—which, if I mistake not, throw new light on these matters.

In the year 1526, thirty-four years after the discovery of America, and five after the conquest of Mexico, Andrea Navagero was residing in Seville. He was the friend of that Rannusio who collected the Travels, and he was expressly commissioned by him to collect information for him respecting the New World. He learned at Seville, that the royal quinto from the American treasures usually amounted to 100,000 ducats a year†. In the year of the conquest it might possibly have been higher, but certainly not much. In the year 1550, five years after the discovery of the mines of Potosi, the whole revenue from America was estimated at no more than 400,000 ducats‡. Eight years afterwards it was perhaps increased, but not to any great extent. Soriano, who composed his *Relatione* in the year 1558, says, they talked indeed of

* Humboldt, *Essai politique sur le royaume de Nouvelle Espagne*, iv. 174. 183. 259.

† Lettere di Navagero a M. G. Rannusio. *Opera Navagerii*, 315: "Ci è qui in Seviglia la casa della contrattazione delle Indie, dove convengono venire tutte le cose che vengono da quelle parti; nel tempo che arrivano le navi si porta a detta casa molto oro (till 1525 hardly anything but gold was brought from America, Humboldt, iv. 260) del quale si battono molti doppij ogni anno, ed il quinto è del re, che nol essere quasi sempre intorno a cento mila ducati."

‡ Cavallo, MS. "Dalle Indie, non è cosa certa, ma si pone d'aviso, per conto di S. M. 400,000 ducati."

millions of pesos, but in reality the king did not receive more than from 400,000 to 500,000 scudi *. It is not till after the year 1567 that Tiepolo definitively sets down 500,000 scudi for the yearly returns, and it is not till after the year 1570 that a statistical list by Huygen van Linscoten gives a sum of 800,000 ducats.

These accounts, which are the more worthy of credit, because, though independent of each other, they furnish a very consistent scale of the Indian revenues of Spain, not only confirm Humboldt's arguments against Robertson, Raynal, and all the earlier writers, but they show that even the qualified statements of those authors admit of further qualification; they oblige us, if I am not mistaken, to settle the amount of money imported from America into Europe, as not much more than half a million about the year 1525, and not more than from two to three millions about the year 1550 †.

Let us now see how far these accounts agree with the most trustworthy testimonies proceeding specially from America. This inquiry must first be directed to Peru, the richest of the new provinces.

When the first booty arrived in Spain from Peru in the year 1533, an immense one, as it was said, and surpassing all expectation, the royal quinto, according to accurate accounts, did not exceed 155,300 pesos of gold, and 5400 marks of silver, that is to say, not much more than 200,000 scudi; for the peso is equivalent to 13½ reals, the scudo to 12, the ducat to 11, and the mark of silver to 67. For ten years from that period the royal officers in the provinces gave in no accounts: affairs were in too confused a state when Charles V., in the year 1543, appointed Don Augustin de Zarate chief collector in Peru and Tierra Firma ‡. How could he possibly have fulfilled the duties of his office in a province where the viceroy himself, to whom he was subordinate, was openly attacked with arms §? Gonzal Pizarro enjoyed all the royal dues. It was not till Pedro de la Gasca had won, on the 8th of April, 1548, that victory which recovered Peru for the emperor, that a thought could be given to calculating the revenue. Zarate then found that since the conquest there had been delivered to the royal officers in all 1,800,000 pesos of gold, and 600,000 marks of silver ||. Even if we assume that the first booty was not included in this, we find on dividing this sum by the fifteen years elapsed since the date referred to, that the average of each year was not much above 360,000 scudi. But it was far from being the case that all this passed into the

hands of the Spanish government. How much of the amount was consumed by the viceroys! The war carried on by Gasca cost alone nearly a million of scudi. Even the civil administration required extraordinary expenditure in that country, where every thing was sold at an extravagant price. Out of all the royal dues, out of the confiscations and fines which were largely inflicted every year, Gasca did not bring more than 1,300,000 pesos to Spain. This sum, however, was so unusual that Gasca had to set out in person to secure its safe transit. In this he barely succeeded.

Reconsidering all this, we find three authorities agreeing together. The estimates of Potosi, published by Von Humboldt, prove that the produce of the mines there still remained at a much later period between 200,000 and 600,000 pesos; and we certainly cannot assume that it was greater at first, since the increase in it did not take place till the mines were begun to be worked on a better system than that practised by the Indians. Zarate's reckonings show that the amount of all the royal dues of Peru between 1533 and 1548, averaged 360,000 scudi. It must certainly have been more considerable in later than in earlier years, and may possibly have risen to more than 500,000 scudi. But as much of it was consumed in Peru itself, and as this was no doubt the case likewise with the other branches of the American revenue *, we may well credit the testimony of the relations, that little more than 400,000 scudi a year reached the king's hands. If, indeed, we were to put faith in common report the thing was far otherwise. Even contemporaries tell us how every one of several thousand Indians gathered some marks of silver weekly, and how a great number of bars of silver had been thrown overboard, yet, nevertheless, millions were delivered to the king †. But who would put faith in rumour, notorious as it is for exaggeration? None knew the amount of the treasure, but he who had the control of it; error began on the outside from the very doors. Cieza was in Potosi, yet he did not see the accounts, and unquestionably he exaggerates greatly when he tells us that three millions passed thence into the royal treasury in the space of four years. But succeeding writers did not stop short even at that statement. Acosta, who lived at a period not long after Cieza's day, reports a million and half of pesos annually. The writers who followed went on swelling the error, and in Sandoval's hands the supposed sum was already grown to four millions.

It needed not such vast sums to produce astonishment in those times. Gomara says, "Within sixty years the Spaniards have discovered, conquered, and overrun the country; the gold and silver they have won there is not to be told; it exceeds sixty millions ‡." At first scarcely more than a quarter of a million, and for a long time after scarcely more than half a million can have been imported. The amount may possibly have been three millions in 1552, the year in which Gomara wrote.

* According to an authentic computation in Robertson's Notes and Illustrations, 101, the yearly expenditure of the government amounted in 1614 to more than the half of the then incommensurable great income.

† Cieza, *Cronica del Peru*, c. cix.

‡ Gomara, p. 300.

* Soriano: "Il quinto di tutto quello che si cava è del re: ma poiche l'oro e l'argento è portato in Spagna, la decima di quella che va alla zecca s'affina e si stampa in modo, che vien ad haver il quarto di tutta la summa e non passa in tutto 400,000—500,000 scudi, se ben si conta a milioni et a million di pesi." I leave these round sums in various coins as I find them. To reduce them would only tend to produce a false impression, as they are only given approximatively.

† This estimate does not disagree with Humboldt's so much as it may appear. His average sum must be equally great, as the importation received such an extraordinary increase towards the end of the century.

‡ Herrera, Robertson, ii. note 39.

§ Zarate, *Conquista del Peru*, iii. 23. French Translation, p. 100.

|| Gomara, *Historia general de las Indias*. Anvers, 1554, p. 257. He says that Almagro, Castro, Blasco Nuñez, Pizarro, and Gasca all made use of this treasure.

Philip II. at a later period saw indeed very different amounts arrive to him from the Indies. But Charles V. had to content himself with those we have stated. If that monarch was not reduced to absolute bankruptcy, he owed his preservation more to the aid he received from the Netherlands, than to that from America. Holland, neither the largest nor the most compliant of the seventeen provinces of the Low Countries, paid almost every year two contributions, each amounting to between 400,000 and 700,000 carlsgulden. The Netherlands often paid nearly five millions of gulden, that is, two millions and a half of ducats*. What were the 400,000 from America in comparison with these? There, says Soriano, in the Netherlands, are those treasures, mines, and Indies which have rendered the emperor's wars possible, which have upheld his realm, his dignity, and his credit†. In this we must really agree with him.

2. The Finances under Philip II.

Hardly ever did monarch ascend his throne under more disadvantageous circumstances than Philip II. Whilst his old enemies were reinforced by the accession of a new one whose hostility he most deprecated, by a pope who deemed himself born to annihilate the Spanish power; whilst he was threatened with formidable wars simultaneously on the Flemish, the Milanese, and the Neapolitan frontiers, he found all the resources of the state exhausted, the fountains of the regular revenue dried up, the land laden with debt, the rate of interest crushing, credit tottering‡. Might he hope to retrieve his desperate circumstances? Might he even hope to rally the energies of his state to a vigorous defence?

If ever there is an excuse for uncompromising measures, it is on the occasion of an accession to a throne. To escape from such painful pecuniary embarrassments, unquestionably only one of these three means is practicable. Either the monarch endeavours to augment his solvent powers in a decisive degree, as has been done in many a state by the sale of public property; or an attempt is made to get rid of the claims of creditors, which can only be done by a national bankruptcy, or declaration of insolvency; or the liquidating medium, the value of money, must in some way or other be changed.

We observe that king Philip's counsellors proposed all these means one after the other.

First, they suggested the sale of the repartimientos in America. To secure the Indians from the cruel oppressions of the Spanish settlers, and at the same time to keep the latter in continual dependence on the crown, the enormous fiefs bestowed on them had for the most part been granted only for life. Royal commissioners saw to it that they exacted only a fixed tribute, only prescribed tasks from the natives. What an advantage for the Spaniards if their fiefs were declared freehold! A great part of the American gold was in their hands; they offered it for such a concession. They had already offered eight millions for it to Charles.

* Wagenaar, ii. 555.

† "Questi sono li tesori del re di Spagna, queste le miniere, queste l'Indie.

‡ Ruy Gomez said to Soriano that the king was "senza pratica, senza soldati, senza danari."

Humanity, however, and prudence were alike opposed to the measure; humanity, for what was to be the fate of the Indians, if their masters were empowered to regard them as serfs; and prudence, for distance and independence combined would have tempted too strongly to revolt. The old emperor exerted all the influence that remained to him after his abdication to prevent the adoption of such a measure*. The united interests of the Indians and of the crown proved a bar to it.

Hereupon some counsellors had the courage to propose direct bankruptcy to their sovereign. They pressed two points upon his consideration; first, that he was not bound to acknowledge his father's debts; secondly, that the creditors were abundantly paid by the inordinate rate of interest. They would have Philip neither pay back the capital nor continue to discharge the interest upon it. But mature reflection rejected this counsel likewise. What was to become of public credit? Were the debts at all personal? Were they not the debts of the state? And how were the exigencies of the moment to be met amidst the confusion which such a resolution would be sure to occasion? This scheme too was rejected†.

To think of adopting the third means must have appeared almost wild and visionary in an age when paper money was unknown; and, indeed, had it been known it could hardly have been applied in this case. Soriano's narration to his Signoria borders almost on the incredible. For who could imagine that he who was owner of the mines of Peru, not satisfied with genuine silver, should conceive the design of fabricating false? Yet Soriano assures us, with all his usual colour of credibility, that this not very honourable, closely concealed, and most extraordinary device had been entered upon since the year 1556. An attempt having been persisted in for a while to introduce it into circulation under the form of coin, it was only a misunderstanding between the contractor and the king's confessor, who had a hand in the matter, that put a stop to the experiment. We are told, however, that a German soon after made his appearance in Mechlin, who produced a mock silver, capable of enduring the test of the touchstone and the hammer, but not of the fire. The idea, it is said, was seriously entertained of paying the troops in that metal; and it was only given up, though not without liberally rewarding the inventor, because the estates of the kingdom had come to know of the project, and had set their faces against it, on the ground "that very possibly good and genuine money might be thrown away after the spurious." Incredible as all this sounds, Soriano, nevertheless, avers that this invention was known to some of his auditors, the Venetian nobili‡.

* Soriano: "Benche molti delli principali per il bisogno grande che si havea de danari per la guerra, lodassero questo partito, S. M. Cesarea non ha mai voluto accettarlo, per non far torto all' Indiani di sottemmetterli a tanti tiranni et per non mettersi in pericolo d'una rebellione universale. Questa è una delle cose (forse sola) che sia stata regolata secondo il parere d'imperatore dappoi che questo re è al governo."

† Cabrera, Don Felipe II. p. 41.

‡ Soriano: "Oltre queste vie n'è un' altra straordinaria, la quale, perche è poco onorevole, è tenuta secreta. Questa è un' industria che è principata già 2 anni e più con titolo della zecca, ben conosciuta d'alcuni in questa città, ma non

These measures, so perilous or so visionary, so intensely extravagant in their aim, were at last abandoned. Philip, making up his mind to endure the burthen that lay upon him as his father had done, and to entangle himself still more in these uneasy circumstances, thought of nothing but how he might supply the wants of the moment, and effect the measures of defence most immediately and urgently demanded. Though he put the resources of all his dominions in requisition to this end, he turned his chief attention to Castile. He sent Ruy Gomez de Silva thither with full power not only to pledge, but also to sell whatever could be pledged or sold, and with injunctions to raise money, no matter by what means*. The princess Juana was constrained to sell the yearly pension of ten cuentos assigned her out of the alcavala; wealthy private individuals were compelled to lend on parole security; Indian goods were begged of the king of Portugal that they might be turned into money in Flanders; and lastly, 300,000 ducats were taken up at usurious interest, on the security of the fair at Villalon. By such means the king certainly obtained considerable sums from Castile. But the Netherlands were strained far more severely. In the year 1558 Philip demanded a loan of twenty-four tons of gold from that country, and the money was raised; in the same year, he demanded an annual tax for nine years of 800,000 gulden, and it was granted him; in the same year, lastly, Holland not only voted on its own account smaller sums for the payment of certain troops, but besides this it undertook to pay an extraordinary tax of 300,000 gulden, a tax which the other provinces likewise must unquestionably have submitted to (for Holland was always the least forward in such cases), and which upon that supposition must have amounted to more than a million and a half. These states granted the king in one year five millions of gulden, about two and a half millions of ducats, a sum much beyond the amount contributed by Castile, particularly if the Indies be excluded from the estimate†.

By these intense exertions of all the powers of his dominions the king was enabled to recruit that army which conquered at St. Quentin and Gravelines, and which brought about the exceedingly advantageous peace of Chateau Cambresis, after all the painful embarrassments of the Spanish realm.

But after the peace there was nothing more pressingly requisite than to do away, if by any means possible, with this perplexed and debilitating system of finance, which had been left as an heir-fu continuata, essendo occorsi certi disparei fra lui et il confessore, per la cui mano passava tutta questa pratica. Si trovò poi un Tedesco a Malines, che la mise in opera et con un oncia di certo suo polvere et 16 d'argento vivo fa 16 oncie d'argento, che sta al tocco et al martello, ma non al foco. E fu qualche opinione di valersi di quella sorte d'argento in pagar l'esercito, ma li stati non hanno voluto acconsentir."

* Micheli, *Relatione d'Inghilterra*, f. 79: "Havendo detto Ruizgomez commissione amplissima, non solo ad impegnare ma a vendere et alienare officii et entrate et di concluder ogni sorte de partiti, per metter insieme quella maggior somma di danari che potrà." They reckoned upon "il partito dell' Indie, i danari dell' ultime flotte intertenuti in Seviglia, l'imprestito del clero, gli ajuti particolari." See also Soriano and Cabrera.

† Wagenaar, from the *Resolutien von Holl.* ii. 13. How important this seemed to the people of the Netherlands, appears from the Reply of William of Orange.

loom by the emperor. There seemed perhaps some reason to hope that the evil might be remedied in years of tranquillity with the help of better economy, and of due use of the resources offered by such numerous, wealthy, and flourishing provinces. It must be owned that Philip devoted particular attention to this branch of his duty. It wore, however, very strongly the complexion of his times.

The fact was, there existed as yet no true science of state economy; there lacked even that subsidiary knowledge requisite for a comprehensive system of finance. Instead of this, individuals came forward with schemes worked out by themselves, of which they made a mystery, and which they would only communicate for a reward. These men, who were like the forlorn hope preceding the numerous host of fiscal functionaries and their subordinates, were for the most part Florentines. Pre-eminent among them was a certain Benevento, who had already made offers to the Signory of Venice, saying, that "he would considerably augment its revenues without burthening the people or requiring any innovation of importance; all he asked was 5 per cent. on the profits he effected." The emperor Ferdinand called this man to his court; he also appeared at that of Philip. To the latter he offered a really advantageous suggestion. By his advice Philip bought back the right of manufacturing salt in Zealand from the proprietors, and thereupon, without raising the price of the article, or inconveniencing any one, he farmed out the privilege to the Genoese house of Negro de Negri. The 200,000 ducats paid by that house were thought no trifling gain*. It is very likely that something of the same sort was at the bottom of the changes which we find taking place after this in the salt trade in Milan and Castile. The duties on beer and wine in Holland had shortly before been farmed out in like manner with advantage. The characteristic of this first essay at a new system of state economy was the endeavour to enhance the revenues of the sovereign by artificial contrivances applied to some single branch or another, usually under condition, and with the intention that the burthens of the people should not be aggravated. This, however, was but seldom possible. We find Philip soon obliged to burthen his people with new taxes.

Proceeding now to examine his financial system more in detail, we have to remark in the first place, that all the provinces did not leave his hands free in this respect. There was absolutely nothing to be had from the crown of Aragon before the war of 1592. Sicily presented so compact a front to the king, that, except an increase of its service to some 200,000 or 250,000 ducats, nothing else was to be extorted from it. The Milanese towns were certainly far less free. They suffered their mensuale to be raised once by cardinal Trent, and another time by the duke of Sessa†; and though we find

* Soriano: "E novamente comparso nella corte un Giovanni Leonardo di Benevento, il quale ha raccordato al re una provisione nova sopra il sale che non è d'alcuno danno alli popoli.—Questo è quel Benevento che s'offerì già d'accrescer l'entrata di Vostra Serenità." He also appeared at the court of Pius V., who however put no faith in his devices. Catena, Vita di Pio V.

† The list of taxes given by Soriano mentions, "1, il mensuale, che è il sussidio imposto a quel stato; 2, l'aumento imposto dal cardinale di Trento; 3, l'aumento imposto dal duca di Sessa."

them vehemently resisting the attempt of the duke of Terranuova to establish a new donative, still it appears that their taxes had risen in the year 1584 to 1,183,000 scudi. But though they contributed ever so much, all was consumed by the troops quartered upon them. The expenditure was estimated at the same period at 1,166,696 scudi*. The same reasons which caused their immunities to be respected, made it necessary at that time to abstain from adding to their already excessive burthens. And thus the only provinces their king had left, capable of at all supplying his existing exigencies, were the Netherlands, Naples, and Castile.

What heavy blows then to the empire were first the revolt and afterwards the loss of the Netherlands! We have seen that in the times of Charles V., and in the early years of Philip's reign, they had borne the chief part of the public burthens. But now this was reversed. In the very beginning of the troubles the king was forced to send the government Spanish money.

Nothing remained to him therefore but Naples and Castile. We have seen in what manner the revenues of Naples were raised more than five-fold; the three taxes paid there, the fiscal, the servicio, and the trade duties, rose in the same degree. The first of these had advanced from five to fifteen carlines, but even this was not thought enough. A new increase was made for the defence of the frontiers, another for the construction of roads, another for the maintenance of a watch in the interior of the country, and lastly, a very considerable one for the quartering of troops: all these items amounted to several ducats†. The natives now complained, that "even the old principle of law, that no obligation should be of force which was counteracted by poverty, was not admitted in this case; for even he, whose only property was the breath of his body, was forced to contribute eight or ten ducats yearly‡;" but their complaints were all in vain. In the next place the servicio was immoderately raised by the viceroys, who wished to gain the credit of improving the royal revenues. We find that they generally carried their point, and the towns were forced to pay them the several sums exacted of them, though they could not do so without borrowing. The consequence was that they became inordinately involved in debt, and the tolls they raised within their limits were no longer applicable to their internal administration, or to the payment of their tribute, but had to be applied in liquidation of the interest on their loans, and hardly sufficed for that. Now, in this critical state of things, a hand was also laid on their trade. The viceroys imposed a duty of a carline on every pound of silk, wrought or raw, exported from the kingdom. The effect of this was soon felt by the inhabitants of Naples, four-fifths of whom, it has been asserted, had hitherto gained their livelihood by this trade; there was reason to fear that this improvement in the royal income would not

long continue to appear an improvement. Oppressive as these means plainly appeared, yet the exigency was so strong and inevitable, that they were adopted. Such was the course of things in Naples.

Administration of Castile.

But our chief attention must be directed to Castile.

The main grievance of the Castilians in past times had been, that they were deprived of the presence of their sovereign. "That was the reason so much money went out of the country; a dearth of gold was already discernible, and silver too was becoming scarcer." How often had they solicited Charles to return to them, or to remain among them. But now Philip was king. He complied with their entreaties; he came to Spain, took up his residence at Madrid, and declared Castile the first of his provinces*. Now, if this change was connected in many other ways, as we have seen with this monarch's position, still it is also thought that he remained in Castile in order to turn its wealth to better account than did his father†.

In fact, his foremost endeavour was to improve his income. To this end Ruy Gomez had founded for him a council of finance, in which Francisco Eraso took a leading part among other distinguished members. To this end the king was surrounded, as Cabrera says, with those shrewd men of arbitrary principles, those adroit schemers, who were continually devising new imposts.

It is to be regretted that Tiepolo feared a more laboured exposition of Philip's several measures would weary his hearers, and preferred inviting to his house those persons who wished for more detailed information. He had no idea that so long after his day people would look for information to his report. The consequence is, that we are compelled to have recourse to scattered notices.

Now, on putting together those that present themselves to me, I notice five conspicuous points in the general range of Philip's financial administration.

First, the beginning, which if difficult as regarded the monarch, was distressing to the nation in an extraordinary degree. How oppressive were those measures which Philip introduced or sanctioned during his residence in Flanders, each successively more grievous than the preceding. Wool, it is well known, constituted in those days a main branch of the Castilian trade. Under the pretence that the merchants were fairly liable to share in the cost of maintaining the fleets by which the sea was kept clear from corsairs, Philip exacted for the export of Spanish wool by native Spaniards one ducat the saca, when the wool was destined for Flanders, and two ducats when it was to go to France or Italy; whilst foreigners had to pay in the former case two ducats, in the latter four‡. The cortes opposed this with all their might. They stated that they were sufficiently burthened with

* Rovelli, Storia di Como, iii. c. ii. 111, very authentic, but not minute in its expositions.

† Al Mr Landi: "Grani 31 per gli alloggiamenti della gente d'armi: grani 7 per la guardia delle torri: grani 9 per l'acconciamento delle strade: grani 5 per li barigelli di campagna."

‡ Lettera: "Coloro che non hanno altro al mondo ch'il commune respirare con li animanti, hanno da sodisfare ogn' anno otto o dieci ducati."

* Representacion al Emperador Carlos, para que no dejasse salir de España al principe D. Felipe: Marina, Teoria de las cortes, iii. 183. The Cortes of 1558 petition Philip to return to his Spanish dominions: "Pues esta entendido, que residiendo en ellos puede V. M. conquistar y ganar los agenos y defender y conservar los suyos."

† Tiepolo.

‡ La princesa gobernada en Valladolid, 30 Abril, 1558. Nueva Recopilacion, libros ix. tit. 32, ley i. Pragmatica, i.

the alcavala and almoxarifazgos, with the land and sea dues of various kinds, and with the servicios; they represented that it was not on the merchant the weight of taxation fell, but on the sheep breeders, who now received smaller payments from the former; they appealed to laws of the realm opposed to these impositions, laws which the king was bound to respect*. Philip's answer was, that however all this might be, he was constrained by necessity. He had the boldness to make a still more violent inroad upon custom, law, and equity. The conversion of direct into indirect tenure by the introduction of middle men is a measure that has always been looked on in Castile with abhorrence. The cortes complained in the year 1553 that he had disposed of hamlets and villages, vassals and jurisdictions, and numerous commons, and separated them from the towns to which they had previously belonged. They did not fail to remind him of the charters, the written promises, and even the oaths that were contrary to such proceedings; but however urgently they remonstrated, however pointedly they set forth the cheerless condition of those who were now fallen under the hands of private persons, still they obtained no more from the king than promises for the future. Meanwhile Philip had already gone much further. Cabrera complains that the king had now made sale of commendaries, and rights of nobility, of places of regidores, alcaides, and secretaries, all of them properly rewards of merit. We find that he gave away commendaries worth 18,000 ducats yearly to satisfy his creditors †; and that shortly afterwards he solicited permission of the pope to sell those estates too on which the clergy had rent-charges, saying that he would indemnify the clergy out of his juros ‡. But unquestionably the harshest measure of all, and one that was a real violation of the rights of private property, was that the king laid his grasp on the money brought by merchants and travellers from the Indies, giving them instead a lien for interest upon his revenues. The loss did not fall alone on those from whom the money was taken; it was felt of course almost more severely by those who should have received payment out of it. Numbers became bankrupts, and a general stagnation of trade ensued. To our amazement we learn that this was repeated almost regularly from 1555 to 1560 §. It was not till 1560 the king gave orders it should not again occur.

This was the beginning of Philip II.'s adminis-

tration. We have remarked that he certainly avoided measures of the utmost extreme of harshness; we see nevertheless how harsh were those he actually adopted. It is not necessary to enumerate them all, his increase in the rigour of the custom regulations between Castile and Portugal, his exaction of heavy subsidies from the clergy, besides a multitude of minor innovations; neither indeed is it possible for me to recount them all; we shall dwell only on the most important points.

Another matter of great consideration was the arrangements of the year 1566. Philip introduced them with expressions of regret, that the duty incumbent upon him of defending Christendom and religion, and of preserving his realms in peace and safety, forced him to devise new means of augmenting his revenues. He went on to say, that having consulted with his ministers he found the object could be effected in the least objectionable manner by increasing the export and import duties. Accordingly he issued three decrees to that purport on the same day, May 29, 1566. Not content with his first ordinances respecting the exportation of wool, he now exacted four ducats absolutely for every saca of wool destined for France, or for another division of the peninsula, whether exported by natives or foreigners. But this is a trifle compared to the increase of tolls he laid on the almoxarifazgo mayor of Seville. Formerly the export duty on silk, dried fruit, sugar, wine, and oil, had been two and a half per cent.; he now demanded seven and a half. He ventured to go further with jewels and pearls, cochineal and leather, claiming ten per cent. instead of the previous rate of two and a half. But the manner in which the almoxarifazgo of India was dealt with was the most remarkable of all. The original freedom of trade appointed by Ferdinand and Isabella, between the mother country and the colonies, had been damaged by Charles. It was completely shackled by Philip. He ordered that all goods shipped for India should pay five per cent. in the Spanish ports, and ten in the American, but wines were all alike to pay twenty per cent.*.

Was he satisfied with these sources of revenue? There can be no doubt that it was for the Flemish war Philip provided them. Therefore it was that he spoke of religion, and of public tranquillity when he called for them. But they did not suffice him for that purpose. True, he had also raised the price of salt about this time by a third; true, he obliged the communes to pay a certain price to the exchequer for the use of the public lands †, and his Castilian revenues increased to the surprise of foreigners (the Venetians, who had estimated them at a million and a half in the year 1558, found them three millions in 1567 ‡), still his necessities were very far from being supplied. Tiepolo asserts, that at this period Philip kept back 800,000 scudi

* Cortes de Valladolid del año de 1558, Petic. ix. "Lo qual es novedad y cosa no acostumbrada y en gran daño y perjuizio de estos reynos y de los subditos y naturales dellos y del estado de los cavalleros hijosdalgo dellos y otras personas esentas y contra sus libertades." They then mention the "impusiciones prohibidas por leyes y pragmatikas, las quales de justicia y honestidad deven guardar los Reyes et mas V. M. que todos."

† Cortes of 1558, Petic. vi. Soriano: "L'anno passato consegnò al centurione una commenda in Spagna di 18,000 scudi d'entrata l'anno a conto de suoi crediti, et questo anno ha venduto il secretariato di Napoli per ducati 12,000."

‡ Lettera di Mula amb. Venet. Roma alli 28 di Giugno 1560. MS.

§ Cortes of 1555, Petic. ex. Cortes of 1558, Petic. xxxiii. "Por haversi tomado para las necessidades de V. M. el oro y plata que ha venido y viene de las Indias, estan perdidos los mercaderes, tratos y tratantes destos reynos, y ha cessado la contratacion en ellos, de que se han seguido y siguen grandes daños e inconvenientes."

* Nueva Recopilacion, ix. 32. Pragmatica, iii. ix. tit. 22, lei i. ix. tit. 26, lei ii.

† Tiepolo: "I popoli si chiamano offesi per il pagamento del sale, che è stato accresciuto un terzo di quello che si cavasse prima, et per esser stati privi di buoni comunali goduti da loro per il passato a discrezione, bisognando hora, chi ne vuole comprarne dalla camera per pochissimo precio."

‡ Ib. "Ha causata la residenza di S. M. in quelli regni et la diligenza che ha usato, che ha accresciuto tanto l'entrata di quelli regni che hora ne cava più di tre milioni d'oro all' anno, et se continuerà in esso, la farà maggiore."

annually of the money that arrived from India, on account of private individuals, paying them five per cent. interest for the same*. He reverted to the most iniquitous of his former measures.

The Castilians now found what were the fruits of the fulfilment of their supplication that the king would remain among them. All the burthens occasioned by the general administration of Philip's realms, all those rendered necessary by new contingencies, all the exigencies formerly supplied by the Netherlands, and all the expenses created by the war against the latter, now fell on their shoulders. In return, they had the consolation of being the head of his empire, and, as they thought, of all the world. Might but the burthen remain endurable!

Between the years 1575 and 1578, however,—this is the third main point we distinguish—it seemed likely to increase beyond bearing. Whatever may have been the cause of the king's embarrassments, whether the effects of his extraordinary efforts in the war of Cyprus (for that the cost of this was very great appears from a computation of the Sicilians, who had paid out 1,300,000 ducats, chiefly for provisions such as biscuits, wine, and cheese, supplied by them to the fleet from May 1571 to November 1573 †), or the expenses of the Flemish wars, or the intolerable burthen of usurious interest, or whatever else it may have been; suffice it to say, we find him in such urgent want of money that he was ready to grasp at every expedient; that he even approached those high-handed measures from which he had at first receded.

In the year 1575 appeared an edict against the state creditors, suspending all their assignments upon the royal revenues. Next, it was proposed to alter the contracts made since 1560; it was proposed not only to lower the interest, but also, if I am not mistaken, to deduct from the capital as much as should appear to have been overpaid, according to the new rule of computation, and to give the creditors new securities in that proportion‡. Now, if we reflect that there was perhaps no important commercial place in the south and west of Europe where some great house had not this king's name in their books for large sums, we may easily guess what confusion must have been produced in the whole range of money matters by the sudden stoppage of the payments in question. In fact, there was hardly a house in Rome, Venice, Milan, Lyon, Rouen, Antwerp, and Augsburg, that was not hard upon the verge of bankruptcy. The greatest sufferers were the Genoese, who had placed a great part of their wealth in the hands of the king of Spain, and who were then consuming their own strength in the revolt of the lesser families

against the greater. The disruption of commercial credit began first with them. Yet, after all, this was but a stoppage of the payment of interest; what was to be the consequence, if capitals too were diminished, and if the right proclaimed by the edict was acted on, namely, that every house might deal with its own debts as the king did with his?

We know that the towns, above all in the cortes, insisted on the most decisive and severe measures on this head*. They called for another additional one. This was in those years in which, as we saw reason to think, the comunero party acquired a new share in the conduct of the state. At any rate we hear forthwith a repetition of this party's old complaints against the grandees. They talked of the numerous alcavalas, revenues, and vassals acquired by the latter from the kings; of the embarrassment in which they had plunged the crown; of the wills of Isabella and of Charles, which it was desirable that Philip should now carry into effect. In fact, Philip made preparations to that end. He called on all the grandees to produce the titles by which they claimed their possessions, and the exchequer forthwith assailed the chief among them, such as the Velascos, dukes of Frias, and wrested from them the sea-tenths they had so long enjoyed. Universal alarm seized on the grandees†.

But it was easier to threaten and to attack one by one the proprietors of the land, namely, the grandees and the owners of capital, viz. the state creditors, than to do them any serious hurt in the mass. They held too strong a position for this. Perhaps the grandees availed themselves of the claims given them by their services to the house of Austria, perhaps Philip himself recoiled from making so great an innovation; at any rate he did not carry his intention into execution; he contented himself with letting the suits take their course as far as regarded some vassals who wished to belong directly to the crown.

And now the capitalists also found an escape. The king, who saw the Flemish war instantly renewed in spite of the perpetual peace, required new loans. The Genoese at last laid aside their quarrels and sent embassies. When two parties have need of each other they readily come to an understanding. The king consented to leave the capitals ostensibly inviolate; the commercialists acquiesced in a reduction of interest, as Thuanus says, from 7½ to 4½. If we may venture to surmise a slight error here, and read 7½, 4½, the result would then come out, that whereas, supposing the purchasing price of an annuity of 1000 ducats to have previously been, as in fact it usually was, 14,000 ducats, it now amounted to 24,000 ducats‡. But as this arrangement was retrospective for some years, as the king now paid no more interest for 24,000 than previously for 14,000 ducats; as the commercialists dealt in the ratio of this reduction

* Ib. "E ben vero che ne riceve commodità (da India), perche si serve ogn'anno di 800,000 scudi di particolari con pagarli cinque per cento."

† Raggazzoni, *Relatione della Sicilia*, adds: "Di maniera che non havendo supplite l'entrate ordinarie, hanno convenuto quelli ministri vendere a diversi quello che hanno da scuodere da qui a un anno et più con interesse di 14 o 16 per cento l'anno: onde il re in quel regno si trova molt' esauito de' danari."

‡ Cabrera: "Con facultad de pagar las deudas que por razon de los asientos hizieron, al mismo precio que el Rey pagaba a ellos." Coligny asserted, in a memorial laid before the king of France in 1572, that German houses had been driven from their just demands by the terrors of the inquisition. Thuanus, lib. 51, p. 1062.

* The Cortes insisted, as early as the year 1560, on a reduction of the rate of interest: "Que luego se trate de moderar y limitar los dichos intereses y cambios de manera que para adelante cessen; pues los Interesses que han levado hasta aora han sido tan crescidos que con ellos solos se podrian muchos de los que han levado tener por contentos y bien pagados de las deudas principales y intereses justos."

† Cabrera, *Don Felipe II.*, il. 955.

‡ See besides Cabrera the circumstantial account by Thuanus, also Laet, *De principibus Italiae*, p. 139.

with their own creditors, which were frequently petty houses, it is easy to see, not only what confusion must have ensued, and how many a house must have broken down without any fault of its own, but also, that as in this case there was no hope of the return of the principal, but only of the interest, the affair was a state bankruptcy yielding a dividend of a little more than 58 per cent.; only that it did not extend to the whole bulk of the capitals, and that it wore the form of a voluntary compromise.

At the same time it does not escape us how very inadequate must have been the result even of such extreme measures. In fact, the king was again obliged to press hardly, above all, on those from whom he had least resistance to apprehend. First, the clergy. Every thing depended on his gaining the pope over, who, though he often resisted, always ended with letting himself be talked over. Philip had already augmented his income from ecclesiastical property in an extraordinary degree. Not only did Pius IV. once grant him the half of the proceeds of the ecclesiastical estates*, but he afterwards conceded to him permanent dues for the galleys he was to keep up against the Turks. After long struggling Pius V. allowed him a renewal of the *escusado* (a tithe upon the ecclesiastical estates), and of the *crusada*†. This revenue was always on the increase; whereas it amounted in 1575 to 1,200,000 scudi‡, it was computed at one million and a half by the papal nuncios in 1578. But even this did not satisfy Philip. He demanded back from convents the vassals assigned them by his ancestors, to deal with them far differently from their monastic lords. He wished to have the *escusado*, which had hitherto yielded 250,000 scudi, augmented to 420,000 scudi, the sum to which the money for the galleys amounted. However great the difficulties attending such a further increase, Gregory XIII. was nevertheless induced to grant him a new ecclesiastical impost of 170,000 scudi for three years, as a subsidy for the Flemish war§.

Thus Philip laid hands on all he could, grantees, clergy, and state creditors; was he to be expected to spare the commons? They had done very right indeed to direct his attention to other resources; but when these proved insufficient they were themselves burthened with new taxes. The king now first fixed the alcavala actually at ten in the hundred; he also made playing cards, quicksilver, and corrosive sublimate articles of the royal *reservas*; and he proceeded from his first encroachments on the estates of the communes to open sale of them||. It being the opinion of those days that burthens on foreign trade were the least oppressive of all, he not only imposed new duties on the importation of

Florentine cloth and Flemish goods, but also on the already so much burthened exportation of wool; and he raised the duties at Seville.

Hereupon the cortes began to complain. They petitioned the king in 1576 not to impose new taxes, but rather to repeal those already established. In 1579 they complained that their petitions were not attended to, but that the distresses of his majesty's subjects were daily growing. In 1586 they admitted that they were bound to do every thing requisite for the defence of the crown, but, on the other hand, it should be left to their judgment to determine how that might best be effected; but now not only were new taxes daily imposed contrary to every pledge, although the old ones ought much rather to be remitted, but besides this, means the most prejudicial to proprietors were adopted for collecting them*. The wretchedness and misery endured from the new taxes were, they said, intolerable.

Their petitions and their complaints were vain. Castile was not yet near that pass to which it was destined to be brought by Philip. Had he not to prosecute the Flemish war? to aid the French League? But besides this he had in view the enterprise against England.

This enterprise marks the fourth chapter in Philip's financial administration. Its bearings were as important on the internal as on the foreign relations of Spain. In the first place it exhausted the country through the extraordinary efforts with which it was prosecuted. Not only large sums of money, but also heavy contributions in kind were raised†. Andalusia alone furnished along with many other necessities 120,000 quintals of biscuits; Seville gave with many other things 6000 vessels of wine; Galicia 6000 quintals of salt meat; every province did its very utmost. But the mischievous operation of the enterprise was far greater in consequence of the new efforts which its total failure and its unfortunate re-action rendered necessary. If the king contrived to console himself, the kingdom had good reason to be inconsolable.

In the very next year, 1589, Philip found himself obliged to call for the harshest of all his taxes, the *millones*, a tax similar to the *servicio*, inasmuch as it took its name from its amount being fixed at eight million ducats in six years, but which was a real excise, inasmuch as it was laid upon the most indispensable necessities, wine, oil, meat, and so forth‡. The cortes stood out a long while, and it was necessary to have recourse even to the imperial ambassador, count Khevenhiller, in order to prevail upon them; at last they passed the grant§. After all it was as though nothing were done. We find the king in the year 1590 busied with three new extraordinary means. He demanded a donative, opened a loan, and sought to anticipate the millones. The grantees granted him the donative; being but little affected by most of the mischances of the community, they were able to raise about three millions and a half of ducats. The greater

* Mula in the above mentioned letters.

† Catena, Vita di Pio V. p. 184.

‡ Lippomano, Relazione di Napoli.

§ Negotiatione di Mons^r Seg. MS.

|| Cabrera is classical on this head: "Ayudaba al Rey muy bien el fruto dela nueva imposicion de la alcavala de diez por ciento, y lo que procedia de las rentas del estanco o reservas reales de los naipes, açogue, soliman salinas;" decisive against Gallardo Fernandez, *Origen de las rentas de España*, tom. i. which fixes the first imposition of duty on playing cards at '1636, poco mas o menos.' The same author too does not sufficiently define the final augmentation of the alcavala, p. 165.

* Remonstrances of the Cortes in Marina's Teoria, i. 304; li. 394.

† List of the contributions in kind in the papers, "Dell' apparato della guerra quest' anno, 1588," printed in the Tesoro politico, i. 67.

‡ Gallardo Fernandez, *Origen de la Comision de los servicios de millones*, in *Origen, etc. de las rentas*, 47.

§ Khevenhiller, *Annales Ferdin.* tom. iii. p. 772.

part of the loan was probably furnished by foreign commercial houses; it reached about 850,000 ducats. But the towns, though so very ready with their services, though pledged speedily to furnish the sums they could not instantly pay, nevertheless could not supply 250,000 ducats of anticipated taxation*.

It now happened very opportunely that richer fleets arrived from America. Contarini estimates Philip II.'s American revenues for the year 1593 at two millions of scudi, which is certainly not too high. Potosi alone yielded for fifty years after 1579 a quinto of more than a million of piastres †. The employment of quicksilver in the reduction of the ore had been introduced there about the year 1574 ‡, and to this improvement the increased produce of the mines had undoubtedly been owing. The fleet brought home extraordinary wealth in the beginning of the 17th century, upwards of ten millions of ducats in 1613 and 1615, upwards of eleven in 1608, 1612, 1614, and 1616, and actually upwards of fourteen in 1620 and 1624; of these sums above a million and a half was always for the king, more usually between two and three millions, and once four millions §. The receipts cannot have been much less towards the close of the sixteenth century; only such was the king's financial economy, nay that of the country itself, that it was spent before it arrived. Castile seemed to receive this money only to pass it away forthwith. The fact seems incredible, yet it rests on the positive assertion of a trustworthy man, Gonzales Davila, that in the year 1595, which must have furnished the collective produce of some three years, thirty-five millions of scudi in gold and silver crossed the bar of San Lucar, and that of all this wealth not a real remained in Castile in the year 1596 ||.

At the same time the state in which things stood, and the sort of system pursued in matters of finance, may be inferred from the official documents of this year, the fifth that strikes us as peculiarly important. The king, who had once more commissioned his counsellors to inquire into the causes of his bad circumstances, began now to complain, that whereas nothing remained to him from his rich and powerful kingdoms and the pope's gratuities, and whereas his treasury was clean emptied, all this was attributable solely to the heavy interest with the payment of which he was burthened. He had recourse anew to the measures of 1575. He decided that the pledged revenues, rights, and possessions, and the assignments made to the state creditors, should be withdrawn from them, and placed under the royal administration, and that more reasonable interest should be paid out of their proceeds. Hereupon the old panic was renewed in Spain, Italy, Germany, and the Netherlands, and bankruptcies already began. The Florentine houses alone lost several millions. There was no commercial man in Pisa and Florence who was not a loser ¶. Long and vainly did the state creditors exert every influence in their power with the king's ministers, with the clerical persons who

had his ear, and with himself: at last they procured a mitigation, but by what means? Only by consenting to grant new loans. They promised a loan of eight millions of ducats, but on such terms that they were only to pay down 7,200,000 ducats, and that within a period of eighteen months, whilst they were to receive back the whole eight millions within four years out of the extraordinary services up to the year 1600, out of the Indian revenues of the years 1598 and 1599, out of the proceeds of the cruzada of 1599 and 1600, and finally a whole million from the sale of places, and from "other revenues yet to be devised." They had then, on the whole, the moderate profit of ten per cent. for four years; still it is evident that the main receipts of the following years were anticipated and consumed by this loan*.

In fact, every year ruined that which succeeded it. In the year 1598, the king had to send round from door to door in quest of a new donative, which Davila calls downright an alms. This author adds, that what was lost in reputation on this occasion was of more moment than the money scraped together.

Here we have then the strange spectacle of a king exhausting his dominions to the utmost of his ability, yet always having his coffers empty; all the gold and silver that augmented the existing stock in Europe passing into his hands, and never remaining a moment his own; enormous sums raised, yet not a real squandered. Next to the expenses of his wars, it was chiefly the system of finance inherited from his father, which he suffered to go on as he found it, and against which he would not employ any radical remedy, that ruined him as it had ruined Charles.

Meanwhile Castile went on paying its taxes with difficulty. Contarini states that it yielded thirty millions of scudi during the four years he resided there †. It was with sore murmuring it paid these sums. Those who were inscribed in the new encabezamiento, say the cortes of 1594 (for the millones was raised like the servicio, and with it), were incapable of defraying the sums imposed on them. It appeared, they said, from the papers delivered into his majesty's exchequer, that many persons had farmed out their incomes, and that the sums they received were not equal to those demanded of them. Upwards of two hundred ciudades, villas, and localities had not acceded to the encabezamiento; they preferred enduring all the oppressions of the collectors. His majesty had indeed remitted a million, but it was as impossible to raise the reduced sum as the whole ‡.

* The king's decrees, and circumstantial accounts in Khevenhiller of the years 1596 and 1598. Thuanus, Historie, lib. cxvii. tom. iii. p. 777.

† Tomaso Contarini, Relatione di Spagna. "Nei 4 anni che io sono stato a quella corte, gli fu fatta una imposizione straordinaria di 6 milioni da pagarsi in 4 anni et un altro donativo di 2 milioni in due anni, di modo che in 4 anni S. M. ha cavato di quel regno 30 milioni d'oro, la qual somma è altro tanto vera quanto pare incredibile: onde per queste insopportabili gravetze si sono grandemente afflitti et estenuati quelli popoli." He computes the yearly revenues of the whole monarchy at 14,560,000 scudi; certainly too low. Milan, which yielded about 1,200,000 scudi, is here set down at 900,000, and Naples, which gave more than two millions and a half, at 1,200,000. It is always exceedingly difficult to state general amounts with certainty.

‡ Memorial del reyno en principio de las cortes ao 1594. Marina, Apendice, 169.

* Ib. p. 870.

† Table given by Alex. von Humboldt, iv. 175.

‡ Ulloa, Entreteneamientos, German translation, ii. 40, with Schneider's annotations, 226.

§ Laet, Hispania, p. 400.

¶ Davila, Vida y hechos del Rey Felipe, iii. p. 35.

¶ Galuzzi, Istoria del Granducato di Toscana, tom. iii. p. 285. Lettres du cardinal d'Ossat, n. 82.

The answer was, that his majesty's notorious necessities did not allow of his attending to these remonstrances. In fact, whilst Contarini remarks that the taxes paid by the people were extravagant, that it had been and would be ruined by them, and with the best volition would probably not be much longer in a condition to pay them, he is yet obliged to confess that it was quite impossible to remedy the evil, since even such great imposts were not adequate to the necessities of the state*.

Such was the manner in which Philip II. administered the public wealth in Castile and in the rest of his empire. Castile may be compared to a lake from which more water was drawn for works of various kinds than the sources which fed it could replace; endeavours were made to enrich it with a new influx, but before this reached the lake, the waters in its own channel were also consumed.

3. *Finances under Philip III.*

Castile exhausted itself of men in order to keep the Netherlands Spanish, to bridle Italy and hold it in obedience, and to maintain the ascendancy of the catholic faith. For the same ends it exhausted itself of money: the interest to be paid entailed on the current year the expenses of its predecessors; pensions were bestowed to uphold a party; the expenses of war went on continually. There was in this case no lavish profusion at home arising out of the personal qualities of the sovereign, as was the case in France under Henry III.; the foreign relations of the country, in the shape they assumed in the course of time, wasted and consumed its energies.

Lerma therefore had almost a more difficult problem to solve than Sully. Could he withhold the payment of interest? The old king's example showed what fruits were borne by such a measure. Or could he suppress the pensions? They were indeed very considerable. For instance, in order to gain the duke of Urbino, though a man of no great weight, Philip II. had granted him 12,000 scudi for his table, and pay for four colonels, twenty captains, one hundred heavy, and two hundred light cavalry, and two companies of infantry†. But as the Spaniards had everywhere incurred enmity, and called up opponents; as France was powerful enough to rally all these around her, it would have been very rash to alienate the friends of the monarchy by withholding from them the usual gratuities. In the year 1600, Spain actually maintained in the states of the church not only the duke of Urbino, but as many barons as ever it could‡, Orsini, Cesarini, Gaetani, and besides these no few cardinals. Sarpi asserts in 1609, that there was not a town in Italy in which Spain had not paid retainers§. It kept up a party of its own by

the like means in Switzerland, in Germany, and in England. One thing, however, Lerma did, which was by all means necessary; he gradually gave peace to the empire. But whilst he did this, he began to spend in the interior as much as Philip II. had done in war; he introduced habits of profusion at home.

How much was he himself enriched from the public wealth! He was able to spend on the occasion of the king's marriage 300,000 ducats, and 400,000 on the betrothal of the infant of Spain and madame royale of France; and according to the accounts of his own house, 1,152,283 ducats on pious foundations alone. His relations and retainers lived in the same sumptuous style; Miranda collected a great stock of jewels; Calderon was incredibly rich. The salaries of the officers of state were soon advanced a third higher than under Philip II. But besides this, what sums were required for the frequent festivities, the high play, the change of abode of the court, the journeys, and the gratuities bestowed on the grandes who had flocked back to the capital! The king's marriage cost him 950,000 ducats, about as much as the conquest of Naples had cost Ferdinand the Catholic*.

Thus in spite of peace the embarrassments of the empire only grew more distressing; recourse was had to still more extraordinary measures than under Philip II. The king issued an edict in 1600, stating, that "foremost among the causes of the public need he found the manufacture of silver into articles of daily use. How much better were it that it should be in circulation! To put a stop to so great an evil he desired to know the quantity that existed, both white and gilded. Therefore he commanded a declaration of all silver plate to be made within ten days,—he the king." What could have been the intention of this? Was it to despoil private persons of their silver plate? Or was it the fact, as some asserted, that the pope had lent the king the half of that which was in the churches? The clergy were refractory; the monks preached against the measure; even the king's confessor was against it; and so the end of the matter was, that the government had to content itself with the voluntary contributions made by some bishops and cathedrals, in accordance with the examples set by the bishops of Valladolid and Zamora†. But the new government had shown what arbitrary measures it was capable of; and speedily it gave further proof of this in a still higher degree.

In the year 1603 two members of the royal council of finances and of the council of Castile proposed an alteration in the value of the coinage. So intense were the embarrassments of the state, that this extravagant measure was caught at as "a suggestion from heaven." The value of copper was raised from two to four just as though Castile were a commercial state compact and complete within itself. We may imagine what profit was reckoned on, when 6,320,440 ducats worth of copper were coined at this rate.

* Davila, Hans Khevenhiller in *Annal. Ferdin. vi.* 3035. *Relatione della vita, etc.*

† Edict of Oct. 29, 1600. *Relatione della vita, etc.* "Se bene alcuni s'acquietarono, altri però nol fecero nè vollero obedire a questo comandamento." This *Relatione* mentions a brief, "acchiole potesse pigliar l'argento lavorato per servizio degl'arcivescovi, vescovi, prelati e cavalieri degl'ordini militari," with a condition of restoration within eight years; the provisions of the brief however were not enforced.

* "Le gravzze sono così esorbitanti che hanno consumato et tuttavia vanno consumando quei popoli et specialmente quei di Spagna, onde in breve tempo non corrispondano quella eccessiva somma de danari che al presente contribuiscono. In tutto che l'impositioni siano eccessive, di gran lunga non suppliscono alla grandezza del bisogno."

† Lettre du cardinal Bellay; Ribier, *Mémoires et lettres d'estat*, ii. 760.

‡ Delino, *Relatione di Roma*, MS. "Quanti più possono non solo valendosi di colonelli dependenti, ma di molti altri."

§ *Litteræ Sarpii ad Leschassenum. Le Bret. Magaz.* i. 501.

But neither can there be any difficulty in guessing what was the actual result. The traders of half the world hastened to transport their copper to Castile, where that metal bore so high a price. The Castilians too were gainers by this exchange; it was carried on with extreme rapidity in Cadiz, San Lucar, Puerto de Santa Maria, Malaga, San Sebastian, and Laredo. Silver soon became so scarce that a premium of 40 per cent. was paid for it at court, and the common people were no longer able to pay in silver the two reals which the cruzada bull cost. On the other hand it was computed that there were 128,000,000 ducats worth of copper in Castile. What a state of things! Every year the fleet brought in ten, eleven, twelve millions of silver, and there was not one silver real in the whole country*.

Now, as such expedients gave temporary relief, but inflicted permanent mischief; as commercial duties to the amount of thirty per cent. on foreign trade either ruined that trade, or strongly promoted smuggling, and consequently diminished rather than augmented the state revenues; as the merchants too would advance no more loans, what was to be done? It was always necessary to fall back on the grants of cortes. That body was not in a condition which should have enabled it to make any serious resistance or to give a decided refusal.

When, after the lapse of other grants, the imposition of the millones was called for in the year 1600, at the rate of 3,000,000 a year for six years from the 1st of Jan. 1601, eight towns indeed for a while offered a certain opposition to the measure; but they were soon forced into compliance†. But could the excise, which ten years before did not yield a million and a half, be now forced up to as much more? It was soon found necessary further to increase the rate of duty imposed on wine and oil. For the suppression of smuggling three orders of courts were established, a first in each town, a second in each chief place of a district, and a third consisting of a junta of the towns that had the right of voting; each of the two inferior courts was subject to the permanent inspection of those above it. Did these measures attain the end proposed? Of the tax which should have been paid in full on the 1st of Jan. 1607, a large part had to be remitted in 1608‡.

It might have been expected that experience like this would have taught the government to moderate their demands, and the cortes to be more chary with their grants. But no. On the 22nd of November, 1608, the cortes again granted 1,750,000,000, payable within seven years. And though they diminished the demands on the excise on this occasion by about half a million yearly,

still they agreed in the same year to raise a loan of 12,000,000 on the revenues of the communes, in order to help to extinguish the king's debts with their own*. They continued to pursue the same course on subsequent occasions. In the year 1619 they again granted 18,000,000. Their alacrity in voting money cruelly contrasted with the condition of the people. The less capable was the people to pay, the more ready were the cortes to grant supplies.

But what could they do? It was no secret how matters stood. The council of Castile computed with amazement and dismay, in the year 1619, that the king had been granted since 1598, in the new taxes alone, fifty-three millions and a half, that he had drawn another hundred millions from his dominions, and that every thing was nevertheless mortgaged, all the sea-tents, all the almoxarifazgos, alcavalas, and tercias, and all royalties however rigorously extended and increased, and that nothing was left but those immediate payments which the country was hardly in a condition to make. The king too complained with keen grief, that the head of his realms, the mother of so many illustrious sons, who had gained renown in peace and war, who had conquered new worlds and tamed barbarous nations, that Castile was so deeply fallen†. Still they could not break through the old system of procedure, or shake off the habits of thinking on which it was founded. Even at this moment the king resolved on calling for new taxes that could but augment the misery he deplored; even in this moment of pinching want the council of Castile did not forego the thought of supremacy over the world. Whilst it told the king that with the money he had received he might have become master of the world, it subjoined its belief that all hope of that kind was not yet lost, and it owned that it still cherished the wish. And in fact the Spanish policy strenuously resumed its old warlike tendencies. It is not blindness, it is not unconsciousness of their situation, that ruins men and states. They do not long remain ignorant of the point whither the path they are treading is to lead them. But there is an impulse within them, favoured by their nature, strengthened by habit, which they do not resist, and which hurries them forward so long as they have a remnant of strength left them. Godlike is he who controls himself. The majority see their ruin before their eyes, and yet go on to meet it.

CHAPTER V.

NATIONAL CIRCUMSTANCES.

1. Castile.

WE have now made ourselves acquainted with one aspect of Castilian affairs; we have now discussed the influence exercised on them by the government.

But does the public weal of a country depend solely on the administration? In the Spanish empire this was but one and the same throughout; it had every where the same views and every where adopted analogous measures; yet were the results very

* For details see Davila, s. a. 1603, and for further explanations, Cespedes, *Primera parte de la historia di Don Felipe*, iv. p. 583. All the gold and silver left by a Chilian bishop who died in Spain were seized, and when the papal camera laid claim to the spoliun, it was promised copper instead. Cagioni che condussero S. Santità a levare la nuntiatura al Monsignor di Sangro, MS.

† Relazione della vita, etc., the best authority on this subject. "Avenga che molti et gravi inconvenienti se presentassero, il papa Clemente concedè un breve, accioche per questo tributo contribuisse tanto il stato ecclesiastico quanto il secolare." This throws light on a somewhat obscure passage in n. 274 of Card. Ossat's letters.

‡ Gallardo Fernandez, Origen, etc. l. 49.

* Khevenhiller, *Annal. Ferdin.* vii. 117.

† Manifesto of the king and the Gran Consejo de Castilla, Davila, *Felipe III.*, p. 218.

different in the several provinces. A sovereign can only promote, he cannot create; he may impede, but never can he singly destroy.

A peculiar reciprocal re-action between the character of the administration and that of the nation, is evident in Castile.

People have sometimes possessed themselves with the notion that Castile was very flourishing, populous, and industrious in the beginning of the sixteenth century. But there is no proof of this. In the year 1526, when Peru had not yet begun to allure adventurers to America, and when the dominion of the Burgundo-Austrian kings could not yet have begun to exercise the disastrous influence ascribed to it, the Venetian traveller, Navagero, describes the country in a manner quite corresponding with the state in which we find it at a later period. He speaks of Catalonia even as stripped of inhabitants, and poor in agriculture; Aragon deserted and little cultivated, except where its rivers produced a little more animation; the old water courses, which were indispensable to comfort and prosperity, in a state of decay, even about populous towns such as Toledo; in the rest of Castile many a long tract of wilderness, in which nothing was to be met with except now and then a venta usually uninhabited, and more like a caravanserai than an inn. It was only in Valladolid, Seville, and Granada, that some trade flourished *. It is in vain, too, that we look into commercial books of the middle ages for the names of trading towns in Castile. When exportation is spoken of in the royal decrees, the only articles mentioned are raw materials, corn and silk, hides and wool, iron and steel; but when importation is in question foreign manufactures are mentioned †.

This was not a decay of the nation; it was rather its natural condition, and was in keeping with its most peculiar institutions.

It is indeed highly deserving of attention, that the distinction so long subsisted which grew up on the recovery of the country between the liberators and the liberated, between those who descended from the mountains with arms in their hands, and those who were found by them cultivating the soil. This was the distinction between *hijosdalgo* and *pecheros*. The *hijosdalgo* owed their rights to arms which it was their vocation to bear. "They must be treated with favour," said Ferdinand and Isabella, "for it is with them we make our conquests ‡." It was the *hidalgo's* privilege that neither his house, nor his horse, nor his mule, nor his arms, should be taken from him for debt, much less that he should be curtailed in his personal freedom. He was exempt from the application of torture §. But what, above all, distinguished him was the right of not being liable to pay taxes. The *pecheros* on the other hand paid taxes; trade and agriculture were their vocations, as war was that of the *hijosdalgo*. They too undoubtedly had their honour, and the king called them good men; they asserted moreover their right of portioning out among themselves the

taxes they had to pay without the interference of a *hijosdalgo* *, and they frequently filled most of the public posts in the pueblos †. But, in fact, and how should it have been otherwise, the *hidalgos* were regarded as the right hand of the nation. The offices of state were committed to them; the towns took it amiss when any person engaged in trade was named *corregidor* over them ‡; the cortes of Aragon would not tolerate among them any one who had to do with traffic; in short, public opinion declared in favour of the order of *hijosdalgo*. Every one would fain have passed his life like them, in high honour, and exempt from wearisome toil. Numberless persons made just or spurious claims to the privileges of the *hidalguia*; so numerous were the lawsuits on this subject, that Saturday was always set apart for them in every court, and frequently was not enough for the business in hand §. It naturally followed from all this that a general aversion grew up against mechanical employments and traffic, trade and industry. And is it really so absolutely excellent and laudable a thing to devote one's days to occupations, that although intrinsically insignificant, yet consume a whole lifetime for the purpose of gaining gold from others?—Good! But be sure that all is right and honourable in the occupations you prefer to these. Be sure that the likings and dislikings you encourage do not run into extravagance and absurdity. Above all, it is necessary that the balance be so adjusted, that the welfare of the nation be not perilled.

A balance seems to have existed still under Charles. Undoubtedly he afforded the amplest food to the warlike propensities of the nation; Europe opened to its campaigns; Asia just then in most hostile contrast with it; the African coasts often filled with its arms; besides this a new world to conquer and to people. Now if the people was found to be martially disposed, it was also found sober and temperate. The sons long obeyed their fathers; the daughters sat long by their mother's side, and wrought their marriage outfit. They married late; the men not before the thirtieth, the women not before the twenty-fifth year. Luxury was still within bounds. Some sought renown in arms; others lived on the produce of their lands and their cattle; others on the interest of their Indian wealth ||. The false tendencies perhaps existed, but they were kept in check by the patriarchal ways of the land. Trade too had received an impulse from the recent events; the new connexion into which Spain entered with the world at large under Charles V. had also thrown open a wide field of enterprise to the *pecheros*. The attraction of wealth and gain unquestionably approaches near in force to that of arms and aristocratic advantages. The Indian trade flourished especially in Seville. "God be thanked," says Charles, in the year 1543; "it has always grown, and still grows daily. So vast is the quantity of

* The Cortes of 1552, *Petic.* lxxxviii. were against this, and also a law; yet it took place.

† Cortes of 1552, *Petic.* lxxxvi. "Como son mas los *pecheros* que los *hidalgos*, quedan (los *hidalgos*) excluidos de officios." They were dissatisfied with this, and required, that where there were six *hijosdalgo* resident, they should fill half the offices.

‡ Complaints in the Cortes; *Marina, Teoria*, ii. 417.

§ Cortes of 1555, *Petic.* cxvi.

|| Cabrera, *Don Felipe segundo*, l. c. ix. p. 43.

* Navagero, *Viaggio*, 346. 349. 350. 370.

† Capmany, *Memorias sobre la marina, comercio y artes*, iii. l. iii. capítulo 2: "Si la industria y las artes de España han igualado en algun tempo a las estrangeras."

‡ Don Fernando y Donna Isabella in Toledo, anno 1480. *Nueva Recopilacion*, tom. ii. p. 10.

§ Don Alonso's law of 1386, confirmed verbatim by Philip II. 1593. *Ibid.* ley 13, p. 12.

goods of all kinds, and the articles of subsistence conveyed thither, and imported thence into our realms, that the merchants derive a very great profit therefrom *." In Granada, the decay of the silk culture, which Navagero had prophesied from the inquisition, had nevertheless not taken place. In the year 1546 the government declared that the silk trade had been and still was constantly on the increase; that silk stuffs were woven, and wrought, and sold, that had previously not been woven, or sold, or exported from the country †. Care, too, was taken that the Granadan mulberry should not be transplanted out of the country, not even into Valencia. It can hardly be taken as a proof of the decline of the cloth manufacture, to find it remarked that too much fine cloth was made ‡. In short, if we cannot just say that extraordinary industry prevailed here, still we must own that some trade subsisted and flourished.

But it gradually declined. Two false propensities particularly gained ground among the pecheros; the one was to pass for nobles, the other to live in the cloisters; both of them coinciding in this, that they withdrew men from the active pursuits of plebeian life, and aimed at the enjoyment of the good things of life without exertion. Both were seconded in a peculiar manner by the government, though not intentionally.

It was a matter of no slight influence in this respect, that the royal rents, which had been transferred for the most part to foreign creditors of the state, gradually passed into native hands. When we consider the great danger that threatened all capitalists, especially in 1575 and 1596, we cannot wonder that they gladly got rid of their Spanish securities. Now, the result of this was, in the first place, that the proceeds of the royal revenues passed very much from hand to hand. We discover with some astonishment from a mercantile ledger § of the year 1590, how Antonio de Mendoza, a trader in Seville, purchased now from one, now from another of his fellow citizens, among other property, rents which they drew from the royal almoraxifazgo in Seville. He tells the price that Donna Juanna received in the year 1555, 14 for 1, 14,000 ducats capital for 1000 ducats annuity, so that, in fact, he lent his money at 7½ per cent interest. But a second consequence of still greater moment ensued. The Spaniards eagerly caught at opportunities of securing themselves fixed annuities based upon the royal revenues. It frequently happened then that when a dealer, or an artisan, had got together an annuity of 500 ducats, for which he required to have some 7000 ducats capital, he secured it inextinguishably to his son by creating a majorat for him. The son now thought himself immediately elevated to the rank of nobility. His brothers too, as brothers of a majorat, began to be ashamed of the low occupations from which their little fortune was derived; they all desired to be styled Don, and they disdained labour ||. Perhaps the sudden success of the Spanish soldiers in Italy, who,

as pope Paul IV. said, from grooms in the stables, became lords of the land, or the still more rapid advancement of the Indian adventurers, had some influence on producing this state of things. Suffice it to say, that the number of those who laid themselves out to enjoy an easy life by means of their annuities, the number of those knights, such as they are presented to us in Lazarillo de Tormes, who lived rather upon their imaginations than upon their wealth, increased beyond measure, and we may well assert that the proceedings and the peculiar character of the government seconded the national inclination in this respect.

The same thing was further induced in another manner. What strange forms does human ambition put on! Because king Philip founded the Escorial with so much pomp that he was called the second Solomon, the grandees thought it no less becoming them to found convents; for had they not states and vassals, courts and subjects, as well as the king *? Their ambition then, and their emulation, were turned in this direction. They esteemed it an advantage to their estates to have convents upon them. Every place in the realm saw new ones spring up, and in none of them was there any lack of monks. What an easy life, free from all care, and yet by no means without weight and consideration, did the convents offer! What strong temptations to this manner of life were created by the grammar schools, which were established in the smallest spots, and which filled the abler heads with an inclination for the ecclesiastical order at least, if not for better things. The families esteemed it a sort of wealth to have one of their members in the cloisters, and in fact they did thereby acquire certain exemptions. Thus the king and his grandees founded schools of indolence (Philip III. and his consort did so to a still far greater degree than Philip II.), and the people were eager to enter them, particularly those who could entertain no hopes of being ennobled. It was when it reached to this extent that the monastic system became truly pernicious †.

Possibly the conclusion might be admitted, that the development of both these tendencies arose naturally out of the position of the monarchy. Its growth ceased under Philip II. If there had formerly been hot wars in Italy, on the Spanish frontiers, and on the coasts of Africa, the garrisons in those regions now remained quiet, and their existence too was in some sort like the enjoyment of a benefice. The Indian discoveries were completed; the galleons sailed quietly from the Canaries to Vera Cruz, from Acapulco to Manilla; the wars with the natives were ended; peace had long prevailed throughout the whole empire, with the exception of Flanders. Accordingly, when quiet and enjoyment were seen throughout the whole range of the empire, taking the place of the ceaseless commotions and the mighty efforts that had formerly pervaded it, the same result took place likewise in private life in the interior of Spain.

Now, if such became the diminished inclination of very many Spaniards for the pursuits of industry, the government, if I am not mistaken, participated in another way in bringing this about, and that rather by excess than by deficiency of care.

* Pragmatica, etc. Nueva Recop. ii. 678

† Nuevo Arancel, etc. Nueva Recop. ii. 702.

‡ El Emperador Don Carlos en Bruselas. Ibid. 283.

§ "Manuel del libro de caja de mí, Antonio Mendoza, comenzado en esta ciudad de Sevilla en primero de Setiembre de 1589 años, que sea para servicio de Dios y de su bendita madre, Amen." Madrid 1590.

|| Navarrete, Conservación de monarquías, Capmany, 363.

* Well explained by Davila, Felipe III. c. 85.

† Diego de Arellano, Consejo.

Striving to aid commerce by a host of laws, restricting importation at one time, exportation at another, they did mischief after all to the object of their solicitude. They had passed a law against the importation of goods from Barbary; but as the country could not dispense with the hides, the Cordovan leather, and the drugs from that region, the consequence was, that foreign ships took in cargoes of these articles in Barbary, carried them to Spain and sold them there at a very high price*. In the year 1552 the exportation of all cloth was prohibited, whether coarse or fine, both frisas and sayales, and also that of all wools, spun and combed: the consequence was, that many manufacturers of cloth abandoned their business, and shut up their premises. It was found necessary, no later than 1558, to repeal this prohibition, at least in respect of the districts along the confines of Portugal†. These prohibitions on exportation were what above all characterized most peculiarly the commercial legislation of Spain. The great object aimed at was, to have the goods in question cheap in the country. The kings enjoined that no one should export corn or cattle great or small from the kingdom, on pain of forfeiting all his property; for the same was prejudicial to their service, and entailed scarcity upon their subjects and vassals‡. The exportation of leather had long been forbidden, and the cortes further insisted that no special licence thereto should be granted, since foot clothing was then so dear, and even more so than all other articles of dress. They complained, that notwithstanding the great number of mules and asses raised in the country, the price of those animals had become doubled, and they required that the prohibition against exporting them should be rigidly enforced. Nay, they went so far as to propose that the importation of foreign silk should be permitted, and the exportation of home made prohibited, because the article would then be cheap, and the profit would be considerable§.

In its peculiar anxiety to have goods cheap, the government applied itself with particular earnestness to restrict the trade in raw materials even in the interior of the country. There was a law that no one should buy corn to sell it again. Another forbade the trade in live stock, another made it penal to buy up unwrought hides, with the intention of selling them again in the unwrought state. All these measures appeared to the cortes well conceived and advantageous||. They strongly recommended, that if any one bought up wool to

dispose of it again, it should be allowable for the woolworkers in the same locality to appropriate the half of the quantity so purchased at first cost. They advised that no one should be at liberty to purchase woad or madder, except the cloth-makers themselves who made use of them, besides a multitude of other suggestions in the same spirit*.

Now there can be no doubt that this officious guardianship over trade in its pettiest details must have crippled the energies of all concerned, and that the continual enactment and repeal of impracticable laws must have been anything but serviceable to traffic; and it would often perhaps have been desirable that the government had not hearkened so much to the cortes. Too frequent meddling and attempts at official regulation will always be noxious to commercial industry.

In this instance, at least, the result was, that the commerce of the country passed for the most part into the hands of foreigners. When those Germans and Italians, from whom Charles took up loans, came to Spain to take possession of the localities assigned them by way of security, they were soon found engaging in other branches of business. The Fuggers enhanced the value of quicksilver in Spain to such a degree that its price became tripled†. If I am not mistaken, the connexion of foreign capitalists with the sovereign was productive of this further disadvantage to the country, that it helped the former to obtain special licenses for exporting all those things which native subjects were prohibited by law from exporting. Certainly they monopolized the exportation of Spanish wool, silk, and iron. Moreover, the great desire that was felt to encourage cheapness in Spain, was beneficial to them in the way of importation. We find that for a while every one who took twelve saacs of wool out of the country, was put under an obligation to bring into it in return two pieces of cloth, and a fardo of linen‡. It was not long indeed before the disadvantages of this system were perceived. Complaints began in the year 1560, that silken and woollen cloths, brocades, and tapestries, and weapons, were imported from abroad. There were materials for all these at home, nay, the foreigner manufactured them out of Spanish materials, and then set an exorbitant price upon them§. Proposals were made for remedying this; proposals which were innumerable times renewed, but always in vain. The evil rather increased continually, from the preference given by luxury to foreign productions. People wore English short coats, Lombard caps, German shoes, and furs from Saona. Though the silk spun by worms fed on the black mulberry leaf, which was cultivated in Granada and Murcia, was far superior to every other kind, the preference was given to Italian and Chinese silk. Dutch linen was worn, and even the embroidery of collars became an article of luxury, which was taken notice of by the council of Castile. Plain or figured, and frequently damasked table

* Cortes of 1552, Petic. cxiv.

† Suspension de la pragmática sobre el passar paños en Portugal, printed in 1559 on a separate sheet with other suspensions, mentions the "Carta firmada y sellada que no se saquen destos reynos paños ni frisas ni sayales ni xerguas ni cosa hilada de lana ni cardada ni peynada ni teñida para labrarlos." But it tells likewise the result: "Han dexado muchas personas, que hazian los dichos paños, de los hazer."

‡ Nueva Recop. vi. tit. 18, ley 27. By Henry IV. and the emperor Charles.

§ Cortes of 1560, Petic. xxviii. of 1552, Petic. lxxxii. and lxxxiv. "Vuestra Magestad sea servido mandar que libremente se puedan meter en estos reynos seda en madeja y de qualquier manera que sea, para que aya mas abundancia, y que la seda destos reynos no salga fuera dellos, pues con esto abaratará y será grande el provecho."

|| Cortes of 1558, Peticion xxiv. and elsewhere.

* Cortes of 1560, Petic. xxxiv.; of 1552, Petic. cxlvii. "Ninguna persona compre pastel ni ruvia ni rassucas ni los otros materiales necesarios para el obrage de paños sino las mismas personas que la labran."

† Cortes of 1552, Petic. cxxix.

‡ Pragmatica, mentioned by the Cortes of 1555, Petic. lxxxiii. and repealed because it was impossible to carry it into effect.

§ Cortes of 1560, Petic. lxxxiii.

cloths, were imported from Antwerp; Brussels carpets were laid on the floors, and writers sat at tables brought from Flanders. If any one was curious in dress, he had Florentine brocade; if he chose to pray, he used handsome rosaries of French make; and when he slept it was within bed curtains wrought abroad*.

The people of the Netherlands joyfully reckoned up how much profit they derived from this traffic; they counted the ships that left their ports with such goods for Spain; they calculated the numbers who derived their subsistence from this source†. Intelligent Spaniards beheld the matter with dissatisfaction. Above all, they were incensed against the French, who exposed for sale in all the shops in the streets their trumpery toys, their chains, dolls, and knives, and had them hawked about by pedlars; who obtained high prices at first for their strings of false stones and coloured glass, as long as they had the advantage of novelty, and afterwards brought down their prices to such a degree as plainly testified the worthlessness of their wares. "Were they Indians, that people should bring them such gewgaws? Must they squander upon such useless things the gold they had brought with toil and danger from India‡?"

Not only were handicraft trade and traffic, particularly in the most indispensable requisites of luxury, in the hands of foreigners; they had also become farmers of grand masterships and commendaries, of bishoprics, and of the manorial rights of the *grandees*; their dealings extended to corn, and every necessary of life§. The country was even dependent on them as regarded war. "Would you know," says Villalobos, "what is required merely for artillery? A fleet must come from Flanders with wood and powder, another from Italy with metal and workmen, both to cast the guns and to make the carriages||." It was not till after the loss of her Italian territories that Spain established cannon foundries of her own.

While matters stood thus, while the Spaniards conducted themselves like the proprietors of an estate, who leave its management to others, contenting themselves with drawing a small annuity from it, and devoting their attention to other pursuits; while foreigners got into their hands five-sixths of the home trade, and nine-tenths of the Indian trade, it came to pass that the government engrossed and used up, so to speak, all the disposable resources of the nation.

This took place first of all by means of the exorbitant taxes, of which we have already spoken. The cortes of 1594 complained on this score¶. "How is any one to carry on trade if he must pay 300 ducats tax on every 1000 ducats of capital? The capital is eaten up in three years. If any one will still be a trader he must raise his prices in such a manner as to cover his own private losses

at the expense of the public; he must ruin himself and his customers. But few are inclined to this. People prefer retiring with what they may have, in order to live upon it, as long as the times will let them, though in the narrowest way. However low the contract may be, no contractor can hold out; either he throws up all he has got and flies the country, or he takes up his permanent abode in prison. Where formerly 30,000 arrobas of wool had been wrought, hardly 6000 are used now. In consequence of this, and of the duty on wool, the number of flocks is also on the decrease. Thus agriculture and grazing, manufactures and commerce, are prostrate; already there is not a place in the kingdom where there is not a dearth of inhabitants. Many houses are seen shut up and uninhabited. The realm is going to ruin."

Secondly, the result was brought about through the arbitrary conduct of the civil functionaries. Contarini asserts that Philip II. was served in the most dishonest manner; that no one felt afraid of the consequences, since Philip, at all events, did not punish such offences capitally, and if he were to do so he would not find a soul to undertake the management of his revenues*. The cortes complained that the costs of collection sometimes equalled the whole amount of the taxes. The despotism that began from above grew but sterner and harsher through all its subordinate degrees. How was the poor peasant tormented with a tariff prescribed him, appointing how he should sell the corn he reaped, with executions often inflicted upon him for his unavoidable debts, whilst his corn lay yet on the threshing-floor, and frequently was he taken away from his labours, and cast into prison†. Here it was that the mischief arising from the sale of offices most strongly displayed itself. Philip III. boasted, indeed, that in his auspicious days justice flourished as vigorously as ever it had done‡; but Khevenhiller assures us it was really become venal, and that every litigant was thrown entirely on the power of his gold§. And how should it have been otherwise, since the worst examples were beheld at court in the persons of Franchezza and Calderone, and the municipal appointments, even to the four and twenty, and the *regidores*, were disposed of by sale||? New places were sometimes created for the purpose of selling them. Instead of young persons, such as used formerly to be commissioned by the courts, and who sought to commend themselves by the legality of their conduct, it became the practice, after the year 1613, to send out a hundred receptores appointed for money, men who had no prospect of promotion, nor any other ambition than to realize the interest upon their purchase

* Contarini: "Tutte queste entrate sono maneggiate da persone macchiate d'infedeltà et che hanno mira più all' interesse proprio che al beneficio comune, et se S. M. volesse venire al castigo universale di tutti, non troveria poi chi volesse prenderne l'assunto sopra di se, et se alcuna volta ne castiga qual' uno, la pena non si estende mai alla vita, ma si ferma nel bando et confiscatione de beni."

† Consejo.

‡ Proposición que S. M. hizo 1611, ap. Marina.

§ Report, vi. 3035.

|| Relazione della vita. "I ministri sono così interessati et ingordì che non se ne ha mai espeditione se non se li oongo molto bene le mani: et questo è caso di molta importanza, perché chi compra, vende; et di qui nascono molti inconvenienti contra il servizio di dio et del regno."

* Luis Perraça, ap. Capmany. Guicciardini, Descriptio Belgii. Arellano's Consejo.

† Houdier, Declamatio panegyrica in laudem Hispanie nationis, ap. Capmany.

‡ Petición xvii. de las Cortes de 1593. Capmany.

§ Cortes of 1552, Petición. cxv. "Estrangeros arriendan y tratan en todo gener de mantenimientos y hasta el salvado ha havido extranjero tratante in ello, y buscan generos y maneras nuevas de tratos."

|| Villalobos, Problemas naturales, 1534, ap. Capmany.

¶ Memorial de las Cortes de 1594; Marina, Apéndice.

money, and who proved a sore burthen to the people from their continual litigation and their exorbitant fees*. This evil pervaded the whole state.

Lastly, the mischief in question was fostered by the court establishment of Philip III. which gathered all the grandees and nobles to Madrid. These magnates had consumed their wealth in the rural districts during the last reign; they had however thereby, at least, kept alive a certain activity in the local trade attached to the vicinity of their petty courts. But now nothing remained to the provinces but to send their incomes to Madrid, where they were squandered in luxury that did not profit the country. It was not long before this was felt by the chief places in every province†.

In this way did the court gradually absorb all the resources of the country, partly through the natural action of its own composition, partly through the rapacious functionaries it sent out, and partly by the taxes it extorted. As the court drew its necessities from abroad, as its wars were prosecuted abroad, and as its chief creditors were foreigners, its exactions never returned to the country, but this was every year more and more exhausted. We cannot conceive how it could have continued to subsist without the Indian supplies.

The state of things was notorious under Philip III. Spain was seen filled with ecclesiastics. They counted 988 nunneries, all well occupied; Davila reckons up 32,000 monks among the Dominicans and Franciscans alone, and he computes the number of the clergy, only in the two bishoprics of Pamplona and Calahorra, at 20,000‡. Every one saw the evil; people complained that if this went on so, the clergy would get possession of the whole kingdom by donation and purchase§; no one could devise a remedy. Most of the other Spaniards lived idly; some under the name of gentlemen, others in the rags of beggary. Madrid above all was filled with beggars, but Valladolid, Seville, and Granada, had also their share. Vassals were seen starting off, as the expression was, with house and family, and betaking themselves to the beggar's profession. Every kind of labour devolved on foreigners. In the year 1610 there were counted in the territories of the Castilian crown alone 10,000 Genoese, and altogether 160,000 foreigners, who engrossed all traffic, as well as the petty employments which were disdained by the Spaniards. "These men," says Moncada, in the year 1619, "have completely excluded the Spaniards from the pursuits of industry, since their productions are more suited to the taste of purchasers, or are cheaper than those of the native workmen. We cannot dress without them, for we have neither linen nor cloth;

we cannot write without them, for we have no paper but what they furnish us with." "They gain," he adds, "twenty-five millions yearly*."

Whilst the Castilians were sending out colonies not only to the Indies, but also to Sicily, Milan, and Naples, for war and dominion, they were thus receiving colonists into the bosom of their own country, who absorbed all its trade and its wealth. But Castile was brought to ruin by both classes; the former it lost, and the latter did not become incorporated with it; their home was elsewhere.

The decrease in the population was remarkable. It was asserted in England, in the year 1688, that the total number of men in all Spain amounted by an accurate census to 1,125,390, and no more†. To judge from other enumerations, in which the men from fifteen to sixty years of age were included, constituting somewhat above a fifth of the entire population, the above number would lead us to infer a gross population of 6,000,000. But there was a visible decrease under Philip III. Medina del Campo and its vicinity had previously 5000 inhabitants; they had 600 in the year 1607‡. Davila informs us that a census of the peasants in the bishopric of Salamanca was taken in 1600, and there were found to be 8384 of them, with 11,745 yokes of oxen; but that when they were numbered again in the year 1619, there were found no more than 4135 peasants, with 4822 yokes of oxen, so that a full half of this peasantry had perished§. It was almost every where alike. Individuals complained that a man might travel through fertile fields, and see them overrun with thorns and nettles, because there was no one to cultivate them. The council of Castile bewailed the matter; "the houses," it says, "are falling, and no one repairs them; the inhabitants flee away, the villages are deserted, the fields run wild, the churches empty." The cortes now dreaded the total ruin of the country. "If this goes on so, there will soon be no neighbours for the villages, no peasants for the fields, no pilots for the seas. There will be no more marriages. It cannot hold out another century||."

And what did the government do in this state of things? Philip IV. asked advice of every body. Many thought the Italian monti di pietà desirable, many were for new monetary arrangements, others suggested different expedients, and many a decree was issued. But did the court meanwhile restrict its own expenditure? Did it abandon its schemes? Even at this moment, in the beginning of the thirty years' war, the policy of Olivarez, and the wars Philip engaged in in Italy, Germany, and the Netherlands, made the Spanish monarchy more dreaded and more intrinsically weak than ever. "Upon this," says Céspedes, "the cortes bethought them not merely of human, but of grander and divine measures." And what were these? Mark the naïf simplicity of the catholic faith as held by the Spaniards. They nominated "the glorious and

* Consejo, quoted by Davila, and Davila himself on the year 1619.

† Remark in the same Consejo: also Davila as to the year 1601, p. 81.

‡ Davila, Felipe III. in detail, c. 85.

§ Remonstrances of the Cortes in Céspedes, Felipe IV. 583. These complaints are very old. The evil had already been denounced by the Cortes of 1552. "Por experiencia se ve que las haciendas estan todas en poder de yglesias, colegios, monasterios y hospitales." They made proposals for obviating this: but they were put off with the sorry answer, "No conviene que sobre esto se haga novedad." Petic. lv.

* Damian de Olivarez, Sancho di Moncada, Restauracion politica de España, ap. Capmany.

† Pepys, secretary of the admiralty, quoted by Anderson, History of Commerce, iv. 235. It appears from the Lettres du cardinal d'Ossat, n. lxx., what hopes Philip's enemies built on the scarcity of men in Spain.

‡ Capmany, Memorias, iii. c. iii. 357.

§ Davila from the registers, in detail, s. a. 1619.

|| Cortes primeras de Felipe IV., Céspedes, p. 105.

illustrious virgin, St. Teresa de Jesus, patroness of their realms, for the sake of the special favours they hope to obtain from God through such intercession." This, however, was not unanimously approved of. Some feared "that perchance they might provoke their hitherto most glorious patron in heaven, St. Iago, under whose protection they had seen the world at their feet, and the land filled with knowledge and virtue, and that they might give him occasion to forget them *."

2. Catalonia.

Each of three main territories of the Aragonese crown had its own peculiar and distinctive advantage. Aragon proper had its constitution; Valencia had an agriculture that made its fields like a garden, surpassing those of all the rest of Europe; Catalonia possessed such busy maritime activity, that a town like Barcelona, which had neither a harbour nor a very secure anchorage, could give maritime law to all nations. These advantages had all of them their origin in the wars carried on of yore against the Moors. In those days the request was often made to an Aragonese king, by his soldiers, "that he would permit them, in defiance of the enemy, to build a town under their very eyes;" but, at the same time, to keep them in good cheer he had to confer on them privileges almost equivalent to entire freedom. The lands of Valencia were still cultivated in the beginning of the seventeenth century by 22,000 Moorish families. All the navigation of the Catalonians had its birth from the wars once waged by the counts of Ampurias against the Saracen sea-robbers, and they won warlike renown and wealth from the infidels. It is with some right therefore that this crown bears on its coat of arms the singular emblem of four severed Moors' heads. Their prosperity struck root in a soil fattened with blood.

We pass over the manner of its growth. In the times of which we are treating Aragon lost its immunities, Valencia its cultivators. With all the pains these kingdoms took to keep aloof from Castile, still, as members of the empire, they could not escape participating in the fortunes of the empire at large. Catalonia too lost her navigation at the same period.

Once there was a time when the fame of the Catalanian navy, to use the language of Don Pedro of Portugal, resounded in all lands, and was echoed in all histories †; a time in which the Catalanian naval ordinances spoke of all contingencies that could befall a ship, but never of retreat, capitulation, or surrender; in which five of their ships were always bound to give battle to seven of the enemy, and their generals to die at the foot of the royal oriflamme ‡. What a spectacle it was, when the fleet was ready for sea, the king and the people assembled on the strand, the three consecrated banners, the king's, the admiral's, and St. George's, were set up, the air rang with joyous acclamations, and all made sure beforehand of victory and spoil! That time was gone by §.

* Transactions of the cortes, Cespedes, 290. 584.

† Extract from his letters, Capmany, *Memorias*, t. ii. *Apéndice de algunas notas*, p. 19.

‡ *Ordinaciones sobre lo feyt de la mar, per lo molt noble Bernat de Cabrera*, Capmany, *Mem.* iii. c. i. p. 54.

§ Capmany, from the *Ordenanzas Navales*. *Ibid.* p. 57.

But even in the beginning of the seventeenth century the trade of Barcelona was in tolerable vigour. It does not appear to have suffered greatly from the change effected in commerce generally, and in that with India in particular, by the discoveries of the Portuguese. We still find, year after year, Catalan caravels and baloneres proceeding from Alexandria to Barcelona; we still find the city and the general deputation of the country busying themselves in the year 1552 to obtain the pope's absolution for all those whose business lay in the Egyptian countries*, a thing, as they expressed themselves, which concerned the interests of many citizens. Lastly, we find the Catalan merchants assembling in the mart in Cairo as late as the year 1525, and electing a council †. Till about this same time we trace the trade of the Barcelonense with Rhodes, with Ragusa, and with the coasts of Africa, which were re-opened by the conquests of the Castilians. We meet with Catalan consuls in Constantinople at least down to the latter part of the fifteenth century, and in 1499 their predatory vessels joined the Venetian fleet in the harbour of Modon, to make a combined resistance to the Ottomans. Catalonia boasts that even Charles V. said it was of more moment to him to be count of Barcelona, than to be Roman emperor ‡.

But, from this time forth, we see this life and activity dwindle away. The last fleet furnished by the remains of the Catalan naval power, was equipped by Charles V. in the year 1529; in the year 1535 we find the last consul in Tunis, and in 1539 the last in Alexandria. Very soon all thoughts of Constantinople, and the remote places on the Mediterranean, were given up. If the consul at Bruges was ever of any importance this ceased now. The old love for the sea could not be altogether suppressed, but it was kept within narrow limits, and had little sway. The general deputation was obliged to impose a tax towards the end of the century in order to equip four galleys against the corsairs.

Now if, as we have seen, the general revolution in commerce, though it had perhaps conduced to this result in a certain way, had yet not done so directly or decisively, the question is, by what other causes was this change brought about?

Of all the causes alleged two only appear to me to have been actually influential in the matter. The first of these was the union of the country with Castile, the consequence of which was, that the whole Atlantic commerce, carried on by the peninsula in general, with Flanders and the north-east, devolved on the provinces which lay nearer, especially Biscay; and this necessarily put an end to the peculiar system of sea plunder carried on by the Catalonians, now that they were bound up with the interests of a great monarchy. Capmany boasts § that his countrymen highly distinguished themselves in the battle of Lepanto; that Pedro Roig carried home with him the Turkish admiral's flag for a trophy, as was well known to his native town San Felio de Gruxoles, where that trophy was depo-

* Representation hecha por la ciudad de Barcellona, Capmany, t. ii. *Coll. Diplom.* p. 344.

† Carta al Baxa de Egypto. *Ibid.* 346.

‡ Scattered notices in Capmany's *Memorias*, e.g. i. c. x. 167; i. c. ii. 67, 69, and elsewhere.

§ *Memorias*, i. c. i. 182. Pedro Roig y Jalpi in the *Resumen historial de Girona*, in Capmany's work.

sited. The union however was very far from complete, and by no means secured the Catalans equal privileges with the Castilians. In many Castilian ports they would not allow the subjects of the Aragonese crown to be fully the king's vassals, on account of the great immunities they enjoyed*. They were excluded too from all American enterprises, though their natural activity might have been of the greatest service in this department.

Add to this the many unfavorable influences proceeding directly from Castile. The king, for instance, prohibited the exportation of iron, and yet the viceroy granted licenses for that purpose; but only for money, only to his friends and servants, whereby the advantages gained by individuals was an injury to the community. Again, the experiments upon the circulation, which distinguished the reign of Philip III., must have instantly produced their unhappy effects upon the market of Barcelona. The Genoese too, old rivals of the Catalans, were now in the interests of the monarchy, and were highly favoured. Taking all these things into account, we must own that the union of the crowns of Aragon and Castile, the foundation of the Spanish monarchy, was more prejudicial than advantageous to Catalonia.

But that which most especially decided the downfall of the Catalan trade was the supremacy of the Turkish marine in the Mediterranean. That supremacy was established by the advantages gained by Barbarossa and his Turks over the Spanish and Venetian fleets in the Ionian waters in 1538; by the league between Francis I. and Soliman, which carried the Turkish corsairs into the most remote bays of the Mediterranean, and, lastly, by the strong position taken up by the Barbary powers on the African coasts. Thenceforth not a single ship of Catalonia, engaged as it was in constant war with the Turks, could pursue its traffic in the eastern parts of the Mediterranean. Shipments strikingly decreased from the year 1537. In fact, the care of defending their own coasts was become a matter demanding the whole attention of the Catalans. The Turks showed themselves, in 1527, in the roads of Barcelona; but, after 1538, they appeared more frequently, often to the number of twenty vessels, and in many instances one hundred. Castles were now built on the headlands, and on the mouths of the Ebro and the Llobregat, and the towns sent news to each other whenever they saw Turkish cruisers in the offing†. They had cause indeed for fear. Ciudadella, in Minorca, was captured and burned in the year 1558.

Thus thwarted by the great monarchy, and driven back on itself by the Turks, excluded from the west by the former, and from the east by the latter, Catalonia had to content itself with its Sicilian and Neapolitan trade. From time to time it made but fruitless attempts to revive the rest of its commerce.

The naval power of the Catalonians had been founded upon victories of Arabian Mahometans; its decline was brought about by the triumphs of other Mahometans, the Ottoman Turks.

* This was complained of in Castile by the cortes of 1552, *Petic. lxxx*. "Los alcaldes de sacas proceden contra los que compran mercaderias de Aragoneses y Valencianos."

† Capmany, i. c. ii. 239; iii. 250; iv. 327; iii. c. ii. 226.

3. Sicily, Milan, Naples.

We have seen that the constitution of Sicily was distinguished for a dexterous parrying of all extraneous influence, and the duchy of Milan for a certain independence of its municipal administrations; that in Naples, on the other hand, the foreign government had taken firm footing, and if it maintained the rights of feudality, it did so only in as far as these operated from above downwards, not conversely. Now the question is, how far did the general circumstances of these countries correspond with their constitution.

Sicily.

In the year 1530 they counted in Sicily, among 936,267 inhabitants, 198,550 men from fifteen to fifty years of age, capable of bearing arms; the property fixed and chattel was valued at 36,285,000 scudi*. Had they then sought to take part in general affairs, they would have been at least numerous and wealthy enough to obtain a certain weight.

But we do not find that they had any thoughts of the kind. They had contrived means to belong to the Spanish monarchy, and yet not to be part-takers in its burthens and exertions. They made it their business to guard their rights against the encroachments of the government; and they were sufficiently occupied with their insular disputes, with the discords that had long subsisted between the leading families, between the towns, and between the nobles and the communes. The general interest claimed but little of their regard. They were always in arms; but never in the field, never in war†.

It is only such endeavours as have some general interest for their object that can elevate the mind and fill it with high thoughts. Partial feuds indeed keep up an alert activity; but as they compel men to keep in view rather the persons they wish to serve or to injure, than principles and a general laudable purpose and aim, they undoubtedly weaken the cogency of the moral impulse. We are told that the character of the Sicilians assumed a greater aptitude for subtlety, cunning, and tricks of all kinds, than for strength of mind and true wisdom.

Certain it is, however, that they kept their native land safe from the frequently arbitrary measures of the Spanish ministers, and in a prosperous condition. They had but little commerce with foreign countries. Lucca and Genoa indeed sent them silks, Catalonia and Florence cloth; but silk was also wrought in Messina, and the coarse cloth, used by the more numerous class, was prepared in Sicily itself, and care was taken to restrict the

* Ragazzoni, *Relazione di Sicilia*: "L'anno 1530 d'ordine del viceré fu fatta la descriptione dell' anime di detta isola di Sicilia et l'estimo generale di tutte le facultà et beni dell' habitanti d'essa per assegnare ad ogn'uno la sua conveniente portione delle gravetze. Et fu trovato"—what is above stated.

† Ragazzoni: "Sono feroci et pronti d'ingegno, ma se bene sono rissosi tra loro et ogn'uno porti l'armi, non si però dilettano d'andar alla guerra, né volentieri escono della sua patria, il che procede dalla fertilità del paese, dove stanno molto commodi et agiati." Scipio di Castro, *Avvertimenti respecting Sicily*.

privileges even of Catalonia, though so closely connected with the island. The importation of the country was amply counterpoised by the exportation of corn. The king never received more than moderate dues from the province, which was in every respect very tenacious of its own interests*. Thus, though the Sicilians did not enter on a new and improved career, still their constitution had this good effect, that they remained in the condition bequeathed them from former ages.

Milan.

Milan on the other hand displayed a new development of the national mind. The people of Lombardy have always preceded other races of men in working out municipal principles, and of all the men of Lombardy the Milanese have ever been the foremost in this respect. If the new achievements they now made in this way were not to be compared, for intrinsic value and vast results, with what they had previously done, still they are very deserving of our attention.

We will first take notice of the nobles, and next of the burghers.

The Milanese nobles were remarkable for their wealth. Not that there were absolutely many families possessed of extraordinary incomes; only some few were counted which had between 10,000 and 30,000 ducats yearly. About the year 1600 the incomes of the Medici of Marignano, and of the Sforza of Caravaggio, were estimated at 12,000 ducats, those of the Borromei at 15,000, those of the Trivulzi at 20,000, and those of the Serbelloni at 30,000. But, on the other hand, there was an enormous number of houses with incomes ranging from 2000 to 4000 ducats†. Now these nobles who kept aloof from all traffic, and who had no public employments to occupy their time, sought satisfaction in good cheer and gaiety. They had none of the ambitious craving for titles of the Neapolitans, but liked to be left to enjoy themselves quietly in their own way. They were to be seen daily in great troops in the streets, mounted on war chargers, or on the swift ginetto, or on mules with velvet trappings. The carriages, adorned with gold and richly lined, were left to the use of the ladies. Nothing could be more splendid than the Milanese carnival. But on other occasions too, how rich and beautiful were the dresses worn, what brilliant arms were to be seen, what fine horses, what fre-

quent festivities! The tone of society derived, as it well might, peculiar fascination and liveliness from the intercourse of the two sexes*.

All the arts that have reference to knightly exercises and social grace, were peculiarly cultivated in Milan. The art of fence was already perfected in all its modern movements, in its whole tactics. The dance was nowhere in higher vogue. Not only was a kind of glory won by individuals among the dancers, such as that Pompeo Diobono, who had also the reputation of being a perfectly handsome man, but upwards of a hundred cavaliers, and as many ladies, are recorded by name as perfect proficient in this art. The Milanese combined the two arts together to form the ingenious sword dance. A place where reigned such a spirit of pleasure was favourable ground for the theatre. The opera presented itself in its early stage in the intermezzos, in 1590, though at first it was thought very unnatural to represent Pluto as singing. How much the pious Borromeo accomplished here, it is hard to say; but we are not inclined to think it was very much, when we look at the names then in use on the stage, and find among them Ersilias, Aurelias, Violantes, and so forth, borrowed from fable or from antiquity, but few names that remind us of saintly and Christian virtues†.

A character of such a cast gave Milan a certain influence in the world. We find Milanese at the courts of France, Spain, Lorraine, and Savoy, as masters in the various accomplishments of the cavalier. Milan is to be looked on as a centre for the corporeal training of the European nobility.

It possessed another source of influence in the inventions and useful arts, which issued from it over the whole world. These are to be ascribed to the burgher class‡. The mechanical arts were plied with extraordinary and masterly skill in Milan. Whoever wished for handsome armour and weapons, or rare embroidery, never thought of searching further, if he could not find them in Milan. The senate was assiduous in its endeavours to attach manufactures closely to the city. There is extant a decree to the effect, that no one who wrought in wool, particularly no one who understood dyeing in scarlet, whether master, journeyman, or even apprentice, should leave the city without special permission, and that no one should attempt to seduce them away on pain of forfeiting all he possessed§. Trade flourished also in Como. Two thousand bales of wool were imported thither in the year 1580, two-thirds Spanish, one-third German, and the quantity of cloth made from it was such as to realize 250,000 scudi. Silk-works were

* Ragazzoni: "Vi si pesca il corallo a Trapani, et v'è bestia assai. Vi si fanno alcuni panni grossi di lana et servono per vestito delli contadini. Gli altri panni più fini vengono condotti in Sicilia da Catalogna di Spagna, et molta quantità di saje da Fiorenza et panni di seta, oltre di quelli che si fanno da Genova et da Lucca, et vi si traffica assai massime in Palermo per rispetto del negotio frumentario." The fair of Lentini served particularly for the home trade. Maril Aretil Sicilia Chorographia, written in May 1537, p. 17.

† These details are from a relatione di tutti li stati signori et principi d'Italia, MS. With a slight deviation Leoni entirely agrees with it. "E rippena (la città)" he says "di molta nobiltà, conservata tutta via da quei cavalieri con splendore et magnificenza. E ricchissima, ma di ricchezze più tosto comunicate in molti che raccolte in pochi, perchè non sono sopra tre o quattro quelle famiglie che giungono alli 25 o 30,000 scudi d'entrata et pochissime quelle da x mila. Nondimeno di due, di tre et quattro mila scudi di rendita ve ne sono infinite."

* A classical authority on this head is one of Bandello's novels, il secondo volume novella quarta, corroborated by the Travels of the Duc de Rohan, 229.

† Sketches, illustrated by engravings, chiefly from a work by Negri, a Milanese dancing-master, "Le grazie d'amore," in Verri, Storia di Milano, li. 336.

‡ Leoni: "Le ricchezze delli cittadini non nobili nascono per li traffichi, di che quella città è copiosa. Ha infinita copia di artefici, si che nominar si può seminario delle arti manuali. Et si può dire inventrice delle pompe et del uso del vestire, il che fa con tanta et ricchezza et bellezza et attillatura che tutte queste cose pare che l'altra città l'apprendano solamente da lei."

§ "Crida, che gli artefici di lana et tintoria con grana et cremosino non escano dallo stato, 6 Maggio 1554." Ordines Senatus Mediolani. p. 49.

set up there in 1554, by Pagano Marino, and prospered well; and yet Como was not by a great deal the most flourishing of the Milanese towns. We find it petitioning in the year 1555, that it should be allowed the same privileges as to workmanship and commerce which were enjoyed by Milan and the other towns*.

A lively activity pervaded the country. The customs rose with the progress of manufactures, whilst the increasing quantity of cash diminished the rate of interest. Canals and roads were laid out; alienated estates were bought back; the poor were provided for. The Comaschi built halls for their corn market, and appointed ediles. They advanced money for the printing of a work upon their native nobility; proposals were made for having lectures on the institutions of the country delivered thrice a week. Como was more populous about the year 1600, than it has ever been since †.

But the city of Milan was above all flourishing. To look at the wide circuit of its walls, and the multitude of its houses, says Leoni, one would not suppose there could be inhabitants enough for them; but if one had an opportunity of once passing in review the enormous multitude of the people, he would fancy they could not all have dwellings. The city was thought to be, next after Naples, the most populous in Italy ‡.

Naples.

If there be no doubt that the maintenance of the customary state of things in Sicily, and the growth and progress of peculiar social and civil habits in Milan, were owing to the independence retained by the rural districts or the towns of those provinces, in Naples, on the other hand, this condition no longer subsisted. Here the whole sum and substance of the government lay in the absolute authority of the viceroy; this pervaded the whole state from the highest to the lowest grade. To form a just conception of the state of things, it will be advisable to turn for a moment from general views, and look more closely into the individual character of some of these viceroys.

Our Relationi mention but two, with some fulness of detail, namely, Mondegar (1575 to 1579), and Ossuna (1616 to 1620). The former, who was already seventy years of age, held it his first duty to provide for his family. He gave one of his sons a company of horse, another a company of foot, a third rich abbey. He had a wealthy heiress taken with armed force from a convent, and married into his house. He contrived also to procure for his wife a regular income of 7000 ducats. Moreover, so full was he of Spanish *sosiego*, that he seemed to be rather a king than a viceroy, and let the Neapolitan princes stand uncovered before him §. He kept the people in utter subjection.

Arbitrary acts, that would any where else have provoked rebellion, such as his invasion of the rights of the *seggi* in Naples, and his innovations with respect to the trade in provisions, here produced nothing beyond confusion and distress. New taxes were paid in obedience to his will and pleasure; and when new donatives were granted, those who voted could not even have the privilege of sending them by their own envoys to the king. Many were of opinion that the king might, if he pleased, have introduced even the inquisition*.

If Mondegar's age made him unbending, stern, and pertinacious in his arbitrary proceedings, Ossuna's vigorous youth prompted him to rude arrogance and extravagant schemes. Such a character was calculated to make friends and foes. His friends could not sufficiently extol him. "He has subjected the proceedings of the royal ministers to close scrutiny," they said; "he has put an end to the mischievous patronage of the doctors; he has visited the prisons in person, and heard the accused; his strictness has put a stop to the daily assassinations, and rooted out the robbers †." His enemies could not sufficiently censure him. "He has suborned false witnesses, to strike terror into those from whom he wished to extort money; he has transformed donations into exactions, and has pardoned the greatest crimes for money; all with the help of the Marchesana de Campitatar, his acknowledged mistress; his lust has spared no convent, no church ‡." We may be tempted to hold the praise and the blame as equally true; we cannot acquit the duke of arrogance and despotism.

Nor were most of the other governors free from these faults. What a strange ambition possessed some of them to annul the acts of their predecessors. They did not scruple to leave unfinished fortresses begun by the latter, and to build others elsewhere. Some desired to become rich, others to have a train of dependents, others to win the favour of the court. But these are not the motives that should actuate the governors of kingdoms.

The viceroys set the precedent after which the whole business of the local administration was carried on. As they had the nomination to all places, nothing being left the colleges but the right of proposing three or four candidates for each, they did not employ this prerogative to select the worthiest out of those proposed, but allowed them to outbid each other. Hence, when any man had with great cost obtained the place of a counsellor or reggente, it followed of course that he strove, by all means, to indemnify himself for his expenditure, and took presents on his part also. The counsellors had 600 ducats salary, and yet they amassed wealth.

adds, however, "E desideroso d'honore con tutto che viva più da privato marchese che da viceré, conoscendo benissimo lui et la vicerégina ogni suo vantaggio familiare. E ben vero che ha causa di sparniare."

* Al Sr Landi: "E opinione di molti, che se adesso il re volesse mettersi l'inquisitione, tanto aborrita da costoro, che non haveria molto contrasto."

† Relatione dell' armata di mare uscita da Napoli per il golfo adriatico et del seguito di essa. Inform. ix. MS. "Con ingegnose et rigorose pragmatiche togliendo via le risse, costioni (questioni) et assassinamenti che giornalmente abbondavano per tutto questo regno."

‡ Memorial y capitulos que dió a su Magestad el reyno de Napoles contra el duque de Ossuna. Copied in Daru's Histoire de Venise, viii. 178.

* Novelli, Storia di Como, iii. c. 2, 109; 43. Petition of the Comaschi, 47, n. 6.

† Avvertimenti by Scipio di Castro and Rovelli.

‡ The number of inhabitants is illegible in Leoni. A correction has been made from 350,000 to 250,000. Respecting the condition of the city, see further Leander Alberti's Description Italica, 681. He mentions a proverb of the day, "Qui Italiam reficere totam velit, eum destrueri Mediolanum debere." [Whoever would reconstruct all Italy should begin by destroying Milan.]

§ Lippomano, Relatione di Napoli, mentions all this. He

The same system extended to the subordinate places; the secretaries of the vicarie received money from the culprits they ought to have punished. The evil spread even to the lowest class of servants: to obtain audience of a councillor it was necessary to pay for it in coin to his porter. This wide-spread corruption was associated in all classes with pride, hardness of heart, and violence of temper*.

The functionaries regarded their rank as a portion delegated to them of the supreme authority, which they were empowered to use in the name of right and law, but in reality for their own advantage. Accordingly they were seen concluding treaties of peace, as it were, with those they were intended to punish or to control. The governors in the provinces are accused of having permitted gross crimes, and even murders, for lucre†. The capitani in the towns should have resisted the usurpations of the eletti, and these again the encroachments of the governors; but how often did both come to an understanding and combine to ruin the towns. The inspectors of the fairs were bound to examine the weights and measures; they took money from the dealers, and let them do just as they pleased. The protomedico sent out commissioners; but if these men only saw money, we are told, they gave themselves no concern as to whether the medicines sold were spurious or genuine. Promises were given to the towns that they should be relieved of the soldiers quartered upon them, if they would pay for the relief; and this was in fact unlawful enough: but how shall we characterise the fact, that after the money had been received, and the soldiers withdrawn, another company was sent in their stead a fortnight afterwards!

Public offices were regarded as estates, to be managed, not only with the greatest profit, but also with the utmost economy of expense. The commandants of the fortresses kept two-thirds fewer soldiers than they received pay for. The *huomini d'armi*, whose duties were exclusively those of cavalry, hired horses to undergo review, but kept none at any other time. The capitani, whose galleys should have been in readiness to repel any sudden attack, used to hire out their galley-slaves for service in the town‡. The masters of the mint used to clip the silver to such an extent that people were obliged to take a gran for a half real. Attorneys and notaries contrived to make suits eternal. Justice was a trade; ambition, avarice, jealousy, and the peculiar mania for revenge that actuated the people, occasioned monstrous and horrible things§.

In this general state of feeling, what might be expected of those whose rights were derived from the sword and were personal? When the barons quitted the capital in debt and returned home, they enforced every right of theirs, even to barbarity. They sold offices at high prices to people who, as

Lippomano says, flayed their vassals alive. They converted their territories into close states, and obliged the dealers who drove their cattle from market to market to purchase safe conducts at an immoderate sum per head of cattle*. They permitted no inns on the roads but such as were leased from themselves at exorbitant rates, so that the landlords, like the proprietors, were forced to indemnify themselves by cruel extortions upon unfortunate travellers. And that no one might prosper, they bought up the silk and other produce of the country, and shut their subjects out from trade.

We are already aware that the clergy pursued the same course, that they shut the seminaries against those who had no means; that they managed the hospitals and lending houses, which should have benefited the poor, in a dishonest manner, and that they took illegal fees for every act and decree.

Does it not seem as though all these functionaries, nobles, and clergy were enemies who had conquered the land, and won the right perpetually to suck out its substance?

They let each other feel their violence and harshness, but the main force of these fell on the unfortunate people, which was burthened besides with exorbitant taxation. With what keenness were the state debtors followed up! How often, when a poor man had earned his real and half by his day's labour with his mattock, and thought to enjoy his earnings in the evening with his wife and children, did a soldier enter his door, whom he could barely satisfy with the whole of his scanty pittance. If he had no money, they sold all within his house. The poor widow, who had nothing but her bed, had it sold from under her. If nothing else could be laid hands on, they stripped the very roof from the house, and sold the materials†.

The victim of the law was now driven to desperation, and abandoned his wretched hut. Many left their villages and took to the mountains. Revolting against a form of society which contemptuously violated every principle for which society is constituted, they began to wage a war with it that filled the land with murder and rapine. Sometimes they united together, as for instance under that Marco Berardi, of Cosenza‡, who combined the separate bands in a body 1500 strong, styled himself king Marco, routed the first Spaniards who were sent against him, and could only be vanquished by a sort of regular campaign. For the most part they acted singly. The name of a banished man or outlaw (*bandito*) became equivalent with that of assassin. Though more men of this kind were sent to the galleys in Naples than in all the rest of Italy and Spain put together, still the country was filled with them. The towns fell into decay; thriving places, like Giovenazzo, became

* Lettera al Cardinal Borgia: "E cosa grande il considerare le smisurate ricchezze che molti di essi sono stati soliti di accumulare in brevissimo tempo."

† Lettera: "I governatori accorduti con chi si sia, . . . si uccide poi l'inimico impune, facendosi apparire colpevole il morto."

‡ Al Signor Landi: "La ciurma vien noleggiata da capitani a mercanti nobili per scaricare navi, per altri servitii domestici."

§ A Landi: "Cose monstrosamente scandalose." All accounts agree in this.

* Lettera: "Prendere un passaporto sotto colore di assicurarsi da i furti con la nota del nome et cognome di quelli che gli hanno venduti o comprati, e ne esigono cosa esorbitante per ogni capo di bestia."

† Tiepolo. A. Landi. Lippomano: "Fanno scoprire i tetti delle case et vendere coppi per pagarsi delle impositioni regie, cosa veramente crudele et che induce gli huomini disperatamente mettersi alla campagna a rubare, dove ne nasce che sia tutto il paese pieno di ladri et d'assassini."

‡ Parino, Teatro de' Vicerè, li. 255. Thuannus, Hist. xxxvi. p. 719. Chiefly Adriani, Storia de suoi tempi, 709.

almost uninhabited *; there was no travelling through Calabria except in caravans.

If the re-action against absolute authority in Sicily perhaps endangered public morality, but preserved the country in its old accustomed condition, and in Milan did not perhaps prevent all arbitrary conduct, but still rendered some municipal vigour possible; in Naples, on the other hand, the same absolute authority, enhanced by the tyranny of those who wielded it, at once destroyed public morality and ruined the country.

That authority seemed to be exercised in the king's interest; but how could the king's interest be promoted in such a manner?

The king wished that the land should be profitable to the exchequer; but this rapacious constitution consumed its own booty with the voracity of the spendthrift. The king desired to have the country secure from enemies: but there stood his fortresses unfinished, half garrisoned, fitter to entice the foe than to repel him; his galleys lay at the mole, but without oars or rowers, soldiers or guns, whilst corsairs swarmed about all the coasts. Lastly, the king wished to have the land obedient and submissive; but a part of his subjects reverted, as we have said, to the condition of nature; the citizens of Naples showed a readiness to insurrection upon every slight dearth of bread; the Angevines among the nobility still retained the lilies in their coats of arms, and brooded over the losses they had suffered, and the insults they had endured †. All waited only a call to rise in rebellion.

Thus does despotism counteract its own purposes by the means it takes to gain them. A sorry consolation for mankind! The effect of despotism remains, namely, the destruction of virtue and prosperity.

4. *The Netherlands.*

So long as the Netherlands defrayed the greater part of the expenses of the Spanish empire, Castile was exempted from that burthen: the former, nevertheless, was in a thriving condition, while the latter prospered but ill. But from the time the Netherlands revolted, the whole burthen of the monarchy fell on Castile. The revolted provinces were convulsed and exhausted by the ravages of war, yet they speedily rose again in renovated vigour; Castile on the contrary was ruined.

But these two countries, which had long been so closely connected together, stood in many other respects in stronger contrast with each other.

We notice in the Spaniards, as in the Neapolitans, a decisive tendency to make themselves publicly prominent, to indulge in brilliant display. They long to be knights, to fill offices of state; they do not grudge purchasing a certain pomp of appearance in the streets, at the cost of penury and privation at home. Injuries prompt them to implaceable hatred, kindness makes them devoted partisans. The men of the Netherlands on the other hand are fashioned entirely for the comforts of private life. In the first place, the house they

occupy must be well filled and furnished with neat and cleanly household apparatus of every kind. Then they are willing enough to fill some public office; but when this has once occurred, they are content and retire again to a private station. Their chief anxiety as to public affairs is, that they may not be troubled in their property by any violation of order or arbitrary acts; they are less disposed to factions prompted by personal considerations *. The former are more warlike, the latter more pacific; the former bold assailants, the latter stout-hearted defenders; the former more intent on sudden gain, the latter on the acquisitions of patient industry.

How different were the popular pleasures on either side;—here the horseman charging the bull with his lance, or driving him down the narrow way from the mountain cliffs to the river, where he perishes †;—there the rhetorical guilds of the Flemish towns giving entertainments in which they visit each other, dressed in velvet and silk, in antique, richly adorned holiday carriages, to hold gorgeous spectacles, embodying in sensible imagery some wise saw or pregnant maxim. The delight of the Flemings was to see oxen roasted whole in the market-place, wine gushing from the pipes of the fountains, men climbing high poles, and women running races for prizes, and many hundred festive lanterns burning by night on the high tower of Antwerp ‡.

If the Spaniards discovered America, conquered it, and made booty of its silver, the real advantage which consisted in life and activity, industry and wealth, devolved upon the Netherlands, particularly on the city of Antwerp in the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Our Relationi remark that no country was more favourably situated for general commerce. It could be reached by sea in one day from England, in three from Scotland, in five from Denmark, in ten from Spain and Portugal: France and Germany were immediately contiguous to it. Antwerp gathered together the fruits of all these advantages. There were about a thousand foreign commercial houses in that city about the year 1566, a multitude of Spaniards who gained more there than they could do in their native land, and of Germans. It was said that more business was done in Antwerp in a month than in Venice in two years, though the latter city was still one of the first commercial marts. "I grew melancholy," says Marino Cavallo, "when I beheld Antwerp, for I saw Venice undone §." The commerce of the city was promoted

* Description in the *Relatione de costumi, ricchezze, etc.* "Gli huomini et donne di corpo grande, di carnagione bianca, di fattezze delicate, di membri ben proportionati et composti. Sono grandissimi mercanti, laboriosi, diligenti, ingegnosi, moderati nell' una et nell' altra fortuna, temperati nello sdegno, nell' amore di donne et nel desiderio d'aver piacere, finalmente humani nel conversare." The author only finds fault with their credulity and obstinacy. Cf. Guicciardini, p. 57.

† It is to be remarked, however, that as early as 1555 the cortes expressed their disapprobation of the bull fights, *Petic. 75.*

‡ *Meteren, Niederländische Historien*, at the beginning.

§ Cavallo: "Anversa fa tante faccende di cambi reali et socchi, che loro chiamano finanzi (is this the origin of the word?) et d'ogn'altra sorte di mercantie, che in vero mi sono attristato vedendole, pensando certissimo che superi questa città."

* Lippomano: "... Perché le terre non dishabitino come ne sono alcune et tra l'altre Giovenazzo in Puglia."

† *Relatione di tutti li stati d'Italia*, MS. "Tutti odiano mortalmente gli Spagnoli e perché desiderano novità e perché hanno strapazzi e sono fatti mol o soggetti a huomini di robba lunga e li loro sudditi contra i signori favoriti."

by the lowness of the customs, though both a Brabantine and a Zealand rate was levied, and it was secured by the fortifications undertaken by the council. Cavallo calls the city the fountain head of trade.

This is not the place to go into the details of the subject. The instructive exposition given of it by Luigi Guicciardini, valuable for the light it sheds on the affairs of Europe generally in those days, has been incorporated in many other sufficiently familiar works*. A comparison between that author and our manuscripts suggests however one remark, which perhaps deserves consideration.

Though Cavallo had doubtless investigated the commerce of the Netherlands as accurately as possible, since he pressed upon the Venetians sundry counsels founded upon his observations†; though Guicciardini, who at first proposed to write only of Antwerp, manifests by the minuteness of his details, how well he was acquainted with the affairs of that city (his book was dedicated to the council of Antwerp), so that nothing can be objected to the testimony either of the one or the other, still their statements are very different from each other. This can only be explained from the circumstance, that the former author wrote in 1550, the latter in 1566. Precisely between these two years was the period of the highest prosperity ever enjoyed by the trade of Antwerp. Even though the facts put forward by our authors should prove now and then not to be quite accurate, still it is easy to conceive how important a collation of the two must be towards obtaining some general notions of the course and value of this trade.

Its progress thus estimated appears really wonderful. There was imported from Portugal in the year 1550, 300,000 ducats' worth of jewels, grocery, and sugar. The consumption of colonial produce increased to such a degree, that in 1566 the value of the sugar and grocery alone imported from Lisbon amounted to 1,600,000 ducats. There was brought from Italy in 1550 1,000,000, and sixteen years afterwards 3,000,000 ducats' worth of raw and manufactured silk, camel, and cloth of gold. The importation from the Baltic countries generally, comprising corn, flax, and wood, amounted in 1550 to 250,000 ducats; and in 1566 the single item of corn was valued at upwards of a million and a half. Whereas the total value of the imports from France and Germany together was computed in 1550 at 800,000 ducats, that of French wine alone was reckoned at a million of écus in 1566, and that of Rhenish wine at a million and a half of ducats. Bruges received in 1550 350,000, in 1566 600,000 ducats' worth of Spanish wool. But the English trade had unquestionably taken the greatest leap of all. Cavallo valued the whole importation from England in his time, tin, wool, and cloth, at 300,000 ducats: Guicciardini, on the other hand, valued the wool at 250,000, and the cloth and stuffs at more than 5,000,000 of ducats, a startling fact if it be admitted, as commonly supposed, that the art

of cloth making was first carried into England by Flemish refugees. According to this, the Spanish trade with the Netherlands must have been almost doubled, the Portuguese, French, and German certainly trebled, whilst the English must have increased twenty-fold, a fact seemingly well nigh incredible. In truth, the Flemish traders in London had advanced within a space of forty years from their crockery and brush stalls to the most sumptuous warehouses stored with all the commodities of the world*. Whilst Cavallo sets down the silken stuffs, the spices, and all the other articles exported to England in 1550, at half a million, Guicciardini values the total traffic of both countries, in 1566, at twelve millions. This explains why Elizabeth was forced to keep on friendly terms with Philip before the revolt of the Netherlands, and with the provinces after that event.

But Antwerp was not alone in its prosperity. What Cavallo extols, above all is the fact that industry thrived throughout the whole land. Courtray, Tournay, and Lille, were chiefly engaged in the manufacture of cloth; camel was wrought in Valenciennes; table cloths in Douay†; handsome carpets were manufactured in Brussels. Holland derived profit not only from its cattle, but also from its flax; Zealand yielded at least salt fish. The net proceeds from all these sources amounted yearly to a million of ducats. The consequence was that the whole land was filled with trade and plenty, that no one was so low or so incapable but that he was wealthy in proportion to his station‡.

Now, whilst commerce promoted manufacturing industry, the improvement of the latter became associated with the fine arts. Nothing more excited Soriano's admiration than the Flemish carpets. Herein, he said, was exemplified what practised skill could accomplish: as the masters who work in mosaic can produce pictures of objects with little pieces of stone, so here the work put together with woollen and silken threads, is not only made to exhibit colour, but also light and shade, and to display figures in as perfect relief as the best painters could produce§. But the cultivation of the fine arts was not merely of this indirect kind; it was also direct, as every one knows.

But how transient is human fortune. The civil wars ensued, devastating the land and bringing sack and pillage on the towns, on Antwerp with the rest. When Guicciardini published a second edition of his work in 1580, he added the remark, that the present times were to those he described as night to day. Subsequently, after the conquest by the prince of Parma, Antwerp never could regain its old prosperity. It was reduced in the beginning of the seventeenth century from a population of certainly 150,000 inhabitants to somewhere about half that number||.

Were these the consequences of a war which the

* Wheeler quoted by Anderson, iv. 63.

† Cavallo. "Li mantili et tovglie a Benoani;" in another copy, "Duacs," no doubt Douay.

‡ Cavallo: "In ogni luogo corrono tanto i danari et tanto lo spacciamento d'ogni cosa, che non vi è huomo, per basso et inerte che sia, che per il suo grado non sia ricco." Soriano: "Traffichi et industria porta continuamente in quelli paesi le ricchezze dell'altre parti del mondo."

§ Soriano: "Mostrando i rilievi delle figure con quella misura insieme che sanno fare i più eccellenti pittori."

|| Contarini gives the numbers 170,000 and 80,000.

* Guicciardini, *Descrittio Belgii*, 158—245. Anderson's *History of Commerce*, vol. iv. p. 61. Bor, too, *Nederl. Oorlogen*, has his "Beschryvinge der Stad van Antwerpen," as he says, "uit de Beschryvinge van Ludewijk Guicciardini Edelman van Florenzen," p. 67.

† Cavallo: "Crederei che il medesimo potesse fare la Serenità Vostra con gran utile suo et de suoi sudditi."

country had undertaken with so much justice, and upon so many urgent motives?

The fact is so; all the results of that war were not fortunate. The division in religion, manners, and language, which is to this moment visible between two countries so nearly allied, was undoubtedly created by that cause. Commerce however, industry, trade, and active habits of life, were not put down by it; they found an asylum in Holland. Amsterdam took the place of Antwerp.

If we ask how this occurred, let us remember that the prince of Parma conquered the soil indeed, but not the men. These fled before him, whether actuated by solicitude for their religion, or for the remnant of their wealth, or impelled by the fear of want*. It was chiefly the emigration of the active classes that transplanted commerce to Amsterdam, and gave its already rising trade so sudden and vigorous an impulse that it became the first in Europe.

Holland made the products of all the world tributary to its wealth. First of all it made itself the medium for the exchange of the necessities of life between the eastern and western coasts of the neighbouring seas, of the wood and corn of the one, with the salt and wine of the other †. It sent out its ships to the herring fisheries of the northern waters, and conveyed the cargoes taken to the mouths of all the rivers flowing through southern lands from the Vistula to the Seine. The Rhine, the Maas, and the Scheldt, carried this article through their own territories ‡. They sailed to Cyprus for wool, to Naples for silk §; and the coasts of the ancient Phenicians paid tribute to the commercial enterprises of so far remote a Germanic race, whose abodes they themselves had hardly ever reached. Vast stocks of the various articles of trade were now collected by the Dutch. Contarini found 100,000 sacks of good wheat, and as much other corn in their granaries in 1610, and Raleigh asserts that they were always provided with 700,000 quarters of corn, so that they could even assist their neighbours in any pressing occasion of scarcity, of course not without considerable profit: one year of bad harvest was worth to them seven good years. Nor did they by any means confine themselves to dealing in raw produce, but even made it an important part of their business to apply their own skill to the wrought produce of

other countries. They imported about 80,000 pieces of cloth every year from England, but in the undyed state; these they prepared for use, and so realized the larger profit in the sale.

Whilst they had thus so great a portion of European commerce in their hands, their most splendid profits, as well as the true renown of their shipping, were connected with the East Indies. Of all their hostilities against Spain, their expeditions to the Indies were what most alarmed the king and the nation, struck them the severest blow, and gave the most potent impulse to the energies of the Dutch themselves. Contarini regards with wonder the regularity with which they yearly dispatched thither from ten to fourteen ships: he states the capital of the company to have been 6,600,000 gulden. The grand and world-embracing spirit of exertion that animated them, led them ever onwards; their ships sailed even in search of unknown lands. Their efforts to discover a north-west passage, and the voyages of their Heemskerke, cast the maritime renown of other nations completely into the shade*.

Every harbour, bight, and bay of Holland were then seen swarming with ships, every canal in the interior covered with boats. It was a common significant saying, that there were as many living there on the water as on the land. There were reckoned 200 large ships, and 3000 of middle size, the chief station of which was at Amsterdam. Close by the town rose their thick dark forest of masts.

Amsterdam prospered uncommonly under these circumstances. It was twice considerably enlarged within thirty years. Six hundred new houses are said to have been built there in the year 1601 †.

A scudo, says Contarini, was paid for as much ground as a foot could cover ‡. He reckons 50,000 inhabitants in the year 1610.

Manufactures flourished; the goods wrought by the Dutch were excellent. The rich continued moderate and frugal in their habits; many a man who sold the finest cloth, was content himself with coarse clothing; the poor had the means of subsistence; the idle were punished. It became a common thing to set off for India, and the seamen learned to sail with every wind. Every house was a school of navigation; there was none without sea charts. Were they men to give way before a foe, they who had so wholly mastered the sea? The Dutch ships had the reputation of rather burning than surrendering.

* Hugo Grotius, *Historia*, p. 85. Proof of this is given in John de Wit's *Maxims of Holland*.

† Sir Walter Raleigh's detailed essay on the English trade with Holland, Anderson, p. 361. *Discorso intorno la guerra di Fiandra in Tesoro Politico*, iiii. p. 323, enumerates as articles of the eastern trade, "formento, cenere, mele, cera, tele, funi, pece, legno, ferro;" and as Spanish, "salo, lane, zuecari et le drogherie dell' Indie," before the Dutch navigation to India.

‡ Contarini remarks, "De danari cavati da questo pesce (aringa) si servono a lor bisogni et a mantenere le guerre."

§ Contarini: "A Cipro et Soria fecero bene et sono andati molti per lane et cottoni sperando trarne grand utile."

* Bentivoglio: "Relatione delle provincie unite di Fiandra, MS. in Berlin, but printed in 1601 by Ericus Puteanus, in the *Relationi del Cardinal Bentivoglio*, edit. 1667, p. 17.

† Isaac Pontanus in *Laet, Belgium Confederatum*, p. 63.

‡ Contarini: "Il terreno per il concorso e prezzato assai e pagato di quanto si può coprire con un piede un scudo." What follows is from Contarini and Bentivoglio. See the somewhat later remarks of Sir William Temple, *Remarques sur l'état des Provinces Unies*, p. 217.

LIST

OF THE MORE IMPORTANT MANUSCRIPTS CONSULTED FOR THIS WORK.

Ottoman Empire.

1. Relatione di Constantinopoli del C^{mo} Signor Bernardo *Navagero*. MSS. Gothana, n. 218. 30 leaves. 1553.
2. Relatione del C^{mo} Marc Antonio *Barbaro* ritornato bailo a Constantinopoli da Sultan Selim imperatore de Turchi. MSS. Goth. n. 218. 66 leaves. 1573.
3. Relatione del C^{mo} M. A. *Barbaro* alla Ser^{ma} Signoria di Venetia delli negotii trattati da lui con Turchi. Informazioni politiche, t. i. (MSS. Berol. Ital. n. 2.) 1573.
4. Discorso sopra il imperio del Turco (see p. 12) Inf. ix. 10 leaves. 1579.
5. Descrizione dell' imperio turchesco fatta dal capitan Pompeo *Floriani* [a Nostro Sign. Clemente VIII.] Inf. tom. xvii. 63 leaves. 1579.
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7. Constantinopoli del 1584. Sommario della relatione di Constantinopoli dell' Ill^{mo} Signor Giovanni Francesco *Morosini*, hora cardinale. MSS. Goth. n. 218. 39 leaves. 1584.
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- of Philip II.) l'anno 1557. MSS. Gothana, n. 217. 77 leaves. 1557.
7. Relatione di Spagna del cavallero Michele *Soriano* ambasciatore al re Filippo. MSS. Goth. n. 218. 75 leaves. 1559.
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10. Relatione del clarissimo M. Antonio *Tiepolo* tornato ambasciatore del catalico re Filippo del 1567: a dì d'Ottobre. Informat. i. 67 leaves. Also MSS. Gothana, 219. 1567.
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INGLIS'S
SWITZERLAND, THE SOUTH OF FRANCE,
AND THE PYRENEES.

SWITZERLAND,

THE SOUTH OF

FRANCE, AND THE PYRENEES.

BY

in lib.
H. D. INGLIS,

AUTHOR OF

"SOLITARY WALKS THROUGH MANY LANDS," "NORWAY AND SWEDEN,"

"JOURNEY THROUGH IRELAND," &c.

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INTRODUCTION.

THERE is something so curious in the spectacle of a Federative Republic, situated in the midst of the great European powers, that a few words, explanatory of its origin and constitution, seem almost a necessary introduction to the perusal of any book treating of Switzerland.

The basis of that Federative Republic, which was secured to the twenty-two cantons of Switzerland by the peace of 1815, was laid so early as the beginning of the 14th century; for it was at that epoch, that the small territories of Uri, Schwytz, and Unterwald, bound themselves in a holy league, to shake off the fetters imposed upon them by their Austrian masters; and the attempt of this petty confederacy having proved successful, it was strengthened, before the middle of the 14th century, by the accession of Lucerne, Zurich, Glarus, Zoug, and Berne. The basis of this ancient league was a love of independence; and the separate states were bound together by no other general laws, than by that simple treaty of alliance, whose foundation, strength, and object, consisted in the love of freedom. Gradually, as success in arms more and more assured the liberties of the Confederates, they sought to consolidate the league, by the enactment of wise laws among themselves, and to strengthen it, by an alliance with neighbouring states. Accordingly, St. Gall, Bienne, the Grisons, the Valais, Geneva, Neuchâtel, part of Basil, and Appenzell, became the allies of the Confederated States, though not at first forming a part of the league.

Many reverses were experienced by the Confederated States during the centuries that followed, in defence of the principle that had first united them; and there is certainly not exhibited in the history of any other people so unconquerable a love of liberty, as that which has continued to animate the Swiss during a period of four centuries—shown in success and in adversity; nor forgotten even at those epochs, when security had begotten repose, and when the spoils of war had spread the entanglements of luxury.

Although at first the ancient league showed some jealousy in admitting other states to a participation in all its privileges, this narrow policy speedily yielded to more enlarged views. Fribourg and Soleure were admitted among the Confederates soon after the important victory gained at Morat over the renowned duke of Burgundy, in the reign of Louis XI.; and, about twenty years later, Basil, Schaffhausen, and Appenzell, strengthened the league, by their accession to it.

After some ages of peace, the Swiss Confederacy became endangered, not by ambition of foreign foes, but by the designs of some of its most powerful citizens; and the league would probably have offered another example of the fate of republics, if the French Revolution, so fertile both in good and evil, had not led to its partial conservation. Napoleon, in 1803, promulgated his act of mediation; which, although failing to establish the Swiss Confederacy upon a secure basis of liberty and union, yet had the effect of preserving it from the designs of the ambitious. A feeble attempt to establish an oligarchy in some of the cantons, and an aristocracy in others, was made at the time when the last struggle between France and the rest of Europe spread a feeling of uncertainty throughout the Continent, and when Switzerland was inundated with foreign troops. But public opinion opposed the design; and the fall of Napoleon

soon after, led to the general settlement of the affairs of Europe, and to the act of confederacy, framed in 1814, and ratified by the Congress at Vienna, by which all the conquests of France were restored to Switzerland, with the exception of the valleys of Chiavenna, Bormio, and the Valtelline; and this federal act was sanctioned by the oaths of the Swiss Deputies, assembled at Zurich, on 7th August, 1815.

The following are the principal points embraced by the federal act :—The cantons, forming the Swiss confederacy, are declared to be united, for the defence of their liberties and independence, against the attempts of foreign enemies, and for the maintenance of internal concord—their respective territories and constitutions are reciprocally guaranteed, and declared inviolable—and they are bound respectively to furnish certain contingents in troops and money, according to a scale of their population and riches. The military chest, and the funds arising from the entry of foreign merchandize, are placed under the direction of certain commissioners named by the diet; and, in case of danger, any individual canton may demand assistance from the neighbouring cantons. The Cantons of Zurich, Berne, Fribourg, Basil, and Geneva only, are permitted to have a permanent military force; and that force is so small, that the liberties of Switzerland are certainly not endangered by a standing army. The whole force amounts but to 728 men. In the other cantons, there is a small militia in which the citizens serve. The great diet of Switzerland is composed of deputies from the twenty-two states, every canton possessing one voice through its principal representative, which he gives according to the instructions he has received, and upon his personal responsibility. To the diet, which assembles every year, belongs the right of declaring war and peace; and of concluding foreign alliances, of naming ambassadors, and of providing generally for the safety of the league against foreign and domestic enemies. In important matters, such as a question of peace or war, three-fourths of the cantons must sanction the proposal; but in ordinary matters, a plurality suffices. The presidency of the cantons is shared by the Cantons of Zurich, Berne, and Lucerne, who alternately enjoy the distinction. The cantons are sovereign and independent of each other, and are each governed by constitutions peculiar to themselves; but, although they have the power of individually forming treaties with neighbouring foreign states, these must be in accordance with the federal act, and not inconsistent with the privileges of other cantons. The principle of free trade between the cantons is fully provided for; and the only other article necessary to be mentioned is, that the existence of the convents, of ecclesiastical rights, and the security of church property, are guaranteed. Such are the heads of the act of confederacy, which was accompanied by another act, signed by the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, France, Austria, Russia, Prussia, and Portugal, by which the Federative Republic of Switzerland is expressly acknowledged, and its territory guaranteed.

SWITZERLAND,

THE

SOUTHERN PROVINCES OF FRANCE, AND THE PYRENEES.

CHAPTER I.

THE TOWN AND CANTON OF BASIL, AND THE CANTON OF ARGOVIE.

Arrival in Basil—General aspect of the Town and its Inhabitants—The Dress of the Women—The Bridge of the Rhine—The Cathedral, and the view from its Terrace—An historical Anecdote—Productions and Constitution of the Canton, and the Domestic Economy of the Inhabitants—Journey from Basil to Zurich—Baden—Strange Law respecting Dancing—A Wedding Party—The village of Dieteken, and its freedom from bigotry—Arrival at Zurich.

I WALKED into Basil amid torrents of rain ; the streets were almost entirely deserted ; and, being Sunday morning, the shops were closed. Every thing, in short, wore a cheerless aspect ; but the consciousness that I was in Switzerland—the novel appearance of every thing around—the glimpses which, at sudden openings, I occasionally caught of the majestic Rhine rolling its vast volume of water parallel with the street, and sweeping the gardens of the citizens—left no room for repining at the unfavourable circumstances under which I made my entrance into the Swiss republic : an excellent breakfast too, at the *hôtel de Cigogne*, where I tasted good bread for the first time since leaving England ; still farther reconciled me to a wet day, and a Swiss Sunday. But soon after mid-day the sun broke out, and in a moment the aspect of every thing was changed. The morning service, too, being ended, the streets were filled with the devout Basilois hastening from church to dinner, which, throughout almost every part of Switzerland, is served precisely at half-past twelve. Let this piece of information be a caution to the traveller who wishes to enjoy his dinner, not to breakfast late, or indulge too freely in the luxuries of a Swiss *frühstück* or *déjeuné*, because every one is not able to adopt the maxim laid down by a certain French gastronome, which says, “ Breakfast as if you were not to dine ; and dine as if you had not breakfasted.”

Basil, although well built, charmingly situated, and containing many fine edifices, is not one of the most interesting of the Swiss towns : it is too near France to exhibit a true picture of a Swiss town, either in its external aspect, or in the manners of the inhabitants. Yet, to the traveller who arrives in this part of Switzerland by way of France, there is much both to admire and to interest. Descending into the street from the hotel, with the intention

of finding my way to the cathedral, I was forcibly struck with the superiority of the Swiss women over the French, both in features and in dress. I would say, in form too ; but this would scarcely be just, because the French female peasantry dress in such wretched taste, that it is possible many a perfect form may be disfigured by the imperfections of its covering ; and let us charitably suppose that such is the fact. The *coiffure* of the women of Basil pleased me. In place of tying a handkerchief close round the head, as is the almost invariable custom in the French provinces, or of covering the hair with tinsel ornaments, as is usual on the German frontier, the Swiss, at least the Basilois, adopt the simple mode of fixing a bow of broad black ribbon a little forward from the crown of the head, allowing the two vandyked ends to fall halfway down the forehead. This does not disfigure a pretty face, and sets off a plain one. I did not find the taste of the Basilois so conspicuous in every thing else. Although the rain had ceased, they still carried their umbrellas unfurled, to dry them ; and these exhibited more than all the colours of the rainbow. The favourite colours were bright red, yellow, and pink ; nor did the ladies of Basil show more taste in colours, than the women in humbler ranks. Their parasols exhibited quite as gaudy an array, and, being silk, the colours were even brighter.

In walking through the streets of Basil, I found that scarcely one was without its fountain, which jetted the clearest water, in three or four streams, into a large oval stone basin, full to the brim ; this, if it does not actually diffuse coolness, is at least associated with it, and is, at all events, refreshing to the eye. In place of making my way to the cathedral, I found myself upon the bridge—a level wooden bridge, supported by stone abutments, which crosses the Rhine, and leads into the territory of Baden. I found this a charming promenade : the streets being wet, the inhabitants resorted to it in preference. I had thus the advantage of seeing, at the same time, the prospect up and down the river, and the inhabitants of Basil in their Sunday clothes. The river flows with such rapidity, and with so much force beneath the bridge, that one almost trembles for its security.

I had the pleasure, in the afternoon, of partaking of the hospitalities of—, to whom I carried a letter of introduction, and whose magnificent mansion is situated upon an eminence commanding a charming view of the Rhine, and the adjacent country. This gentleman possesses one of the finest

collection of pictures in Switzerland. I found among them choice works of Guido, Rubens, Andrea-del-Sarto, Carlo Dolce, Wouvermans, Ruysdael, Cuyt, Berghem, Rembrandt, and many others. I would strongly advise the traveller to visit this gallery : he will find, in the two pictures of Ruysdael alone, ample compensation for his time.

A little before sunset, I found my way to the neighbourhood of the cathedral, where a terrace planted with chestnut-trees overhangs the Rhine, which flows about two hundred feet below. Here I enjoyed a charming prospect, not altogether of a Swiss landscape, but in which were mingled some of the features of Swiss scenery. A delightful little plain, covered with thickets and small country-houses, extended from the opposite bank of the river to the foot of the hills which stretch through the territory of Baden. These formed a fine back-ground, chequered as they were by sunshine and shade. Up and down the Rhine, the gardens of the citizens, full of choice shrubs and flowers, sloped down to the river side ; while on one bank, the picturesque buildings of Little Basil, and on the other the superb edifices of the rich merchants, extended as far as the eye could follow the curve of the river. Switzerland seemed still to lie beyond ; for, as the sun continued to sink, it suddenly disappeared behind a lofty range of mountains which bounded the horizon, and which form an appendage to the Jura.

In returning to the hotel, I again passed and re-passed the bridge ; and observing upon the stone tower above the archway, facing the Baden side, a figure with the tongue thrust out of the mouth, I naturally inquired the origin of so singular a fancy. The cause is this :—The Rhine divides the city into Great and Little Basil ; and in former times, these towns were not always in harmony with each other. It happened that Little Basil, which was not able to cope with Great Basil in open warfare, laid a scheme, by which Great Basil was to be entered by stealth, and surprised during the night ; but the scheme being in some way discovered, and the attempt frustrated, the inhabitants of Great Basil caused a figure to be placed above the archway which looks over to Little Basil, with the tongue thrust out of the mouth, in derision of so contemptible an enemy. I have been told, that the inhabitants of Little Basil would gladly have this insolent tongue removed ; but the inhabitants of Great Basil still enjoy the jest, and insist upon keeping the tongue where it is.

The environs of Basil are very pleasing. How can they be otherwise, with the Rhine for a neighbour ? Charming country-houses are every where scattered about ; and well laid-out gardens mingle with fine meadows, fertile fields, and abundance of wood.

The public edifices of Basil are not extremely interesting. The cathedral, built of a reddish stone, which has the appearance of brick, contains nothing within it worthy of notice, excepting the tomb of Erasmus ; and the Hotel de Ville is the only other building of any importance. Basil has always maintained an honourable place in the republic of letters, which is sufficiently attested by the names of Euler, Bernouilli, Holbein, and others ; and the University of Basil is the only one in Switzerland. Exertions have lately been made to give to the University a higher rank in science and literature ;

and, as the first and best preparatory step, several men of talent and erudition have been called to fill the vacant chairs. The library of the University contains nearly 30,000 volumes, (including the library of Erasmus,) besides a number of valuable manuscripts, and pictures of Holbein. There are also preserved in it an immense number of Roman medals, and a considerable assortment of other antiquities and natural curiosities, none of which, however, seemed to me to possess very high interest.

Basil is quite a commercial city ; and its situation, between France, Germany, and Switzerland, is very favourable to commercial enterprise. The manufactures of Basil are chiefly of silk and ribbands, and these occupy upwards of 3000 hands. There are also some manufactories of excellent paper in Basil. The Canton of Basil contains about twelve square geographical miles, and about 49,000 inhabitants, professing the Protestant religion, with the exception of between 5 and 6000. Like all the other Swiss Cantons, the occupations of the inhabitants vary with the nature of the country in which they live. In the mountainous parts, which, however, form the smallest part of the canton, they are employed in the feeding of cattle, and in the preparation of cheese ; while in those parts skirting the Rhine, wine, grain, and fruit are cultivated.

The great council of the Canton consists of 150 members, and exercises the sovereign power. This great council elects two smaller councils, composed of its own members ;—one of twenty-five, which executes the laws—and the other of twelve members, which exercises the judicatory power. In Basil, no families possess any exclusive privileges, all the citizens enjoying equally political rights. The clergy of the Reformed Church are all upon an equality ; and the affairs of the church are managed by a general assembly of its members, assisted by some of the laity, who, as magistrates, have a right to a seat.

Throughout the cantons of Basil and Argovie, farming out land is unknown, with the exception of gardens near the large towns. The properties of those who are considered respectable Swiss peasants (for all proprietors who are not noble are called peasants), run from ten up to forty, or at most fifty acres ; and good land is considered to yield ten per cent. profit. Many of the peasants have amassed considerable fortunes ; but accession of fortune is never made apparent in their mode of living. From 100*l.* to 300*l.* per annum is the usual range of expenditure for persons living, as we would say, in easy circumstances ; and I learned from authority that admits of no doubt, that not a single individual in all Switzerland spends 1000*l.* per annum. Transference of land is not usual in the Cantons of Basil or Argovie ; but when it is brought to the market, 36,000 square feet of good land will bring about 50*l.* sterling. All land pays one-tenth part of the produce to government in name of taxes.

I left Basil for Zurich soon after sunrise. The road for at least ten miles lies along the south bank of the Rhine, and passes through a country rich in grain, and thickly studded with cherry, apple, and walnut trees ; the north bank of the Rhine, exposed to the sun, being covered with vineyards. I stopped to breakfast at a small inn by the river side ; and

while breakfast was preparing, I walked into the church-yard close by, where I found not only the usual crosses, and the complement of fresh flowers, but also a small wooden vessel, upon each grave, half full of water, which, upon inquiry, I found to be holy water—sadly adulterated, I fear, by the heavy rain that had fallen the night before.

Before reaching Brugge, a small town lying about two leagues from Baden, where I intended passing the night, I caught the first distant view of the snow-clad Alps of Glarus, distinguishable from the clouds only by their greater whiteness. From Brugge, the road lies all the way by the side of the Limmat, which runs a short and rapid course from the Lake of Zurich to the Rhine. The country through which I passed was truly charming: picturesque villages climbed up every declivity; white churches, with tapering green spires, topped every height. The course of the river was through a succession of little plains, among which it coquetted from one side to the other; and these, rich in grain or herbage, were bounded by charming slopes, bearing vines below, and clothed with wood above. About six o'clock, I walked into Baden, where, at the sign of the Lion, I found an excellent supper in preparation for a wedding-party, which had come from Zurich to make merry at Baden;—and there was a good reason for this—*dancing is not permitted in the Canton of Zurich*, unless by special permission of the government; and this is almost always refused. In order that the pleasure of a dance may be enjoyed without incurring the penalties, a certain number of persons must subscribe a paper declaratory of their intention. This is handed to the council; and if the conservators of public morals in the Canton of Zurich think the dance may be allowed, and the republic preserved in purity notwithstanding, permission is accorded. But I learned from the very best authority, that a refusal is generally the result. The marriage party at Baden, however, free from the restraints of Zurich, seemed to enjoy their privileges; and while they continued their festivities, I walked to the summit of a neighbouring hill, crowned by a ruined chateau, and then wandered till supper-time among the adjacent heights, through some charming paths, where I gathered columbine; periwinkle, white, blue and purple; thyme; sweetbriar; mint; and sweet-william—all growing wild.

A pleasant and lively party at supper was an agreeable finish to the evening. The bridegroom gallantly replaced upon the head of his bride the garland of white flowers, which had been laid aside previous to the dance; and I could not help remarking, that in the behaviour and bearing of the bride, there was certainly less *embarras* than would have been shown by an English girl upon a like occasion. In saying this, I do not mean it as a compliment to the English; it is a mere fact, and may be taken either way; for modesty or affectation might produce the like result.

The Baden of which I am speaking, I need scarcely say, is not the Baden-Baden frequented by the English; but the Swiss Baden is also a watering place, and much frequented by the inhabitants of Basil, Zurich, and other places in the north of Switzerland. The baths are situated at a very short distance from the town, upon the bank of the Limmat; and a number of pleasant cottages, for the use of strangers, are scattered upon the neigh-

bouring heights. The waters are sulphurous, and are much recommended in rheumatism. I was told that at the Hotel du Stadthof there are sometimes as many as seventy or eighty persons assembled at dinner; and as dancing is permitted in the Canton of Argovie, there are balls once a week. I should think Swiss Baden a pleasant place to spend a week or two in, with an agreeable party.

The Canton of Argovie, in which Baden is situated, is one of the most fruitful of the cantons; and this is the only one in which more grain is grown than is consumed within it. Argovie, now one of the federative body, belonged formerly to Berne, Zurich, and Baden, and has only been independent since the year 1798. The population of this canton is equally divided between catholics and protestants; and from this arises the law, by which its supreme council must consist of members of both religions in equal numbers.

With the bright morning sun for my companion, I left Baden for Zurich. I breakfasted at Dieteken, a little village about two leagues distant, where I had great pleasure in hearing of the excellent feeling that exists between the protestant and catholic inhabitants, and the absence of bigotry and prejudice by which both are distinguished. One church serves both for the worship of God. The catholic of Dieteken does not feel that his prayer will be less acceptable, because the prayer of a heretic rises from the same shrine; nor does the protestant fear the displeasure of God, because he offers his devotions in a temple consecrated to the Romish faith. Would that all catholic priests were like the priest of Dieteken, and that all protestants were tolerant as those who worship in the same temple with his flock!

I reached Zurich before mid-day, and intending to remain a week or ten days in the neighbourhood, I immediately made my way towards the lake, in the hope of finding some agreeable place to reside in. Never was search more fortunate; for in a charming house, situated close to the lake, and surrounded by the most beautiful scenery, I found precisely what I desired; and, as some guide for future travellers, I may mention, that I there put myself *en pension*, at the rate of three francs and a half, or about three shillings per day; and for this I had breakfast, dinner and supper, a charming apartment, and the use of a boat. While resident here, I enjoyed ample opportunities of observation; and in the next chapter I purpose speaking at some length of the city, the lake, the canton, and the people of Zurich.

CHAPTER II.

THE TOWN, LAKE, AND CANTON OF ZURICH.

The Pilgrims of Einsiedeln—Extraordinary Industry of the Inhabitants of Zurich in the Cultivation of the Soil, and Proofs of it—Zurich Society and Amusements—General aspect of the Town, its Edifices, &c.—Zurich as a Residence, Price of Provisions, &c.—The Lake, and its Scenery—An Evening Prospect—Swiss Music—Constitution of the Canton, and Domestic Economy of the Inhabitants—Excursions to the Neighbourhood—The Griefen See.

BEFORE entering upon my new residence, I returned to the town, to make some little preparations; and here a spectacle awaited me, which quickly put to flight the pleasant images that had dwelt in my

mind since breakfasting at Dieteken—the village of concord, light, and charity. The quay at Zurich was crowded with a host of miserable-looking beings, whose dress and aspect at once distinguished them from the inhabitants of the canton. They were mostly women; their hats were of bright yellow straw; their garments, a union of rags; a scrip, with seemingly scanty provision, hung over the shoulder of each; and in the hand of each was a rosary. Several boats were preparing to receive them: and they were soon, to the number of at least a hundred, disposed in the different boats, and were immediately rowed down the lake. These were pilgrims—poor, misguided, deceived pilgrims—who were on their way to the church of Our Lady at Einsiedeln, in the Canton of Schwytz, to pay their adorations to a miraculous image of the Virgin, and to receive absolution. They had, many of them, come from distant parts of France, Germany, and even Belgium. They had left home and friends, and what to them were doubtless comforts, to journey upon foot some hundreds of miles, and to spend upon this pilgrimage the savings of years. Those have a heavy account to answer, who have aided the delusion of these miserable devotees. I shall speak farther of Einsiedeln when I have visited it.

In walking any where in the neighbourhood of Zurich—in looking to the right or to the left—one is struck with the extraordinary industry of the inhabitants; and if we learn that a proprietor here has a return of ten per cent., we are inclined to say, "he deserves it." I speak at present of country labour, though I believe that, in every kind of trade also, the people of Zurich are remarkable for their assiduity; but in the industry they show in the cultivation of their land, I may safely say they are unrivalled. When I used to open my casement between four and five in the morning, to look out upon the lake and the distant Alps, I saw the labourer in the fields; and when I returned from an evening walk, long after sun-set, as late, perhaps, as half past eight, there was the labourer, moving his grass or tying up his vines. But there are other and better evidences of the industry of the Zurichers, than merely seeing them late and early at work. It is impossible to look at a field, a garden, a hedging, scarcely even a tree, a flower, or a vegetable, without perceiving proofs of the extreme care and industry that are bestowed upon the cultivation of the soil. If, for example, a path leads through or by the side of a field of grain, the corn is not, as in England, permitted to hang over the path, exposed to be pulled or trodden down by every passer-by; it is every where bounded by a fence; stakes are placed at intervals of about a yard; and, about two and four feet from the ground, boughs of trees are passed longitudinally along. If you look into a field towards evening, where there are large beds of cauliflower or cabbage, you will find that every single plant has been watered. In the gardens, which, around Zurich, are extremely large, the most punctilious care is evinced in every production that grows. The vegetables are planted with seemingly mathematical accuracy; not a single weed is to be seen, nor a single stone. Plants are not earthed up, as with us, but are planted in a small hollow, into each of which a little manure is put, and each plant is watered daily. Where seeds are sown, the earth directly above is broken into the finest powder.

Every shrub, every flower, is tied to a stake; and where there is wall-fruit, a trellis is erected against the wall, to which the boughs are fastened; and there is not a single twig that has not its appropriate resting-place.

In Zurich it is all work and no play; there are no amusements of any kind, nor probably do the inhabitants feel the want of them. There is no theatre, there are no public concerts; balls, in a canton where leave to dance must be asked, are out of the question. There is a good deal of visiting indeed among the inhabitants; but it consists either in dinner-parties, to which relations only are invited, and which take place at stated times in each other's houses, or in *soirées*, the amusement of which consists in tea and talk for the ladies, tobacco and talk for the gentlemen; for upon no occasion do the ladies and gentlemen mingle together. I attended one *reunion* of gentlemen, but I never attended a second. The out-door amusements of the inhabitants are scarcely more captivating or more refined. About a quarter of a mile from the house in which I had taken my pension, a celebrated *traiteur* lived; a fine promenade and garden skirted the lake, and there the inhabitants occasionally repaired in the evening to enjoy themselves. This enjoyment consisted in seating themselves upon benches, and eating, drinking, and smoking. On Ascension-day, a *jour de fête*, several hundreds were assembled, and all seemingly for the same purpose. Some had hot suppers, some cold; but the business of the evening was eating. How differently would such an evening have been spent in France!

The great object of the Zurichers is to get money; and, when they have got it, their great ambition is to build a country-house. It is to these two passions that the Lake of Zurich is so much indebted for its beauty, for none of the other Swiss lakes can boast of so great a number of charming country-houses upon their banks. The society of Zurich used, in former times, to be divided into three *grades*:—1st, the magistracy or councillors; 2d, those of the learned professions, and men of education; and 3d, the merchants, among which last class there were of course many distinctions; but at present, riches have got the ascendancy, and distinction in wealth is the chief distinction of rank known in Zurich. Literature, however, has kept its place in Zurich; and no where perhaps in Europe is the study of the classics more general than in this city. The French and English languages now also form part of a good education. The language spoken in Zurich is an abominable patois; but good German is every where understood, and spoken upon occasions. If, for example, a stranger should appear in society, every one speaks German; but the moment he retires, patois is again resorted to. There are in Zurich two newspapers published; one appearing weekly, the other twice a week; and there is also a monthly literary journal.

The general aspect of Zurich is more interesting than its public edifices, though these are not to be altogether passed over. The situation of the town at the foot of the lake, and the two rivers that flow through it, cannot fail to give to Zurich much of the picturesque; and although the streets are but indifferently built, the suburbs abound in handsome houses and charming gardens. The inhabitants pique themselves upon the beauty of their promenades, and with some reason. One, called the

walk of Gesner, is a frequent resort of the upper classes ; but there needs no other promenade than the roads which skirt the lake.

Among other places pointed out to strangers as worthy of notice, I visited the arsenal, where one may receive a lesson of humility, in attempting to wield the sword, and to carry the armour, borne by the warriors of other days. I, of course, handled the bow said to be the bow of William Tell ; and the identical arrow that pierced the apple is also shown. I cannot conceive of what materials the sinews of that distinguished patriot were made ; for the degenerate men of our time are obliged to use a machine, with the power of the lever, to draw the cord even half way to the point at which the arrow is discharged. There is a vast collection of ancient armour preserved, and modern equipments for more than all the able-bodied men in the canton.

The city library I found a spacious airy building, containing about 70,000 volumes, well arranged, and in excellent condition. Here, one may see pictures of all the burgomasters that ever swayed the rod of office. Here, also, is a marble bust of Lavater, the most ingenious of philosophers ; and here is a bas-relief of a great part of Switzerland, by which, if one were allowed time to study it, the traveller might be saved the expense of either guides or road-books. I saw no other edifice worthy of mentioning, excepting the tower of Wellenberg, which is situated in the middle of the river Limmat, where it flows out of the lake. No place could have been better contrived for a prison than this. It is now used as the prison for capital felons, and in former times enclosed within its walls the Count Hans de Habsbourgh the Count of Rapperschwyl, and many other important state prisoners.

It would not be fair to pass entirely over the claims of the people of Zurich to public spirit and benevolence. There are various institutions for the cure of moral and physical evil, and for the culture of intellect. There is an academy in which theology, and various other branches of philosophy, are taught ; another academy where students are prepared for entering into the former ; an institution for the medical sciences and for surgery ; another for the education of merchants ; an institution for the instruction of the deaf and dumb, and for the blind, the model of which was considered so excellent, that Napoleon formed that of Paris upon it ; an academy of artists ; an academy of music ; a society called the Swiss Society of Public Utility ; and many schools for instruction in languages, and for the education of the poor. This is a fine catalogue ; but the number of persons composing these societies is small, and several of them scarcely exist but in name. The funds necessary for their maintenance do not therefore trench very much upon the riches of the merchants of Zurich, though in some of these institutions, particularly in that for the care and instruction of the blind, they feel so much pride, that there would be no difficulty in obtaining double the sum required for its maintenance.

To those who are desirous of selecting an agreeable and cheap residence, I dare not recommend Zurich. Agreeable it is indeed in one sense—I mean, as regards the beauty of the neighbourhood ; but a winter's residence could not be otherwise than *triste*, in a city where amusement is confounded with crime, and where men and women have no inter-

course in society ; and as for the expense of living, if house-rent were out of the question, one might live cheap enough at Zurich, or in its neighbourhood. Beef usually sells about 3d. per lb., mutton about 2½d., and veal a penny higher. Fowls average about 1s. 6d. per pair. Butter, when I was at Zurich, sold at 7d. per lb., and eggs two dozen for 10d. ; but these are articles the price of which varies with the season. Fish sold at no less than 10d. per lb. ; but this must be far above the average price, as certain fisheries were at that season forbidden. As for fruit and vegetables, both are abundant and cheap, with the exception of asparagus, which is brought all the way from Basil. But the reasonable price at which most of the necessities of life may be obtained at Zurich, is more than neutralized by the high rent of houses. They are, in fact, scarcely to be had at all ; and if some proprietor of a *maison de campagne* should be tempted, by his belief in English alchemy, to let his house to a stranger, he will ask at least three times the sum that would command the same accommodation in England. For a small house pleasantly situated, containing five or six rooms, and without any garden, 80l. sterling will be asked ; and the proprietor will not abate a florin of his demand.

It is the lake that must ever be the chief pride of Zurich, and the attraction to strangers ; and, living as I did, close to its margin, I had ample opportunities of appreciating its beauty, and of visiting the many charming sites that lie along its shores. The lake of Zurich is the Winandermere of Switzerland ; its character is beauty—beauty of the very highest order, but mingled with the picturesque ; and although the banks of the lake never approach the sublime, yet the snow and cloud-capt Alps of Glarus and Uri rise above them, and form a back-ground such as Switzerland alone can offer. I cannot do better than slightly sketch the lake from the window at which I am now sitting. It stretches out before me in a fine curve of about fourteen miles. A moment ago it was entirely still, touched only by some light airs that here and there crept over its surface. Now a slight breath of wind has fanned it into a ripple ; and the boats, scattered up and down, have raised their little sails, and may be seen gently gliding past the trees. The opposite bank, all the way along, slopes gently from the water ; and the lake not being more than a mile or two broad, I can distinctly see every enclosure, and can distinguish the vineyards, the gardens, the meadows, and the corn-fields from each other. The whole of the slope is thickly studded with white cottages and country-houses ; and I can count four churches with reddish-coloured tapering spires, half way up the slope, the villages straggling down to the water's edge. Behind this slope, and separated from it by a narrow valley, rise the heights of Albis, about 800 or 1000 feet above the Lake, rocky, and wooded to the summit. Below my window, a beautiful plain about two miles square, stretches back from the lake, scattered with fruit trees, and broken into gardens and meadows, in which the hay-harvest is begun ; and behind this plain, and along the lake-side, orchards, vineyards, almond-tree groves, cottages and villages, are all touched with gold, for the sun is high setting ; and there is a charming tranquillity over all the landscape. I cannot see the foot of the lake from my window, else I would describe the effect of the city

of Zurich rising out of the water ; but I see what is far more magnificent, but far beyond my powers of description. I see the mountains of Glarus and Uri rising above all. It is something if a writer know the limits of his strength. To this praise I lay claim, for I leave the Alps to their silence and solitude.

Scarcely a day passed, while I resided by the lake-side, upon which one or more boats were not seen filled with pilgrims on their way to Einsiedeln. A monotonous muttering of prayer came over the water, according ill with the smiling scenery around, and the glorious sunshine that lighted them on their way, and in strange and disagreeable contrast with the Swiss echo-song, which had just arisen from a boat freighted with light hearts, and with the notes of a sweet pipe floating from the opposite shore. Boats laden with pilgrims passed from, as well as to, Einsiedeln ; but the laugh and the jest, instead of the prayer, were heard among them ; for they had bowed at the shrine of Our Lady, and had no more occasion for prayer !

The Swiss music of this part of Switzerland is not entitled to much commendation. I had several opportunities of hearing what were considered the choicest airs ; but they appeared to me to be monotonous ; nor were they executed in the best taste. Probably, as I get farther into the country, I may find reason to speak in higher terms of Swiss music.

The history of the city of Zurich possesses some interest. After having had the honour to be entrusted with the direction of the interests of the Swiss Confederation, it allied itself with Austria, and was besieged by its former allies ; but, subsequently, it made its peace with the confederates, and was restored to its former rank, and afterwards justified fully the confidence placed in it, by the courage its citizens displayed in the wars in which the confederation was engaged against Burgundy, Austria, and the French. In the history of the reformation, too, Zurich is distinguished ; for, about the same period at which Luther promulgated his doctrines in Germany, Zwingli stood up the champion of the reformation at Zurich, which soon became the centre of the new doctrines in Switzerland.

The canton stands the first in the confederation ; and, along with Lucerne and Berne, it enjoys the honour of being invested with the presidency every fifth year. The inhabitants, with but trifling exceptions, profess the protestant religion ; and, to their general character for industry and moderation, I need add nothing to the proofs I have already given. None of the Swiss cantons is so little under the yoke of superstition as Zurich. The produce of the soil is not the only source of the prosperity of this canton ; there are extensive manufactories of cotton-stuffs, muslins, silks and cloths, occupying upwards of 50,000 hands. In this canton, as in Basil, good land returns ten per cent. ; and transference of property is rare. Large estates are sometimes in the market, but small properties almost never, because every one possessing a few acres of land, hopes some day or other to build a house upon his property. As in Basil, too, a tenth of the produce is claimed by the government ; and there is, besides, a trifling tax for the support of the militia. In this canton, as well as in some others in Switzerland, every individual

is obliged by law to insure his house—a law in which there appears to be much wisdom. The sum paid for insurance is extremely trifling, being only one two-thousandth part (10s.) upon 1000*l*.

The great council of Zurich consists of 212 members, of whom eighty-two are elected in the first instance, the remaining 130 being elected by the council itself. The executive and judicatory councils are the same, both in numbers and in powers, as in the Canton of Basil. The regulation of the church is also similar to that of Basil.

While residing on the banks of the lake, I made many delightful excursions both by land and water. It is impossible to walk in any direction, without catching images of beauty at every glance, or to make a few strokes with your oars from shore, without the most ravishing view being laid open. On every part of the neighbouring heights, too, upon either side of the lake, the most charming prospect is enjoyed,—none more charming than that from the ruins of the Castle of Marneck, formerly a favourite rendezvous of the troubadours, at the epoch when Roger Marmes was its possessor. Little more than the walls are now left to recall those images of romance ; but Roger Marmes and his companions must have enjoyed rare pleasure, listening to the war and love songs of their days, and at the same time looking from the windows of the chateau upon a scene so lovely as that which lies at its feet ; nor could they have much to complain of, if they had no other wine to drink than that produced upon the east bank of the lake. It is very pale, but with a slight vermilion tint, pleasant in flavour, and not wanting in strength. For the wine which I drunk, and which was eight years old, I paid twelve sous. When speaking of the lake, I omitted to say, that the colour of its waters corresponds with the character of the surrounding scenery. The dark hue of the water of some lakes, is in perfect union with the sublime images that lie around ; but the clear blue of the lake of Zurich harmonizes perfectly with the gay character of the landscape. The reason is obvious ; depth is a source of sublimity, as well as height, and their union is natural. The lake of Zurich, for several hundred yards from its banks, is seldom more than from six to twelve feet deep. It teems with fish, which, owing to the extreme clearness of the water, are seen in all their number and variety. It used to amuse me much, when breakfasting close to the lake, as I did every morning, to see the fishes disputing possession of the crumbs which I threw to them.

To the Griefen-See, one of those small lakes which lie a little out of the usual road, I made an excursion from Zurich. It is about two leagues and a half distant. The walk to it afforded many beautiful views over the lake of Zurich, and lay through a highly fertile and picturesque country. The character of this lake also is beauty. The banks are a succession of knolls, every where highly cultivated, and prettily diversified. The lover of eels will find his taste gratified at the small auberge in the village of Mur. So high a reputation do the eels of the Griefen-See enjoy, and so well is this reputation supported by the *aubergiste* of Mur, that the *gastromomes* of Zurich occasionally dedicate a day to the Griefen-See and its eels. Like every thing cooked within the Canton of Zurich, to me they tasted more of mace than any thing else. Whatever one eats at Zurich has this flavour ; because soup

and meat, and fish and vegetables, and preserved fruit, are all prepared with quantities of it.

CHAPTER III.

THE TOWN, LAKE, AND CANTON OF ZOUË.

Walk to Zoug—More Proofs of the extraordinary Industry of the Zurichers—An Anecdote that may teach humility—The Town of Zoug—Its Inhabitants and Environs—A Hint to Phrenologists—Prices of Provisions at Zoug—Expenses of the Government, and Constitution of the Canton—Return to Horgen.

BEFORE leaving Zurich, I devoted a few days to an excursion to Zoug. There are two roads from Zurich to Zoug; one following the margin of the lake for about ten miles, to a little town called Horgen, from which a tolerable road leads to Zoug; the other crossing the heights of Albis, which run parallel with the lake. I chose the latter route, purposing to return by the other. I crossed the lake about five o'clock, on as fine a May morning as ever dawned upon the mountains of Switzerland; and at so early an hour as this, I found the Zurich militia on their march from the town to a field at some little distance, where a review was to take place. They appeared to be well-sized, good-looking men, and were neatly dressed in white trowsers, and short blue coats, with black facings. In walking through the fine fertile valley that lies beneath the heights of Albis, I found new proofs of the extraordinary industry of the inhabitants of this canton, in the cultivation of their land. I observed a field of lettuce, containing at least an acre, in which every individual plant was tied round the top, to prevent it running to waste, and to preserve it for use. Peas, too, which are not planted in rows, but in little clumps about a foot distant from each other, were bound to the stake that supported each clump, by three, four, or five thongs, according to the height of the plants, which in many cases rose to seven and eight feet. In the agriculture of this canton, particularly in the cultivation of gardens, there is one thing I must not omit to mention, as being particularly unpleasant to a stranger. The produce of the byres is collected, and employed in daily libations to the soil; and in the distance to which it is carried, another proof of industry is seen; but this practice, however beneficially it may act upon vegetation, acts most unpleasantly upon the olfactory nerves of one who expects in walking through a garden, to be regaled by the sweet perfume of flowers.

Many charming glimpses are caught of the lake of Zurich, in ascending to the auberge of Albis, which stands about 1000 feet above the lake, and 2300 above the sea, and where an excellent breakfast may be had—and ought to be enjoyed—after a morning walk of two leagues and a half. In descending the other side, a beautiful mountain-lake is discovered to the right, glistening through the firs; and the lake of Zoug is seen gleaming in the distance.

In walking towards Zoug, a little circumstance occurred that helps to illustrate the difficulty of pronouncing a foreign language correctly, and may suggest a doubt, whether our proficiency in this accomplishment be so great as we suppose it to be. The road separated into two, diverging at an acute

angle; and being totally at a loss which to pursue, I addressed myself to three young persons who were standing near, pronouncing the word Zoug, and pointing to the two roads; but, though one would imagine there could be little variety in the pronunciation of a word consisting only of three or four letters, and although I pronounced it in every possible way, Zoug, Zug with the *u* short, and Zug with the *u* long, I could not make myself understood; at length, an old man who was looking out of his window, hearing that something unusual was going forward, came to our assistance; and, by writing the word with a pencil, he at once understood me; and then all the four exclaimed, in a tone of surprise, "Zoug!" as if they would have said, "How should any one suppose that he meant Zoug?" and yet, to my ear, there was scarcely any difference between their pronunciation of the word and mine.

The road, for at least a league before reaching Zoug, passes through orchards of apple-trees, beneath which, an abundant hay-crop was gathered into heaps, and pleasantly perfumed the air; and about twelve, I reached the *hôtel de Cerf*. More than one traveller has remarked the desolate aspect of the town of Zoug, and has inferred, from the deserted appearance of the streets, a want of industry and activity in the inhabitants; and to account for this, we are told that Zoug is a catholic canton. As for the deserted appearance of the streets, it must be recollected that there is no trade in Zoug, and that the inhabitants are all agriculturists. Most of them are therefore in the fields; and those who are not, have the good sense to keep within doors in bad weather, which it happened to be when I visited this town, and which it may very probably have been when other travellers made the observation. With respect to the industry of the people of Zoug being affected by their religion, I hesitate as yet to give any opinion, until I have had an opportunity of contrasting the state of the other catholic and protestant cantons. I shall only observe here, that I saw no want of industry in the cultivation of the soil around Zoug; and that, in catholic Normandy, reproach might be gleaned for some protestant districts in England.

I like the situation of Zoug, lying beneath the hill so prettily variegated with forest and fruit trees, and the lake washing the houses. The banks of the lake are in general soft; every where cultivated, and plentifully wooded; but on the side of Lucerne, Mount Rigi looks down upon it; and Mount Pilate, although at some distance from the lake, seems to rise from the water-edge. Zoug is the highest of the Swiss lakes; for it lies no less than 1300 feet above the level of the sea.

The churches of the town of Zoug are the objects most deserving the notice of the traveller. The principal church is St. Michael, which stands upon an eminence, situated about a quarter of a mile from the town. The cemetery, which lies around the church, was covered with millions of pinks and white lilies when I visited it, in rather odd contrast with the multitude of bright gilt crosses, one of which stands at the head of every grave. At the side of the cemetery is a *Golgotha*, where are thousands of skulls, piled upon one another, each with a label, bearing the name of the owner. What a field this for the phrenologist! and with such advantages, what a blaze of light would be thrown

upon the science, by the establishment of a phrenological society at Zoug ! The interior of St. Michael is handsome and showy, covered with gilding, and containing images and pictures without number, but none of them beyond price. In the church of the Capuchins, however, and in St. Oswald's, there are two good pictures, one of them said to be by Annibal Carracci. In the latter of these churches the treasury is displayed to the curious : it contains innumerable images, crosses, salvers, and candlesticks of silver, sufficiently testifying the devotion of the worthy catholics, by whom these were bequeathed.

In the appearance of the inhabitants of Zoug, I observed nothing very different from the appearance of the Zurichers, excepting that the women were better looking, but worse dressed. In the town of Zoug, meat sells about 3d. per lb., fish about 5d., butter about 7d., and a pair of fowls about 1s. 6d. In the proper seasons, woodcocks and other kinds of game are plentiful ; and vegetables and fruit are at all times remarkably cheap.

In the Canton of Zoug, which is the smallest in the confederation, there are scarcely any manufactories. The cultivation of fruits, from which cider and a species of kirchwasser are made, both of which are exported in considerable quantities, employs a number of the inhabitants ; and the breeding of cattle is also pretty extensively followed. Wine does not succeed well in this canton. The constitution of Zoug is purely democratic—the people at large electing the *landsgemeinden*, or council, which consists of fifty-four members. There is no tax of any kind in the Canton of Zoug. The whole expenses of the state, amounting to about 160*l.* sterling, are defrayed from the general Swiss fund, drawn from the entry of foreign merchandise, and from a monopoly in salt, which is farmed by government, and which brings about 80*l.* a year. The councillors in this canton are paid for their services, at the rate which can be afforded by the commune that sends them. The sum paid by the town of Zoug to its representatives, is four *louis d'or* each per annum ; and besides this, every councillor entering Zoug to attend a council, which takes place about once a month, receives about 9*d.* English. This is all that some of the councillors receive, for several of the communes are not able to afford any thing to their representatives.

The respectable inhabitants of the canton are not in love with democracy ; and the same may be said of most of the other democratic cantons. Law in Zoug is merely ancient usage ; and as this requires intellect and knowledge to apply it, it is scarcely to be supposed that the representatives of so ignorant a body as the majority of the whole inhabitants must be, every one of whom has a voice, should be capable of applying ancient usage with any probability of doing justice. Several highly-respectable individuals in Zoug have, accordingly, told me, that they would gladly exchange democracy for a species of government, which, though less free in name, is better calculated to ensure the rights of those who live under it.

I now left Zoug for Horgen, a little town charmingly situated on the lake of Zurich, lying on the road from Zurich to Einsiedeln, to which I intended going next day. I reached Horgen at nightfall, and just in time to have escaped a severe thunderstorm, which in a moment changed the face of the

lake, shrouded the mountains, and lighted up the firmament.

CHAPTER IV.

EINSIEDELN.

Journey through the Canton of Schwytz to Einsiedeln—A Rencontre—The Abbey, Church, and Village of Einsiedeln—Concourse of Pilgrims—Dresses—Customs—Procession—the Fair—Particulars respecting the Convent—The Miraculous Image—The Adorations paid to it—Bull of Pope Leo VIII.—The Revenues of the Abbey, and their various sources—Credulity of the People—Effects of the Pilgrimage upon the Agriculture of the Catholic Cantons of Switzerland—Journey from Einsiedeln to Glarus—Rapperschwyll Bridge—Beggars, and Swiss Independence—The Mountains of Glarus.

THE morning being ushered in with rain, I did not leave Horgen for Einsiedeln till after breakfast. In the course of a sixteen miles' walk from Horgen to Einsiedeln, one cannot complain of sameness in the scenery. There are, first, five or six miles of continued garden and orchard, enlivened, every few hundred yards, by neat houses and village churches ; then the ground rises, and the road passes through fine fir woods, chequered with other forest trees ; and for some miles before reaching Einsiedeln, the country is altogether pasture land, with patches of trees of hardy growth here and there, while naked rocks, the crevices filled with snow, are seen jutting behind the nearer elevations that bound the prospect.

A trifling circumstance occurred on the road, from which the traveller in Switzerland may glean a little advice. A tremendous storm having overtaken me, I took refuge in an auberge by the roadside ; and almost at the same moment, a traveller seated in a caleche with one horse drove up. " I have reason to envy you, sir," said I, " travelling at ease in your caleche, and sheltered from the storm." "*Ma foi*," replied he, " you have little cause to envy me. I engaged a caleche with one horse in place of two, by way of saving six francs a day, and I have been obliged to walk almost all the way, and yet pay for a carriage." The burden must be very light indeed, if one expects, with a single horse, to perform a journey among the Swiss mountains.

The first view of Einsiedeln is striking ; for one scarcely expects, in the midst of a desolate plain, situated almost three thousand feet above the level of the Mediterranean, to see the magnificent towers of a church, flanked by a range of building that, both in splendour and extent, would do honour to a capital city. The church and convent of Einsiedeln are larger than the town, which straggles down from the gates of the former like a mere appendage to them. And if the traveller be struck with the appearance of Einsiedeln before he enters it, he will be tenfold more surprised when he walks up the one street that leads to the abbey. In place of the deserted aspect generally presented by a remote country town, Einsiedeln presents the appearance of a great fair, and the most novel, perhaps, in its general features, of any that is to be seen in Europe. I found the street and the square in front of the church crowded with pilgrims ; and they being of all countries, the most picturesque effect was

produced by the different dresses in which they appeared. There might be seen the costume of almost every canton in Switzerland, as well as that of nearly every one of the kingdoms bordering upon it—Bavaria, Baden, the Tyrol, Alsace, Swabia,—besides many more distant countries. The head-dresses of the women, in particular, offered the greatest and most singular variety;—some with the ancient bodkin, shaped like a dart, passing through the hair, the head in the form of a diamond, and studded with glittering stones; others, with a coiffure made of plaited and stiffened lace, and placed upon the head upright, like a cock's comb, or a large fan. Some might be seen with a broad circular piece of straw, placed flat upon the head, with flowers tastefully disposed in the centre; and many with the hair merely plaited, an infinity of beads and other ornaments interwoven in it. Almost all the old women carried staffs, and most of the young, red umbrellas. It needed but a slight glance at the scene before me, to deceive me in one respect. It was not of the miserably poor only that the pilgrims consisted; there were many of the middling classes, nay, even some of the upper ranks; and after the religious services of the day were concluded, I observed not a few leave the scene of humiliation in their own carriages. It was evident also, from the number of purchases made by the pilgrims, that with many of them money was not scarce. In the *place* in front of the church, booths are erected on every side, with shops full of a gaudy display of trinkets, rosaries, books, crucifixes, prints of saints, popes, and martyrs, images of the Virgin, and other emblems of the Roman catholic faith. Some few of the shops provided for the wants of the body, as well as for the longings of the spirit; for they exhibited to the weary pilgrim an array of various kinds of cakes, cheeses, dried tongues, and even household bread. Nor was the proverbial thirst of a pilgrim unremembered—wine, lemonade, and pure water, ministered to his necessity. But I must do the pilgrims the justice to admit, that I saw a hundred crucifixes bought for one morsel of bread, or drop of wine. Almost every one carried a small wooden box, into which the trinkets, or sacred remembrancers, were deposited.

Having satisfied myself as to the general aspect of Einsiedeln, I repaired to the abbey, which consists of what are called the convent and the church. The convent is of the Benedictine order; and when I visited it, there were fifty-four resident friars. The whole is upon a scale of great magnificence. The eating-room is more like a *salle à manger* for Louis XIV., than for the Benedictines of Einsiedeln. The sleeping-rooms of the brethren are comfortable, and simply fitted up, with two chairs, a straw mattress on a bedstead, and the incitements to devotion usually found in those places which are dedicated to religion. I saw no provision against the rigours of winter, which must be scarcely endurable without some defence, in a spot which lies little less than 3000 feet above the level of the sea. I observed upon the door of each room the engraving of a saint—no doubt the favourite saint of the inmate. It was a cold day when I visited the convent, although in the month of May; and I could not help thinking, as I heard the wind howling along the corridors, that if I were to choose a retreat from the vanities of the world, it should be where the severity of climate made no part of the penance. In

one of the cloisters, I observed an engraving of Oliver Cromwell—a strange enough object for the devotion of a monk.

The church, which occupies the centre of the convent, I have no intention of describing. To do this in detail would exhaust my powers, and the patience of the reader. It is, however, one of the most gorgeous churches I ever entered—rich in gilding, and painting, and marble, and decoration of every description: there is not a foot of either walls or roof without some kind of adornment. But the great attraction of the church—that which has made the fortune of Einsiedeln, by drawing the devout to it from almost every corner of Europe—is the holy chapel, containing the miraculous image of the Virgin. The chapel is of black and gray marble, and stands within the church; and in a niche in this chapel, erected for the purpose, is deposited the sacred image; and at all hours of the day, from the earliest dawn till deep twilight, hundreds may at all times be seen prostrated before the iron gate, through which the devotee may catch a glimpse of the object of his pilgrimage.

But there is more of the miraculous in the history of the abbey of Einsiedeln, than the image which, in the middle ages, is believed to have worked miracles. The church is declared to have been consecrated by God himself, as witness the following copy of the bull of Pope Leo VIII.:

“Nous, Leon, Evêque, serviteur des serviteurs de Dieu, faisons savoir à tous les fidèles de la sainte église de Dieu, présents et à l'avenir, que notre vénérable frère l'Evêque de Constance, nommé Conrad, nous a intimé en présence de notre très cher fils Otton, Empereur, d'Adélaïde, sa chère épouse, et de plusieurs autres princes, qu'étant appelé en un lieu dans son territoire, nommée Cellule de Meinrad, l'an de l'incarnation de notre Seigneur 948, il y était allé pour y consacrer le 14 Septembre une chapelle à l'honneur de la très sainte et toujours Vierge Marie; mais que s'étant levé selon sa coutume environ à minuit pour prier Dieu, il avait, avec quelques frères religieux de ce même lieu, ouï un chant très doux, et qu'ayant voulu remarquer diligemment ce que c'était, il avait reconnu véritablement, que les anges avaient tenu le même chant et orare en la consécration de la même chapelle pour laquelle il était venu, que les Evêques ont coutume d'observer en la dédicace des églises, et que le lendemain matin, toutes les choses nécessaires à l'action ayant été apprêtées, et lui retardant toujours et différant jusqu'environ midi, les gens impatients d'attendre, entrèrent dans la chapelle, et le prièrent de commencer l'office, qu'il avait promis de faire, et comme il résistait, et exposait la vision qu'il avait vue, ils le reprirent assez aigrement, jusqu'à ce qu'enfin ils entendirent, par trois fois, une voix claire, qui disait: ‘Cesse, mon frère, elle est divinement consacrée;’ alors tout épouvantés, connaissant que la chose était passée comme il l'avait dit, ils y donnèrent leur approbation, assurant depuis ce temps-là avec toute certitude, que cette chapelle était consacrée du Ciel.” Who can be surprised, that the credulous and ignorant should need little incitement to make a pilgrimage to Einsiedeln?

I thought it fortunate, that in the afternoon of the same day upon which I arrived at Einsiedeln, a procession of the pilgrims took place. Preceded by banners, and the other emblems of the Romish

church, and by all the inmates of the abbey, among whom appeared two friars of the order of Capuchins, with hair-shirts and sandals, were seen all the pilgrims then congregated at Einsiedeln. The men walked first two and two, the women followed; and, when I say that I counted 8220, it will not be considered any exaggeration if I assert, that the line of procession, if drawn out, would have occupied nearly a mile. There was something certainly imposing in the spectacle; though to many, feelings of contempt, perhaps even of disgust, might have been engendered by it. For my own part, pitying, as I do, the ignorance and credulity that could lead to a spectacle like this, I find in it no cause of mirth or disgust. I have no reason to doubt, that the devotion which appeared in the deportment of by far the greater number of the pilgrims, was unfeignedly sincere; and although I am far from believing that penance and pilgrimage are, in themselves, acts of devotion pleasing in the eye of God, yet I believe that the Deity cannot look with aversion upon any homage that is rendered in sincerity. After the procession had made a considerable circuit, it entered the church, where a discourse was preached by one of the Capuchins, who seemed to possess great fluency of expression; and, what is still higher praise, a power of persuasiveness that was seen in the sobs and tears of his auditory.

The number of pilgrims who resort to Einsiedeln is not upon the decrease. In 1817, there were 114,000; in 1821, 114,000; in 1822, 132,000; in 1824, 150,000; in 1825, 162,000; in 1828, 176,000. What do the reformation societies say to this?

Several times during the day and the evening I entered the church, and always found it crowded, the hum of prayer rising from every niche where the image of a saint reposed; and next morning, when I looked from my chamber-window at half-past three, the square was already filled with the devout, hastening to their early orisons. Several of them, passing the fountain which stands before the abbey, and which has fourteen jets-d'eau, drank of every one of them; because, believing that Jesus Christ drank at one, the pilgrim, not knowing which of them has been thus sanctified, drinks of them all.

I was happy to learn that the religious of the abbey possessed the good opinion of the people of Einsiedeln and its neighbourhood, and that they merited it, from their extensive charities, and from the other acts of kindness which they perform. There is scarcely any evil without some attendant good, scarcely any folly that benefits nobody; and when I saw the hundreds that beset the door of a little chapel, into which they were admitted at short intervals one by one, to purchase masses for the repose of the dead, it was pleasant to think, that the money meant for the dead was destined for the use of those who had more need of it. The revenues of the abbey cannot be otherwise than enormous; for, independently of the sums paid for masses, besides many other contributions never forgotten by the devout, they receive a large accession from the benedictions bestowed upon rosaries, crosses, and images. Thousands and tens of thousands of these are bought by the pilgrims, and are carried to the *Abbé*, who, for the kiss bestowed upon each, receives one, two, or more francs, according to the means of the possessor. There is another thing to be considered in estimating the revenues of Einsie-

deln; many of the poorer pilgrims are the bearers of the offerings of others. Those who would willingly benefit by the virtues of the sacred image at Einsiedeln, but whose temporal concerns interfere with the duties of a pilgrimage, seek out some poor pilgrim whose earthly kingdom is less, and whose piety is greater, than theirs; and to him the duties of a representative are confided. Two or three florins are generally given for his prayers, and other sums for the purchase of masses for the souls of friends; all of which, let us charitably hope, find their way into the channel intended for them. In afterwards travelling through another part of Switzerland, I heard of a woman resident in the neighbourhood, whose reputation for sanctity was so great, that she had obtained the lucrative appointment of representative *auprès de la Sainte Vierge* at Einsiedeln, for all the wealthy people in the *commune*, and that she made four pilgrimages every year to the sacred shrine upon their account. It would be better for the catholic cantons of Switzerland, if this representative system were more common; for, when we learn that a hundred and fifty or sixty thousand persons make a pilgrimage to Einsiedeln yearly, two-thirds of whom at least are understood to be from the catholic cantons of Switzerland, we find an additional reason why these cantons are behind the protestant cantons in cultivation—a fact of which I have no reason to doubt. Few pilgrims spend less time than a week at Einsiedeln, and even from the neighbouring cantons another week is required for the journey; and although many have money to spare for the expenses of a pilgrimage, while the expenses of some of the poor are provided for, by far the greater number are neither so rich as to render the expense a thing of no importance, nor so poor as to make their journey depend upon the piety of others. These, almost all engaged in agriculture, must amount to 60,000 or 70,000 persons, the expense of whose journey, purchases, masses and largesses, and the waste of whose time, must all be charged against the cultivation of their land. Nothing can be more absurd than to suppose that there is any thing in the catholic religion itself disposing its professors to indolence. The catholic is, no doubt, just as industrious as his protestant neighbour; but the number of holidays which his religion enjoins or countenances, and in Switzerland this pilgrimage to Einsiedeln, neutralize that industry, however great it may be. The difference, therefore, perceivable in Switzerland between the state of the catholic and the protestant cantons, is not chargeable against the spirit of the catholic religion, but merely against the injunctions of the church.

I left Einsiedeln, at an early hour, for the Canton of Glarus; and, as I found the road rapidly descending, felt no regret at leaving the sharp wind then blowing over the snow-hills for a more congenial climate. After a walk of about three hours, I reached Lachen, situated charmingly at the foot of the richly-variegated hills that rise above the upper lake of Zurich, and at no great distance from the bridge which crosses the lake to Rapperschwyl. After having breakfasted, I hired a small vehicle to conduct me by the bridge to Rapperschwyl. The bridge and the town are both worth a visit, especially the former, which, as far as I know, is the largest bridge in Europe. It is no less than 4800 feet long, and the breadth is sufficient to allow

a carriage to pass along. It is certainly a very useful and praiseworthy work, and is said to have cost the town of Rapperschwyh upwards of 300,000 francs. The town itself is pretty; but, in Switzerland, situation is every thing; and many an attractive little Swiss town, were it transplanted into the fens of Lincoln, would lose all its charm by the change.

The road, on leaving Lachen for Glarus, is interesting, winding among the picturesque hills that extend between the alps of Glarus and the lake of Zurich. Here I found the houses built entirely of wood; the roofs tiled, with beams laid across, and stones of immense size laid upon the roof, at about a foot distant from each other, as a security against the blasts of wind that sweep with great violence through the valleys. It was in this walk, too, that I was first beset with beggars, in the shape of children, who left off their play to assume the whining of practised mendicants, and to request half a batzen for a multitude of prayers in reversion. I could not but feel surprised that republican independence could stoop to this. I do not speak of the children, but of their parents, Swiss peasants, who were often standing by, and who encouraged their children to ask the alms which they did not stand in need of.

It was in travelling between Basil and Zurich that I first saw in the distance the snowy mountains in Switzerland; and now I found myself almost at their feet. The day was misty—clouds rolled upon the mountain-sides—now they shrouded one point, and now they revealed another—now a snowy peak rose above the dense vapours, and now a sudden gust of wind laid bare the dark precipice and the belt of gloomy firs from which it rose. It was with this prospect before me, that I entered the valley of the Canton of Glarus.

CHAPTER V.

THE CANTON OF GLARUS.

The Valley of Glarus—The Town—Character of Swiss Inns—Anecdote—Singular Laws in the Canton—Law respecting Inheritance—Laws respecting Education—Poor-Laws—Protestant and Catholic Clergy—Salaries of Clergy and Schoolmasters—Revenues of the Canton—Taxes and Expenditure—Extraordinary Laws respecting Marriage—Prices of Provisions in Glarus—Journey up the Linthall—Character of the upper part of Glarus—Details respecting Schabziger Cheese—Condition of the Inhabitants of the Valley of the Linth—Pantenbrugge—Scenery at the Head of Glarus—Return to Glarus—Excursion to Klonthall—and Journey to Wesen.

GLARUS is one of the most singular of the Swiss cantons, both from its geographical position and from the singularity of some of its laws and usages. It consists but of one long narrow valley, into which there is but one road, and of two small lateral valleys, to neither of which there is any entrance, but by the principal valley. At the entrance to the canton, the valley is not above a mile broad; and, as one proceeds onward, it seems as if the journey would soon be terminated by the rocky and almost perpendicular mountains that stretch across; but the valley winds round them; and, after a most interesting journey of about four hours, I reached the town of Glarus—the only place in the canton deserving the name of a town. Seeing the church-door open, I stepped within the porch; but there

seemed to be nothing in it particularly attractive: if I had known, however, that here, as in the little village of Dieteken, the same church serves for the devotions of both protestants and catholics, it would have given rise to feelings far more pleasing than any that could have been awakened by the contemplation of the most splendid monuments. The protestants of Glarus, being the richer and the more numerous, offered, some time ago, to purchase from the catholics the right of using the church, thinking that it might be more agreeable to the catholics to erect, with the purchase-money, a chapel of their own; but the catholics said they were contented that things should remain as they were; and so they have ever since.

The town of Glarus is remarkable for nothing but its situation; unless I may be allowed to add, for its very excellent inn, *L'Aigle d'Or*; but indeed there is nothing to complain of in any of the Swiss inns. They are excellent, and all uncommonly clean—decidedly cleaner than those of any other of the European countries, not even excepting England. In afterwards travelling through the Canton of St. Gall, I breakfasted at a country inn, where not only the floor, but the walls, which were also of wood, were scoured; and where the tables, made of the walnut-tree, were so bright with rubbing, that I mistook the lustre upon them for French polish. I have also almost always found the utmost variety, and, in general, good cookery in the Swiss bill of fare, with the exception of Zurich and its neighbourhood, where certain spices are used in too great abundance. At the inn at Glarus, where one might scarcely expect the handsomest entertainment, my dinner consisted of soup, fish, and five dishes of meat, two dishes of vegetables, and seven of a dessert. It has often occurred to me, when dining at any of the best-served tables in the inns of the Continent, how great must be the surprise of a foreigner, when, having asked for dinner in England for the first time, a beef-steak perhaps, and a few potatoes, are placed upon the table. A Swiss gentleman whom I met at Wesen informed me, that the first evening he landed at Brighton, he asked for supper; and a huge piece of cold beef being soon after placed upon the table, he supposed that the company at supper would consist of at least twenty persons, for abroad he had been accustomed to see little more of one dish served up than sufficed for the company. In the expectation that the company would arrive, he waited long; and at length, being told that the beef was intended for no one but himself, he cut one thin slice, marvelling much at the extraordinary appetites of Englishmen, and expecting six or eight as ponderous dishes to follow. The sequel needs no telling.

I have mentioned, that the Canton of Glarus is remarkable, not only on account of its geographical position, but also for the peculiar laws which are in force within it. A few details respecting these may not be unacceptable. One of the most remarkable laws in that canton is, that only a son or a daughter can inherit property. If a man who has inherited his property from his father, dies, leaving neither son nor daughter behind him, his property reverts to government, and cannot even be devised by testament to any other more distant relative. If he has purchased his property, he has the right of disposing of it. This law, by which the government becomes the holder of large portions of land, has

given rise to another usage, of which no one can complain. Government lets out this land to the poor, at the rate of fifteen batzen, or 2s. 1d. for thirty-six feet square. A very considerable portion of land is held in this way, and is generally planted with potatoes, or with the herb used in the manufacture of the well-known *Schabzieger* cheese. I heard no one complain of the law respecting the inheritance of property; and the purpose to which the property of government is applied gives universal satisfaction.

In the Canton of Glarus, there are one or more schools in every commune, according to its population. The schoolmasters are paid by government, and receive each about 35*l.* per annum—a handsome provision in a country where every article of sustenance is to be had at a very reasonable rate; but the most important regulation connected with these schools is, that the law does not leave education to the choice of individuals. Parents are obliged to send their children to school; nor can this be called a hard law, since all instruction is given gratis. Reading, writing, and arithmetic, are the branches of education taught in these schools. In this canton, there are also schools in each commune every Monday for religious instructions—one for protestants, another for catholics; and there is also a Sunday-school in every commune, meant for the instruction of those whose avocations on other days of the week prevent them from profiting by the daily-schools. In these Sunday-schools, all the ordinary useful branches of education are taught.

Although there are no poor-laws in the Canton of Glarus, there is something which closely resembles them. Every Sunday there are voluntary subscriptions for the poor, at least so they are called; but if any one, known to have the means of giving, be observed not to give, he may be summoned before the council upon the information of two citizens, and be compelled to contribute.

Both the protestant and catholic clergy are paid by government. The first protestant minister receives 800 florins (about 64*l.*), which, with fees upon marriages, &c., is swelled to about 80*l.*: he has also a free house, well furnished; and whatever articles of furniture may happen to be destroyed, injured, or worn out, they are renewed by the government. It may perhaps be asked, from what sources arise the funds which are employed in paying the clergymen, schoolmasters, &c., and the ordinary expenditure of government. To provide for all these, there are two taxes; a tax upon the head, of four batzen (about 6*d.*), levied upon every one arrived at the age of sixteen; and another, a property-tax of two batzen (3*d.*) upon every 1000 florins. The expense of the government forms but a small charge upon the revenue, the chief magistrate having only 20*l.* a year. But every thing is upon a proportionate scale in Glarus. A person possessing property to the amount of 3000*l.* is considered very wealthy, and there is not one individual in the canton worth 8000*l.*

The laws peculiar to this canton respecting marriage, &c. are unusually strict, and somewhat curious. Whatever may be the age of persons desirous of marrying, they cannot accomplish their wish without the consent of their respective parents. A man of fifty must still remain a bachelor, if his father of seventy-five should so determine. The absurdity

of this law has given rise to a laxity of morals, unknown in any other part of Switzerland; and this, again, has produced another, and a very wholesome law, which in part neutralizes the absurdity of the other. If it should so happen that a young woman becomes *enceinte*, the person in fault is obliged to marry her; and in case of a refusal, he is declared incapable of being elected to a seat in the council; his evidence is inadmissible in a court of justice; and, in short, he is deprived of civil rights. It is quite consistent with all this, that if the marriage takes place, which, with such penalties in case of non-compliance, is almost always the case, the female should be received into society, and that no stain should be supposed to attach to her. All laws whose tendency is to defeat, and not merely to regulate the laws of nature, must fail in their object; and, accordingly, other laws equally or still more absurd, are required to regulate the evils that arise.

All these laws, and all the law in this canton, stand upon ancient usage; and every new judgment is recorded, as well as the facts upon which it has proceeded.

When I visited Glarus, the following were the prices of different articles: Beef and veal, 3*d.* per lb.; mutton, 1*½d.*; chamois, 2*d.*; fish, 6*d.*; a heath-cock, about 2s. 4*d.*; butter, 4*½d.*; cheese, 3*½d.*; bread, four batz. (6*d.*) for 5 lbs. A house with seven or eight rooms, stable and good garden, may be had for 7*l.* or 8*l.* per annum. A common female servant receives 4*l.* wages; a good cook twice as much; so that, in Glarus, a house and a cook are at par. A labourer receives about 10*½d.* and his breakfast.

Having collected all the information I could respecting the peculiar customs of this canton, I prepared for a journey to the head of the valley, where the canton is hemmed in by the mountains which separate it from the Grisons. It was a cloudy morning when I walked out of Glarus, taking the right bank of the *Linth*, which flowed beneath in an impetuous but very limpid stream. Heat, that in other countries dries up the rivers, in Switzerland swells them—those at least which rise in the high Alps. This fact the traveller without a guide should bear in mind; because, if he supposes, from a long course of hot, dry weather, that he will find streams fordable, he will often discover his error. This observation has no particular reference to the river *Linth*; but, as it occurred to me at present, I thought it best not to omit it.

The valley of the *Linth* I found fertile in beauty, and full of population. It is envired, indeed, by images of grandeur and sublimity; but the high mountains being veiled in the mists of the morning, nothing could at first be seen beyond the immediate boundaries, which were simply picturesque. The proximity to the region of snow was seen, however, in the diminished fertility of the soil, and the scanty assortment of garden productions. From Glarus to the little hamlet of *Linthal*, three leagues distant, the valley seldom assumes a greater breadth than two miles. I passed through no fewer than six villages; and the sides of the hills were thickly dotted with the *chalets* of the cow and goat herds, whose flocks were grazing on the mountains. I did not see a blade of corn. The pasture-land was only diversified by small fields of thyme, and other odoriferous plants for the bees, the honey of Glarus

being much esteemed ; by patches of potatoes near the cottages ; and by little enclosures, where the plant used in the manufacture of cheese was cultivated. I noticed that, among the little appendages of every house, one small building was appropriated for the reception of withered leaves, which form the basis of the manure used in the valley, and which are also used exclusively for litter.

At Linthal, the last village in the canton, is one of the principal manufactories of the *Schabzieger* cheese, well known and highly esteemed in many parts of Europe. I of course visited it. The peasants, who feed their cows in the mountains, bring down the curd in sacks, each containing about 200 lbs., and for which they receive thirty-six francs French. The herb (kle) which gives it the green colour, and its peculiar flavour, having been previously dried and crushed to powder, about 6 lbs. of it is put into the mill, along with 200 lbs of the curd ; and after being turned for about two hours and a half, the mixture is ready to be put into shapes, where it is kept until it dries sufficiently to be ready for use. When sold wholesale, it fetches about 3½d. per lb. This is considered a very lucrative trade ; and the richest people in the canton are cheese manufacturers. It is a common belief in England, that *Schabzieger* cheese is made from goats' milk ; but this is quite a mistake. The foundation of this cheese is in no respect different from that of the English cheeses ; its peculiar character is owing merely to its conjunction with the herb, and to its being kept till it is fit for grating.

Notwithstanding the existence of something akin to poor-laws, I saw many signs of poverty among the persons who were labouring in the fields, or in the little gardens. They were generally without shoes or stockings, and were otherwise but ill protected against the cold blasts of the mountains. A Swiss mountaineer, or even a goat-herd, may be very picturesque in a landscape, or may even be introduced into fiction with effect ; but it is a sorry occupation to sit from morning until night, with a scanty flock of goats, and without shoes or stockings, among the rocks of the Glarus mountains, where, even in summer, bitter blasts occasionally sweep the hill-sides, and where the warmest sun is often obscured by showers of snow and sleet, that in the lower valleys descend like summer dews.

There are many gradations in riches among the peasants of Glarus ; from one goat or one cow, up to fifty or sixty. The possessor of twenty or twenty-five cows, is considered to be in very easy circumstances, and yet the value of his whole property does not amount, in Glarus, to more than 160*l.* ; for the usual price of a cow is about 7*l.* or 8*l.* at most. But with six cows a peasant is not in poor circumstances ; and even with a single cow and a little potato land, he is not numbered among the poor. Six or seven goats are also looked upon as a tolerable independence ; and a man owning three goats is not a pauper.

Linthal is only a few straggling houses, but there is a prospect of this remote place rising into some importance ; for, at the foot of the Stackelberg, a mineral water has lately been discovered, which has already obtained some celebrity ; and a handsome hotel and baths are now erecting for the use of strangers. This would be a charming retreat

during the month of June for the disciples of Isaak Walton. I never saw a stream more like a good trouting stream, than the Linth ; it is neither too deep nor too shallow ; there is little or no wood upon its banks ; it is neither too lazy nor too rapid ; and every now and then it forms those delightful eddies, which so pleasantly animate the hopes of the angler. And let not the thorough angler despise me utterly if I add, that I never tasted more delicious trout than those which had been drawn out of the Linth.

Beyond Linthal there is no village up the valley to *Pantenbrugge*, which is the *ne plus ultra*. I left Linthal for this bridge after breakfast, and soon entered upon the narrow defile, which is all that remains of the Canton of Glarus. Every step the scenery became more and more striking—the rocks more precipitous—the cascades, great and small, more frequent—the stream of the Linth more impetuous—and the mountains behind more gigantic ; the glaciers of the *Rozen Pis* rising above them all. The road, or rather path, continued gradually to ascend, till I found it powdered with the snow that had fallen during the past night ; and, after a most interesting walk of about two leagues, I reached the *Pantenbrugge*. I was fully repaid for my labour. One arch is thrown over the Linth, from rock to rock, and at the depth of 196 feet below, the river bursts from its mountain-gorge to seek a wider channel. The scenery around is of the wildest description. Terrific precipices rise on every side, and the resting-places of the eternal snows are beyond.

From *Pantenbrugge* a mountain-path leads into the Grisons ; but when I visited this part of Switzerland, the season was not far enough advanced to render this path practicable ; and besides, I purposed reaching the Grisons by a more circuitous route. It rained torrents as I returned to Glarus, where I spent the night ; and next morning I left it to visit Klonthal, a small Alpine valley of the canton. Mist and sunshine maintained a charming conflict all the way ; they were conquerors alternately. One moment it seemed as if the sunshine were vanquished beyond recovery ; the next a bright gleam would flash athwart the mists, and drive them from their strong holds ; and then, when light appeared to be triumphant, dark vapours again rolled upward from nobody knows where, and triumphed in their turn. It is a very interesting walk to the Klonthal, chiefly because the result is unlooked for ; for who could expect, after following the course of an impetuous stream upward, suddenly to enter upon a little paradise ? A desolate Alpine valley one might look for, or a dark mountain tarn ; but not a smiling vale, surrounding a fine gentle lake, imaging, in its tranquil breast, green meadows and quiet cottages ; and yet this sweet valley is close to the regions of snow ; for on all sides rise the summits of Glarnisch and its companions. The same evening, I left Glarus for Wesen.

I have nothing more to add respecting Glarus, excepting that the constitution of the canton is democratic ; and that, although there are in the canton seven times as many protestants as catholics, the council is composed of equal numbers of both.

CHAPTER VI.

CANTON OF ST. GALL—THE GRISONS.

The Wallensee—Journey to St. Gall—Pilgrims—St. Gall and its Manufactures—Peculiar Laws of St. Gall—Cheapness of Property—Voyage from Wesen to Wallenstadt—Character of the Lake, and Accident by the way—Arrival at Chur—Chur and its neighbourhood—The Bishopric—State of the Inhabitants; Merchants, Lawyers, Physicians—Journey from Chur to the Ensadine, across Mount Albula—An Anecdote—Details respecting Grison Liberty, and the National Character of the Grisons—Revenues and Expenditure of the Canton.

THE little town of Wesen lies at the head of the Wallenstadt Lake; and from the windows of the inn (l'Épée), there is a truly charming prospect. The Wallenstadt is not one of the very celebrated among the Swiss lakes; and yet it seems to me deserving of a very respectable place. It has not, indeed, the sublimity of Uri, nor the majesty of Geneva, nor the beauty of Zurich; but it has charms of its own. There is a quiet seclusion about its shores, that partly atones for the absence of glaciers, and which, to many, may be more pleasing than the prospect of gardens and *maisons de campagne*. I shall return to Wesen and its lake, after making an excursion to St. Gall.

This little journey occupied me three days, one of which I spent at St. Gall. Between Wesen and St. Gall I found all the inns full of pilgrims; and, by-the-bye, these pilgrimages sufficiently account for the extraordinary number of inns to be found in most parts of Switzerland. At the inn where I breakfasted, upwards of sixty arrived and departed during the hour that I remained. Some few looked as if they could have very well afforded a *déjeuné à la fourchette*, or, at all events, a comfortable cup of coffee, for the morning was cold and wet; but they all breakfasted alike upon a morsel of coarse bread (which most of them produced from a wallet), and half a bottle of sour wine. I presume a certain moderation in eating is considered indispensable towards the success of the pilgrimage.

The country between Wesen and St. Gall I did not find very interesting; its character is scarcely Swiss; and, excepting in the neighbourhood of Lichtensteg, a pretty, clean town, there is nothing very striking anywhere. Nor did I find much to captivate me at St. Gall, though, to the manufacturer, this town will be the most interesting in Switzerland; for it is there that the most extensive manufactories of muslin are carried on. I heard great complaints of the state of trade;—the Italians had not bought as usual. Several establishments had ceased working, and many hundreds were out of employment; so that trade may go amiss even in countries where there is no national debt, and where there are annual parliaments and universal suffrage. But St. Gall is distinguished for more than its muslins; it is the place where, *on dit*, the only manuscript of Cicero's works, *de Legibus* and *de Finibus*, was found; and where, also, the Nibelungenlied is preserved among the manuscripts, in which the libraries of this town are rich.

The origin of St. Gall is the same as that which still ensures the prosperity of Einsiedeln—supersti-

tion. St. Gall has since raised its prosperity upon a nobler basis, but, as it would appear, one less enduring; for while, in St. Gall, the results of industry and ingenuity have proved uncertain, in Einsiedeln the fruits of credulity and ignorance have been unfailing and abundant. The inhabitants of St. Gall had better restore the abbey of Benedictines, and raise a splendid tomb above the ashes of their patron saint.

The Canton of St. Gall resembles, in some of its laws, the Canton of Glarus, particularly in that respecting the consent of parents to the marriage of their children; but, in St. Gall, there is a pleasant way of getting over the difficulty: the case is laid before the council, which deliberates upon the refusal of consent; and if the councillors consider it to be "frivolous and vexatious," they advise the parents to let the young people have their own way; and so the affair is adjusted. In St. Gall, this occurs very frequently. The council (for the present year at least) do not happen to be of the school of Malthus; and both living and house-rent being reasonable in this canton, "the prudential principle" operates but feebly. The price of houses is indeed incredibly low, especially country-houses; one was pointed out to me, charmingly situated, about three miles from the town, which had lately been sold for little more than 1000*l*. It contained twenty-two rooms—had every kind of outbuilding; besides eleven acres of land.

Having returned to Wesen, I engaged a boat to carry me down the lake to Wallenstadt. I left Wesen at five in the afternoon, allowing four hours for the passage of the lake. I had engaged the smallest boat I could find, and only one rower; because, having some knowledge of the oar myself, I thus ensured a pleasure and a profit at the same time. For an hour or two, all went well, and we made good progress; but when we had accomplished about half our voyage, my oar snapped in two, and we were thus left in rather an awkward predicament; because, with only one oar, it was more probable that I should breakfast, than sup at Wallenstadt. My labour being no longer needed, I had nothing to do but to enjoy the prospect around me. I was nearly opposite to the village of Quinten, the situation of which is in the highest degree picturesque; for the rocks in its neighbourhood dip perpendicularly into the water; and above them, at a height of at least 1200 feet, might be seen numerous herds of cattle and goats, browsing upon a beautifully green herbage, spotted with the *chalets* of the shepherds; while various cascades, although not great enough to produce much effect upon the landscape, yet sweetly harmonized with the other gentle sounds of even-tide. My companion tugged hard with his one oar, and I occasionally relieved him. It fell dark, however, when we yet wanted a league of Wallenstadt; but there was nothing to regret, as I watched the shadows gradually creep over the hills, till deep night covered the landscape, and the dark still surface of the lake was gemmed with the thousand stars of heaven.

It was about midnight when we reached Wallenstadt, where I found myself engaged in a warm dispute with the boatman respecting the broken oar, which he insisted I should pay for; and although I well knew that the oar had borne about it the infirmity that had come to so untoward a crisis, yet, as the crisis had arrived, and terminated fatally,

while the oar was under my care, I consented to pay the half of what was demanded.

Whatever may be the merits of the Wallenstadt lake, in point of natural beauty, it will yield to no other in point of utility; for it is by this lake that all the commerce between Zurich and Italy is carried on—a transit that would otherwise be extremely circuitous. The Wallensee is famous for its excellent fish; and as some wonderful tale is generally current about every lake, I must not omit to say, that it never freezes.

My anxiety to get into the country of the Grisons increasing as I approached it, I only remained at Wallenstadt to breakfast, and for once deviated from my pedestrian habits, by closing with the offer of a voiturier to take me to Chur, the Grison metropolis, in five hours. The construction of the voiture was such, that, even if the weather had been favourable, I should have been punished for my effeminacy by the limited prospect; but it was a consolation to see the country enveloped in so dense a mist, that nothing was lost by my manner of travelling. At Mayenfeld, I again found the Rhine, which I had left at Basil; and the fog allowing me to see dimly the opposite bank, I could discover that, although not the majestic river which sweeps the territory of Baden, the Rhine is, even at Mayenfeld, a fine, large, and beautiful stream.

About a league before reaching Chur, the mist cleared away, and a heavy rain succeeded. The lower country, and half way up the mountains, were now visible; and I therefore forsook the voiture, and walked to Chur, which I soon discovered lying in a deep hollow among the mountains, with several valleys diverging from it, each of them traversed by a river; and in about half an hour I was received at the *auberge* of Daniel Denz, with that amenity for which inn-keepers, all over the world, are distinguished.

Chur is a very small place, to be the metropolis of so large a district as the country of the Grisons. Less than three hours suffice for seeing all that is worthy of notice in it. If you walk ten minutes in a straight line in any direction, you will leave the town behind you. Almost every house in Chur has its garden, and every garden its clump of vines, from which they make a very weak but pleasant wine. In accordance with the Grison character, of which I shall speak more fully by-and-by, there is not an inch of ground in any garden, or in the neighbourhood of Chur, that is not made subservient to utility; and this necessarily produces an appearance of greater fertility than might be expected from the climate, and the elevated position of the country.

The catholic church at Chur, and the residence, or palace, as it is called, of the bishop, occupy the most elevated part of the town; but even from the highest pinnacle of his church, this ecclesiastic cannot see the bounds of his diocese. It is the greatest in Switzerland—extending not only over the greater part of the country of the Grisons, and of the Canton of St. Gall, but even embracing in its paternal arms, parts of Suabia, the Tyrol, and the northern parts of Italy; and it was but recently that the head of the church of Rome, finding it advisable to provide for some of its deserving sons, took off three slices from the benefice of Chur—namely, the Cantons of Uri, Schwytz, and Unterwalden, which, till then, had been comprised within the limits of

this bishopric. It is somewhat curious that so much power should be possessed by the catholic bishop of a protestant canton—for such the country of the Grisons is always considered—two-thirds, at least, of the inhabitants professing the reformed religion.

In walking through the streets of the little town of Chur, one is surprised to find so much bustle and animation as are every where visible, so different from the silence and repose and inertness that distinguish most small provincial towns. But this is easily accounted for, when we recollect that the manufactures of St. Gall, Glarus, and Zurich, are sent to Italy through this town, and by the Splügen; and it is here that the transit of merchandise is undertaken. No fewer than 100,000 quintals pass yearly; and several persons engaged in the transport of this merchandise have realised considerable fortunes, and are indeed considered to be the wealthiest persons in the canton. This trade is supposed to occupy at least one-third of the inhabitants, as inn-keepers, waggoners, porters, horse-proprietors, and the other subordinate trades, such as blacksmiths, wheelwrights, ropemakers, &c.: the rest of the inhabitants are shopkeepers, small land-owners, and professional men—the last the poorest; for law in this neighbourhood is much superseded by arbitration; and the fees of the medical gentlemen are so low, that nothing but an epidemic can afford the least hope of a competency: their usual fee, from respectable people, is one franc per visit. Living, however, is not expensive: meat costs about 5d.; butter 8d.; and wine, vegetables, and fruit, at least a third dearer than at Zurich.

Chur lies on the outskirts of the Grisons; and a residence there can give the traveller little information as to the country, or the people who inhabit it: it is the remoter and central valleys he must visit. These are, the Upper and Lower Engadine, the Albul, and the valley of the Upper Rhine; and accordingly, after resting one day at Chur, I left it to visit the Engadine. There is no road from Chur to the Engadine, excepting very high and difficult mountain-passes, practicable only for a pedestrian; so that, had I been a Russian prince, I must have been contented to travel as I did on foot.

The road from Chur conducted me through a finely wooded and hilly country, to the little town of Lenz, where I arrived about mid-day, just in time to partake an indifferent dinner with the proprietor of a forge situated three or four leagues farther on. There, a little incident happened worthy of relating. Several peasants of the lower order were regaling themselves in another room; and the news having circulated among them, that a stranger, who had come through France, was then in the house, I was interrupted, in the midst of my repast, by the entrance of an old sturdy peasant, who expressed his extraordinary good fortune in having met me; because, as I had come from France, I could probably give him some intelligence respecting his son at Toulouse. This reminds me of a fact, that to my certain knowledge occurred in Scotland, and upon which the reader may implicitly rely. A gentleman in the neighbourhood of Banff, travelling to the metropolis in his own carriage, offered the spare corner to a worthy corporation-man of that burgh, who happened to have some business in the south; and, early one morning, the travellers reached Edinburgh, entering by the west

end of Princes' street. It so happened that a cat, returning from a nocturnal ramble, was walking leisurely along the pavement; and the untravelled inhabitant of the northern burgh, to whom every dog and cat within his own town were familiar, struck with the beauty of this early wanderer, awoke his companion from a sound sleep with this interrogatory, "What a bonny catty! fa's catty's that?"

The individual with whom I dined offered me a seat in his cart (for the roads in this part do not admit of vehicles with springs) as far as his road and mine lay together; and I accepted the offer, for the sake of benefiting by his conversation, for he seemed both intelligent and communicative. The information I received in this and other quarters, during my residence among the Grisons, respecting the political constitution of the country, I shall record in this place; for between Lenz and Bergun, where I passed the night, nothing occurred to swell my personal narrative.

I have never travelled in any country where the people talk so much about liberty, as in the country of the Grisons—above all, in the Engadine. "This," said a peasant to me at a little village in the *Ober Engerdine*, where I shall by-and-by conduct the reader, "this is the only republic in the world, and we are the only free people!" and I have no doubt he spoke as he believed. "Touch the very smallest of our rights," said another in the village of *Pont*, "and revolt would instantly follow." If the rights vaunted by these people did really exist, their determination to preserve them might be easily accounted for. The Engadine is shut out from the rest of the world by high and almost impassable mountains. The defile of the *Finstermuntz*, on the side of the Tyrol, might be defended by a handful of resolute men; and if a single rock were blown up in the pass from Chur by Mount Albula, the only vestige of a road would be swept away; and the only entrance to the country would then be by the tremendous chasm below, and up a cataract of two or three hundred feet. But the liberty so much spoken of by the Grisons, and of which they are so proud, has no existence. When we say that the country of the Grisons is a republic, that no distinction of rank is ostensibly recognised, and that every individual has a voice in the election of representatives, we enumerate all its pretensions to the enjoyment of perfect political liberty; but much more than this is wanted, before a country can be said even to approach such a state of political liberty as is compatible with the existence of any organised government; and in all beyond what I have enumerated, the Grison republic is deficient. That first and greatest safeguard of the rights of a free people, the liberty of the press, is unknown. Nothing is published that is not previously read by the public authorities, and approved; and so far off are the Grisons from trial by jury, that the courts of law hear and determine with closed doors. So far, indeed, is this principle carried, that the council, or representative body of the canton, holds its deliberations in secret. There are some things, indeed, of a public nature, with which the Grisons have much reason to be pleased, though these by no means result from their form of government, but from the smallness of the state—I allude, particularly, to the absence of taxation. There is no imposition or tax of any kind. The expense of the government, &c. is defrayed by the dues charged

upon the transit of merchandise through the canton; so that the Grisons themselves pay nothing for the maintenance of their state. This is doubtless very agreeable; but those who cannot congratulate themselves upon such a state of things, have fortunately an equivalent.

But the Grisons are not only proud of being a republic, but of being in themselves a federative republic; for the country is divided into no fewer than thirty jurisdictions, each, in many important respects, independent not only of the others, but even of the supreme council. In each of these thirty jurisdictions, there is a power of life and death in criminal cases, and this power is sovereign and without appeal. The common law is different in each jurisdiction. Every one has its own peculiar laws and its own usages; and by these, the questions arising within their boundaries must be determined. From these, indeed, there is a court of appeal at Chur, the judges of which must necessarily be presumed to have a sufficient knowledge of the laws peculiar to every one of the thirty jurisdictions. It is almost needless to say, that all this works ill, and that this federative republic is not only deficient in the very essentials of liberty, but is also wanting in some of those advantages that are to be found in states where there are no pretensions to it. It is but right to say, that I met with one or two individuals, and but one or two, who had the courage or the candour to admit that the Grison government was not perfect; and that it would be better to live under more assured laws, even if a king were the fountain of justice. I was informed, that the insecurity of the law, and the imperfect administration of justice within the jurisdictions, had led many to resort to arbitration; but from this also there is an appeal to Chur; so that the greatest advantage of arbitration does not exist.

Before resuming my narrative, let me add, that the revenues of the Grisons amount to 150,000 francs (6000*l.*), and that the whole expense of the government, salaries of public officers, pay of militia, maintenance of public buildings, roads and bridges, and allowance to the councillors, who receive six francs per day during their sittings, amount to about two-thirds of this sum. The surplus has been employed, for some years past, in paying off a small public debt; and when I travelled through the country, I found every one alive to the important question, what government meant to do with the surplus revenue (2000*l.*), at the redemption of the debt—a period to which the Grison politicians looked forward with impatience and anxiety, as one well calculated to try the fidelity of their representatives. I trust the reader will excuse these minute details, respecting a people whose public debt is on the eve of redemption, by the annual surplus revenue of 2000*l.*

CHAPTER VII.

COUNTRY OF THE GRISONS.

Bergun—Scene in a Village Inn—Traits of Character—Grison Enjoyments—The Passage of Mount Albula,—Valley of Albula, Ascent, and Scene of extraordinary Sublimity—Descent towards the Engadine—Charming Prospect—Visit to a Mountain Dairy, and Details—Arrival in the Ober Engadine.

From the little town of Lenz, where I had dined, the road gradually ascended, and, about two leagues

from Bergun, which I had fixed upon as my night's quarters, I was left to pursue my journey on foot. It was almost quite dark before I reached Bergun, and with some difficulty I discovered the auberge, which was filled with the villagers discussing their evening allowance of wine, and congratulating themselves upon the excellence of their privileges. Among these there was one portly old gentleman, whom I at first mistook for the anbergiste, and who welcomed me in tolerable English; but who afterwards informed me, that he was one of the many sons of these valleys who leave their paternal homes in early youth in quest of fortune. This old gentleman had found it. He had travelled, during twenty years, in the capacity of a valet, through all the countries of Europe; and having scraped together the savings of his services, he had at last opened a confectioner's shop in Bayonne, where, in ten years more, he acquired sufficient means to enable him to return to his native valley, there to spend the remainder of his days. Even there, however, it was not inactivity that he sought. The Grisons are never inactive, nor ever regardless of their pecuniary interests. He had opened a shop at Bergun, and retained a share in that at Bayonne, and seemed to be one of the most influential persons in his native village. It is not at all unusual to find persons in the remote villages of the Grisons proprietors of shops in more than one distant city.

I found myself fortunate in meeting this person, because I was now arrived where the *Roman* dialect is only spoken; and although the auberge at Bergun could furnish but little to tempt the epicure, the culinary skill of the *ci-derant* valet supplied a hundred deficiencies. He said he knew the English were accustomed to live well at home, and begged I would permit him to prepare supper, to which I need scarcely say I consented; and the result was, an omelet and some fried trout, both quite good enough to have provoked an appetite that needed a provocation.

The scene in this inn afforded a fair specimen of Grison enjoyment. Fourteen villagers were seated at a long table, each with his cap on, which each no doubt fancied the cap of liberty. A small wooden plate, with some bread and cheese, and a small bottle of wine, stood before each. The conversation was energetic and grave; its theme was politics—the politics, not of the world—not of Europe—not even of Switzerland—but of their own canton. One, seemingly the most respectable of the group, perceiving that I listened to the conversation, and suspecting that I was unacquainted with the language in which it was carried on, commanded silence, and addressing me in French, told me, that I had here a specimen of the manner in which the Grisons spent their evenings. “When the labour of the day is ended,” said he, “we assemble here—we order our chopin of wine, and discourse upon the privileges we enjoy. You have no liberty in England to compare with ours;” and yet, the man who was the culogist of liberty, was himself the village tyrant:—so the person who spoke English informed me. Greater boldness, and a somewhat stronger intellect, perhaps, had raised him above his fellow-villagers, and destroyed, as it must ever do, that phantom equality, which is incompatible with the nature of man.

I received a piece of information from this person at Bergun, which may be worth mentioning. *Two*

individuals in this remote Grison village have money in the British funds; one 1000l., another somewhat less. This fact might furnish a commentary for some of our parliamentary economists.

From Bergun to the valley of the Ober Engadine, the only passage is across Mount Albula. Several of the interior passes in Switzerland are higher, and more difficult than any of those better known passes which lead into Italy: the pass of Mount Albula is one of these. A series of geometrical observations was made at Chur about a year ago, by which, the elevation of the mountains, villages and roads, throughout the country of the Grisons, was ascertained; and from the inspection of these results, I found that the pass of Mount Albula attains the height of 7648 feet; exceeding, by exactly one hundred feet, the highest point of the pass of Mount St. Bernard. The other celebrated passes into Italy are considerably lower; the hospice of St. Gothard is situated 6390 feet above the level of the sea; the passage of the Simplon is 6174 feet; and that of the Splügen (an interior pass) is somewhat higher than St. Gothard. But before I enter upon my morning's journey across Mount Albula, let me not forget to mention, that having promised to breakfast with my new Grison friend, I found him waiting my arrival on the steps of his door, before six o'clock. The breakfast was rather an extraordinary one; for, with the exception of fish and eggs, it consisted entirely of pastry. He had informed me the night before, that he intended giving me a specimen of the articles by which he had made his fortune at Bayonne; and I suspect, from the variety of the repast, he must have occupied the whole night in its preparation. But I repaid him for his labour, for I permitted him to fill my pockets with the specimens of his art; and, remarking, as I rose to take leave, some hesitation in his manner, I recollected what I had heard of Grison hospitality, and pressed ten batzen upon his acceptance.

At seven o'clock I left Bergun, and immediately began to ascend. From Bergun to the first interior valley, there is a road practicable for small carts; for there some hamlets are scattered, and there, too, lies an Alpine village. This road mounts by the side of a torrent, skirting some little fields of scanty produce, and soon enters a narrow gorge, which affords room only for the torrent and the narrow road that is excavated out of the tremendous rock that towers above it. There is here the cheapest road-maker in the world. The mountain is the road-maker, and never relaxes in its labours: it is of a crumbling nature, and by incessant contributions, it constantly fills up the cavities which are formed by the rains. When the road had wound round this rock, I found myself entering a tolerably extensive Alpine valley, on all sides surrounded by the rocky peaks and snowy summits of the Albula. Here, too, as at Bergun—here, too, as in the more fruitful valleys—man had found a home, and felt that life was sweet. There was his habitation—there the flocks, his riches; and if there was no village inn where the Grisons might assemble to congratulate each other upon their privileges, there was the little bridge that spanned the torrent, or the fir-tree that lay by the way-side.

This valley is about a league in length; and, after having traversed it, the path—for it is no longer a road, ascends a narrow defile among the

bald rocks that lie around the little lake of Wissenstein. I found the ascent laborious; but the scenery around amply compensated the labour, for it was of the most varied and striking character. Fine girdles of dark fir spanned the waists of the rocks, whose gray and rugged heads rose in vast amphitheatre. Below the firs, and among the lower rocks, lay the freshest verdure, watered by innumerable rills that were seen higher up in white threads of foam among the rocks. Here and there was a chalet—here and there a little flock; but these became rarer. The path surmounted the fir; and, at a sudden turn, I found myself on the borders of the little lake, and beside the chalet, where the traveller may find mountain-fare. This lake lies extremely high, and possesses the character of every lake found in such elevations—a character, in something, perhaps, slightly varying, but whose general features must necessarily be alike. A few stunted firs were scattered about the lower end, where the water was shallow; but on all the other sides, it lay still, and dark, and treeless, beneath the frightful precipices that towered above.

The ascent from the lake is extremely rapid: it remains in sight more than an hour, and is then shut out by a ledge of the higher rocks that are connected with the summits of the mountain. And now, a scene opened before me, to whose sublimity, I fear, I shall be able to render but imperfect justice. When I speak of this scene, I do so with a perfect recollection of other scenes that I have beheld in other parts of the Alps, in the Pyrenees, in the Carpathian mountains, and in Norway; and I feel that I may do perfect justice to all of these, and yet assert the superiority of this part of Mount Albula, in all that constitutes that kind of sublimity which arises from the presence of desolation. The defile I had now entered was from one to two miles broad, and three or four in length; it was environed by the highest summits of the mountain. These rose almost perpendicularly from the defile, in some places showing precipices of two or three thousand feet; in other places, presenting a front of towers and pinnacles, and displaying enormous gaps, where nothing but the torrent had entered, and vast caves, where the eagle only had ever rested. Above all, the highest peaks, powdered with snow, but too ragged and pointed to allow it a resting-place, jutted into the sky, leaving to the spectator below a horizon as limited as the defile. But all that I have yet spoken of, though of itself sufficient to form a picture of great power, falls infinitely short of what yet remains to be described. Within the whole of this bounded horizon, not one blade of verdure was to be seen—not one of those mountain plants—those alpine flowers, that often bloom on the borders of eternal winter, and that, springing in the chasms of the baldest rocks, lend, at times, the charm of gentleness and beauty to the most savage scene. But here, desolation had reared his throne, and ruin lay around it. The whole extent of the defile was one mass of enormous stones that lay piled upon each other; it was as if two mountains of rock had here waged war, and been shivered in the conflict. Do not suppose, in figuring these scenes to yourself, that rocks and stones lie scattered over the extent of this defile. This would be but a very imperfect conception of what it is. In many places, the stones are piled upon each other to the height of some hundred feet; and to what depth they may

lie, even on the track by which you pass, no one can tell. This, however, I know, in ascending higher than this defile, the river is seen to enter it in several concentrated streams; and below the defile, it is again seen to enter the lake I have mentioned; and, in passing through the defile, at some deep openings and gaps, you may hear the distant rush of waters far below, indicating, by the faintness of the sound, the great depth at which they find a channel.

I have never been more strongly impressed by any scene than by this. It realized, more than any scene I have ever beheld, the conception of chaos, "treeless, herbless, lifeless." Not even the fowl of the desert could here have found one fruit of the wilderness, nor one gushing stream whereat to slake his thirst. This curse of utter sterility I myself experienced. The breakfast I had made at Bergun was not well calculated for a journey in a hot dry day across the mountains; and in this defile, where not a breath of air could enter, and where the sun shone down with great power, a well of the desert would have been welcome. I found, however, a shelter from the sun's rays; and it is only amid scenes like these, that we are able to understand the force of the expression, "the shadow of a great rock in a weary land."

When I had traversed this defile by a gradual ascent, I entered upon the third and last division of the pass. Here I found the stream, which in a succession of rapids and cataracts comes from the highest interior valley, where the snow is accumulated to a great depth. The ascent here is extremely rapid; and the scenery, although it has lost that character of utter desolation which presides lower down, yet retains much grandeur, mingled with a few of those graces that are found in Alpine scenery. Here and there I found a scanty herbage, and innumerable beautiful mosses. The ranunculus and the mountain-anemone bloomed at my feet; and the rocks, ashamed of their nakedness, were covered with the crimson blossoms of the rhododendron.

About an hour and a half after leaving the defile, the highest part of the pass is attained. Here one is still in a valley, though its sides do not rise more than a thousand feet above it. I found a good deal of snow, and occasionally some difficulty in passing it; but after an hour's walk I began to descend, and a scene soon opened below, very different from that which I have attempted to describe. The southern interior valleys of Mount Albula are among the most esteemed in all Switzerland for the pasture of cattle, which are brought there even from some of the remoter cantons. In the country of the Grisons, every village has its mountain, or its part of a mountain, to which the inhabitants have free access for the grazing of their cattle; and when herds arrive from places beyond its liberty, they are permitted to graze, upon payment of a certain small portion of the produce of the dairy, to the village enjoying the liberty of the mountain.

It was a beautiful sight to look down the southern side of Mount Albula; the most charming verdure covered the slopes and the valleys, and the flocks of a hundred hills seemed there to be congregated. The distant, and not unmusical chime of their thousand bells, mingled with the faint lowing, came sweetly up the mountain; and the beauty and interest of the scene was greatly increased by the

recollection of the lifeless and desolate wilderness that I had newly quitted. Scenes of grandeur and sublimity are indeed glorious; and by them we are called from the littleness of life, to a contemplation of the majesty of that which is more enduring. Unutterable, indeed, is the charm that holds us in the depth of the silent valley, and among the dark and mighty mountains; but still there is, in pictures of life and happiness, in scenes of a more tranquil and gentle kind, a language that speaks more universally to the human heart; and this I found in the contrast between the desolate grandeur of the defile, and the green and life-like aspect of the mountain-slopes.

Less than an hour brought me among the cattle, and another hour led me to their habitations. For the double purpose of quenching my thirst, and of seeing the interior of these mountain-dairies, I left the tract to visit one of them. One or two large and fierce-looking dogs opposed my entrance; but a shepherd, who had doubtless his own interest in view, smoothed the way, and conducted me into the interior. In the outer part of the chalet, there was room for upwards of three hundred cattle; and the inner part consisted of two rooms, one where the milk is kept, and the other where the cheese is made. There is, besides, a kind of loft, where the men employed in the dairy sleep. For every fifty cows, there is generally one man. They are each allowed about sixteen florins per month, which, at the value of a florin in that country, is about 29s. They are, of course, allowed nourishment besides, which consists of salted meat, bread, and as much cheese, butter, and milk, as they please. The term of their employment is usually about four months. It is evident, therefore, that the occupation of a shepherd of the Alps requires some knowledge. It is not merely looking after the cattle, and leaning upon his crook: he must know all the mysteries of the dairy, which are neither few nor simple; and, judging from the excellence of its productions throughout the greater part of Switzerland, these shepherds must be well versed in their trade. I found those of Mount Albula civil, communicative, and tolerably intelligent. They seemed to feel considerable pride in showing me their utensils, which, indeed, they well might; for nothing could be cleaner or in more excellent order, than the utensils which contained the produce of the dairy, in all its varieties of milk, cream, butter, and cheese. Every traveller has spoken of the excellence of the milk he has drunk among the Alps; and I must needs add my testimony to that of others; though I must acknowledge that I thought it inferior in richness to the milk I have drunk in Norway, and, I may perhaps add, in the Highlands of Scotland. It is certainly no recommendation to the thirsty traveller—at least it ought to be none—that milk is rich. It is, indeed, a delicious, but scarcely a refreshing beverage; and if the traveller will take my advice, he will follow my example, and drink the milk which has been already deprived of the cream.

After leaving the dairy, I went rapidly down the mountain, and, passing through the region of fir, I found myself, in about two hours, in the lowest defile, from which I occasionally caught glimpses of the valley below; and about five in the afternoon I reached the village of Pont, in the *Ober*, or Upper Engadine. I need scarcely add, that the descent

into the Engadine is less, by at least 2000 feet, than the ascent from Bergun—the village of Pont lying at an elevation of no less than 4800 feet above the level of the Mediterranean.

In the Engadine the traveller is not directed to the inn by the sign painted over the door, or swung before it. There is nothing to distinguish an inn from any other house. The villagers are presumed to be acquainted with the road to it; and as for strangers, the few that come are supposed to be versant with the *Roman*, and consequently able to ask the way to the auberge; but, as I did not possess this knowledge, I was some time in discovering the house of repose; but at length, a certain air of bustle and importance about a tolerably stout Grisonette, of forty or upwards, who stood at the door of a large house, raised a suspicion in my mind that this gentlewoman might be the mistress of an inn; and in this expectation I accosted her, and found that I had judged correctly. She did not herself speak any thing but the *Roman*; but a person who lived hard-by was immediately found to act as an interpreter. This convenience a stranger may always have, in almost every part of the Engadine; for so prone are the natives of these valleys to wander in early life into foreign lands, that in every village several are to be found who have returned with the savings of their industry, and who are able to speak more than one foreign tongue. In this inn I got a tolerable supper of pastry, cheese, bread, and milk. Each of the articles was indeed excellent of its kind, especially the cheese, the produce of the neighbouring mountain. It is the same with cheese in Switzerland, as with wine in France, Spain, and Italy. You meet, in little districts, with cheese of an excellence and delicacy in flavour peculiar to itself, differing in kind, perhaps, but many degrees in quality from other cheese made in an adjoining valley. Perhaps it may be difficult to assign a satisfactory reason for this: it may lie in the skill of those who superintend the dairy—in the temperature of the spot where the cheese is made—or in the difference in pasture. The latter reason is the one assigned by the natives; though they have never been able to point out to me any specific difference in the nature of the pasture on different mountains. The cheese at Pont I found delicious: it was certainly of the *Gruyér* kind; but in richness and delicacy of flavour, it far surpassed it.

CHAPTER VIII.

COUNTRY OF THE GRISONS—THE OBER AND UNTER ENGADINE.

The Valley of the Ober Engadine, and the River Inn—Character of the Valley, and Rural Economy—Grison Villages and Houses—Fernetz—Suss—Grison Women—State of the Inhabitants of the Engadine—Inns and Shops—Intelligence of many of the Natives—Domestic Economy of the Inhabitants of the two Engadines—Winter in the Engadine, and Grison Society—Privileges peculiar to the Villages—Contentment of the Natives—Scenery of the Unter Engadine—Guarda—Character of the Valley of the Unter Engadine, and its Productions—Fettam, and its Professor—Details respecting the Grison Youth, and their search after Fortune—Education in the Engadine—The Clergy—Journey to the foot of the Valley.

I LEFT Pont early next morning, to walk down the valley. The Inn, which was destined to be my com-

panion throughout the Engadine, is here but a trifling stream—perhaps ten yards across. At Pont it is scarcely twenty miles from its source, which is in the glaciers of Bregaglia; but, like many other things, which, in their beginnings are insignificant, but which, like itself, the commencement of an eternity, are invested with a grandeur, commensurate with their future destinies. This river possessed an interest in my eyes, which I am certain it could not have commanded, if its course had been destined to terminate during my day's walk. The water that flowed beside me had set out on a longer journey than any other in Europe; for, after flowing through the Engadine, the Tyrol, and Bavaria, a course of itself of 400 miles, it joins the Danube at Passau, which, although a larger stream at that point, has flowed a shorter distance, and mingled with its imperial waters, the Inn travels onward to the Black Sea, watering the whole of Austria, circling beneath the proud towers of its metropolis, traversing the wide pastures and fields of Hungary, washing the walls of Presburg and Pest, sweeping past the heights of Belgrade, and setting limits, as it flows towards Asia, to the power of empires, and the ambition of those who govern them.

In the neighbourhood of Pont, the Ober Engadine is at least a league wide; but, in descending, it rapidly contracts. The mountains on either side, although topped with snow, do not appear high, because the road, along which you travel, is itself not much below the region of snow. I found the whole country under meadow, scarcely any of which was yet ready for the scythe; and, at first, one cannot help feeling some surprise at seeing so great a quantity of grass, apparently so ill-proportioned to the probable demand; but when we consider that the mountains are covered with cattle, in which consist almost the whole riches of the inhabitants, and that these must be provided for during a long winter of eight months, our surprise is of course at an end. It is only in the neighbourhood of the villages that grain is to be found in any considerable quantity; and this never exceeds the wants of the inhabitants. Every single house has its own patch of corn for its own consumption; but upon the domestic and rural economy of the two Engadines, I hope to be able to speak more fully, when I have made the tour of the country.

During my day's walk, I passed through many large villages, the names of which I do not recollect, but whose size appeared to me very disproportionate to the extent of the valley in which I found them. The great size of the houses, however, partly accounts for this. In no part of Europe have I seen the houses of the natives so large, as I found them throughout the whole of the Unter and Ober Engadine. But the villages and houses of the Engadine merit a more particular description.

A village in every part of the Engadine is the same. It consists of one street, longer or shorter as may be, with some few and very short lateral openings, scarcely deserving the name of streets. In some part of the street, there is an open space, with a fountain in the centre—plain, but not inelegant; and closely adjoining the village, though seldom forming a part of it, is the village church—in size and architecture nearly resembling the churches in the country parishes of Scotland. In all this there is nothing remarkable; but in the

appearance of the houses which form the village, the same cannot be said. The first thing one remarks, is their extraordinary size. The walls which enclose the dwelling of a substantial Grison's house, would admit within them the largest houses that are to be found in London, with some few exceptions. Generally speaking, they cover an area greater than that occupied by any two houses in Portland place; but I must of course explain, that their height does not correspond with their bulk in other respects. They never exceed two stories; and the roof, which is covered with square pieces of wood, laid on like slates, upon which trunks of fir-trees are placed transversely, falls back at a very obtuse angle.

Astonished as we are, first, with the size of the houses, we are next attracted by the decorations of their exterior. Here the skill of the painter has supplied the want of architectural labour; for, upon the white plaster, we find painted, in lead-colour, the finest copies of Greek and Roman designs. The door, or rather gate, has its painted pillars—some Doric, some Corinthian—with their shafts and capitals; and so well are they in general painted, that it is difficult, until you approach very near, to believe that they are any thing else than the work of the sculptor. The gateway is generally spanned by a fine arch, ornamented, as these often are in architecture, by tasteful designs. The windows have generally their pillars, and are often surmounted by a well-conceived Greek pediment. Sometimes, indeed, every part of the walls are painted in one uniform design, the whole front and sides being set off with pillars and pilasters, and a fine pediment; so that such a building, if it stood single, might be mistaken, at a distance, for a Grecian temple. It is difficult to understand how this custom and taste have arisen. The painting is for the most part old, and in some places renewed, but not with equal skill; and upon the houses recently erected, nothing of the kind has been attempted. These, however, are but few, and form a very trifling exception, when speaking of the appearance of the Engadine villages. I cannot conceive any other origin of so singular and so universal a practice, than that some Grison architect, who had left his native valleys, acquired in Italy a taste for the classic models of that land, and, returning to his country, exercised his profession, and, at the same time, fed his recollection of the glorious things he had seen, by adorning the buildings of his native village. The taste might soon spread; and in the six or eight villages of the Ober Engadine, a few years only would be required to satisfy its demands. In all that I have yet said, or may still say, respecting the villages and houses of the Engadine, I speak with reference to both the Ober and Unter Engadine, with the exception of the painting upon the walls, which I think is confined to the Ober Engadine; at all events, it does not extend to more than one village in the lower valley. Let me add to this description of the exterior of the houses, that upon some part of the wall, generally over the gate, is found an inscription, sometimes in *Roman*, sometimes in *Latin*, indicating the period at which the house was built; setting forth the name of the builder; and containing, besides, a recommendation of the house and its inhabitants to the protection of God. It remains to say a few words respecting the interior of the houses.

When you enter the gateway, you find yourself in a spacious chamber, with an earthen floor, and which is indeed nothing else than an inner courtyard roofed in. This shapeless, unornamented place is in strange contrast with the finely-proportioned gateway by which you enter. This chamber is used as a general storehouse. Ranged on one side, you may see all the utensils required in the dairy—churns, cheese-presses, and the innumerable dishes used for the reception of the milk—all flat wooden dishes, as clean, to use a common expression, as hands can make them. On another side, you see a good assemblage of agricultural implements, together with ladders, saws, and other tools used in wright-work. Several spinning-wheels stand in one corner; a quantity of skins are heaped in another; and one end is always devoted to the fuel, and is heaped with wood as high as the roof. From this large space you enter the different chambers; the kitchen, the eating-room, and other rooms, varying in number, according to the size of the house and the necessities of the family. The furniture of these rooms is always abundant, substantial, and sometimes ornamented with carved wood-work. At one peasant's house, somewhere in the Lower Engadine, I remarked some chairs upon which foliage was so well executed, as greatly to exceed any thing I have seen from the workshop of a London upholsterer. The sleeping-rooms are almost always above, and scarcely correspond in convenience with the lower part of the house. Such are the habitations of the Grisons of the Engadine.

As I descended towards the Lower Engadine, I found the country more agreeable. The Inn flows in a deeper channel, the road generally keeping near it. The mountains seem to be higher, and the banks of the river and the sides of the mountains are better clothed with wood; and some time early in the afternoon, I reached the village of Zernetz, which is the first village of the Unter Engadine. Here the Inn receives a tribute in the waters of the Spal; and it is near this place that, in 1635, the Duke de Rohan gained his important victories. But finding nothing to detain me in this place, I pushed on to Suss, the largest of the Engadine villages, where I meant to pass the night. Between Zernetz and Suss, the valley might be spanned by a giant: during at least a league it is not a hundred yards across; there is only the river and the road, such as it is.

The people of Suss had finished the toils of the day, and were seated before their doors; and at the fountains the young women were assembled, washing the salad that was to garnish the supper-table. I am sorry I cannot say any thing in favour of their personal appearance. Neither in the Engadine, nor in any other part of the country of the Grisons, have I seen one female countenance that might justify the novelist in speaking of a charming Grison. They are not only not handsome, but they are positively ugly; and, indeed, the same may be said of the Swiss women generally, with some few exceptions in Geneva and Appenzell.

At the inn of Suss, I found an intelligent travelling merchant, and migratory shopkeeper; an inhabitant, or at least a native of the village, who owns a shop at Caen, in Normandy, and who carries on a trade between his own valleys and Italy, supplying the inhabitants with those few articles of foreign growth which habit has made necessary even in the

remotest corners. In no country in Europe will be found so few poor as in the Engadine. In the village of Suss, which contains about 600 inhabitants, there is not a single individual who has not wherewithal to live comfortably—not a single individual who is indebted to others for one morsel that he eats. This is a fine state of things, and may well render the inhabitants proud; but, alas! it is a state of things incompatible with those many wants, and that division of labour, which are inseparable from an opulent and a great country. In this remote village there are many rich; and some who would not be looked upon as poor, even in England. I was informed, that two peasants of Suss possessed, each, as much as 20,000*l.* sterling!

The inns in the Engadine are ill supplied with provisions: few strangers have need of them: they are only frequented by the villagers, who resort there to eat their morsel of cheese, as a seasoning to their pint of wine. I generally could get good eggs, milk, bread, butter, cheese, and sometimes a little fish. It was in this inn that I heard the eulogium upon Grison liberty, mentioned in another chapter. I found here several individuals, whom, but for their undue reverence for the shadow of liberty enjoyed by them, I would have termed intelligent men. The habit, so prevalent, of seeking fortunes in other countries, and of returning to invest it in their own, has sprinkled these valleys with men of considerable information and acquirements; and in this little alehouse—for it was nothing better—in a remote corner of the Grisons, a conversation was carried on, far superior in tone to any that I have ever heard in any of the commercial rooms in an English inn. I was somewhat surprised, upon being conducted to my chamber, which was but a garret, to find the pillow with an inner covering of blue satin, and the pillow-case, as well as the counterpane, set off with rich lace, at least nine inches broad.

I had resolved to spend the following day in this village, for being one of the largest and best-informed places I should meet with, and lying, besides, about the centre of the valley which bears the name of Ober and Unter Engadine, it seemed to me a likely spot to obtain information respecting the country and the people.

In the whole of the Engadine, the land belongs to the peasantry, who, like the inhabitants of every other place where this state of things exists, vary greatly in the extent of their possessions. If a peasant owns from eight to fifteen cows, and land sufficient for their support, as well as for growing what is consumed in his own family, he is esteemed in good circumstances. He consumes whatever part of the produce of his dairy is needed at home: and he sells the surplus, chiefly the cheese, which he keeps till the arrival of the travelling merchant, who buys it for exportation. Generally speaking, an Engadine peasant lives entirely upon the produce of his land; with the exception of the few articles of foreign growth required in his family, such as coffee, sugar, and wine. These he finds at the house of the inn-keeper, who, in the Engadine, is always a retail-dealer in such articles; for there is not a shop of any description in the Unter Engadine, and only one or two in the Ober Engadine. The peasant has his own cheese, butter, milk, eggs; and kills a cow or a pig occasionally, if he can afford this, keeping a part of it fresh, selling a little to

those who are not rich enough to kill any of their stock, and salting the rest for the use of his family.

There cannot be said to be any regular markets throughout the Engadine, so that it is difficult to say what is the value of the different articles of subsistence. There is no occasion for markets, because it is nobody's interest either to sell or to buy. Sometimes, however, meat is offered for sale in small quantities; and sometimes an over-abundant, or a scanty supply of the articles of the dairy, tempts some to sell, and forces others to buy. In these cases, meat sells at about 3d. per lb., butter about 8d.; wine is at all times moderate in price throughout the Engadine, and good in quality. Of course none is grown there; it is all imported from the Vatelina. In enumerating the articles which the Grison of the Engadine is supplied with from his own property, I omitted to mention flax, which is grown, prepared, spun, and woven, without ever leaving his house. He has also his own wool, which is converted into a blue coat, without passing through the hands of either the dyer or the tailor: the latter vocation is invariably exercised by the females of the house.

Several persons with whom I conversed at Suss, spoke in high terms of the happiness of the inhabitants. "How can we be otherwise than happy and contented," said they, "when we have ample means of living, and are dependent upon nobody for the least portion of that which contributes to our ease?" This, I admitted, was much; and when I hinted at the want of society, and the rigour of a nine months' winter, they made light of the latter; and immediately began to put me right in the view I took of their society. They assured me, that in the winter no place was gayer than the Engadine. They said they had balls and parties every week, at which they danced merrily and long, drank freely of the good wine of the Vatelina, and ate of the excellent pastry for which the Grisons have attained so high a reputation. They admitted that their winter was indeed long and rigorous; but then, of what consequence was this, with plenty of wood to be had for nothing? Such is, in truth, the privilege enjoyed by the villages of the Engadine. Every village has a certain mountain limit, within which, all the wood is free, and may be cut down and carried away by any one who chooses to take that trouble. A privilege like this, doubtless, smooths the severities of a rigorous winter; and yet, when I heard these villagers of the innermost valley, in which the only foreign luxuries are sugar and coffee, where even wheat is cultivated with difficulty, and where libraries are unknown, speak in lofty terms of their balls and parties, and the numerous *agrémens* of their winter evenings, I could not but contrast, in my own mind, a winter in London, and a winter in the Engadine; and picture to myself the astonishment of a villager of Suss, were it possible to transport him from one of his *fêtes* to the splendours of an English ball-room. It is certain, however, that I found every one contented; and in the Engadine nothing more need be desired. It is not, indeed, in all cases, a proof that a people enjoys the greatest possible happiness, merely because we find them contented with their condition. Ignorance and superstition may make a people contented with slavery. Of this we have, unfortunately, examples among the European nations. Sloth, and a low state of moral

feeling, may render men contented with beggary and wretchedness, in a land the most favoured, where plenty might reign, and luxury revel; but the Engadine is not so situated; and in place of grieving, as the patriot or the philanthropist may, at the spectacle of contentment, where contentment is indicative but of degradation, this general contentment among the Grisons of the Engadine is not to be deplored, for there is neither ignorance nor superstition, beggary nor wretchedness, among them; and the Engadine is not a country where discontent could produce any advantage to its inhabitants, because nothing can change their condition. The country is incapable of greater cultivation than it has received. All has been done for it that industry and an extreme love of gain can devise. Wherever an ear of rye will ripen, there it is to be found. But in a country lying between three and six thousand feet above the level of the sea (and this applies to the bottom of the valley, not to the mountain-sides, which are greatly more elevated), industry wages an equal war against the elements. Summer does not begin till June, and ends early in September; and even during its continuance, the diligently laboured fields are often laid waste by a desolating storm of hail, or entirely swept away by the resistless torrents that descend from the mountains.

Having received all the information I could at Suss, I left it very early in the morning to walk through that part of the Unter Engadine which I had not yet travelled, as far as the defile of Finstermuntz. From this journey I anticipated great pleasure; because, from the persons at Chur and elsewhere, with whom I had conversed, and whose trade had carried them through this valley, I understood that, in magnificent scenery, it might challenge a comparison with any other part of Switzerland, and that, in some points, I should find it eclipse even the most celebrated.

I never travelled along any road traversing a valley so circuitous as that which runs through the Lower Engadine; but the nature of the country renders it necessary. The wide and deep beds of the tremendous torrents that in winter desolate this valley, reach some thousand feet up the mountain sides; so that, to construct even the most imperfect road, it is necessary to carry it to an extreme height above the river, otherwise it would be impossible to cross these beds of the torrents; and even in those places where the road must of necessity cross them, the passage is most frightful, and even dangerous. The narrowest part of the bed is sought out, the road is led to it, and a few logs of timber are thrown across, and covered with earth; but the outermost logs have generally given way, the earth on each side of the ravine crumbling beneath the weight. I reached a most terrific bridge of this kind before arriving at Guarda. The bed of the torrent descended almost perpendicularly, in the form of a wide tunnel, at least two thousand feet to the river; and above, a fine cataract poured from a great elevation, and thundered below the frail and crumbling pathway; and, by-the-bye, as I have mentioned a cataract, let me add, that there are many cataracts both in the Engadine, and in the upper valley of the Rhine, nameless and unvisited, far greater both in volume and in elevation than any of those whose reputation attracts to them yearly so large a concourse of strangers. For

my own part, I must confess, that cataracts have no great charm for me, unless the volume of water be so great as to produce the emotion of sublimity. The lesser cataracts, or rather cascades, are pretty ingredients in a landscape; but I would not go *exprès* to see any cataract less than the fall of the Clyde, which I feel no hesitation in preferring to the fall of the Rhine at Shaffhausen.

At the little village of Guarda I stopped to breakfast, after a very long and fatiguing walk. This place, although marked on the large maps of Switzerland as being situated upon the road, is in fact at some distance from it. It stands between the road and the river, upon a little isolated hill; and opposite to it are the ruins of a castle, remarkable only for their picturesque site. There was nothing to detain me in the village of Guarda; and after rest and refreshment I regained the road, and proceeded down the valley. The general character of the Unter Engadine is this:—The Inn flows at the bottom of a deep rocky gorge, sprinkled with fir and mountain-ash. The rocks that dip into the water rise to the height of about three or four hundred feet above it. Upon the summit of these, there is generally a rugged platform covered with stones and shrubs. Above this, rises a second range of rocks. These are rich in the boldest and most striking scenery. In some places they rise from one to two thousand feet perpendicularly; in other places, they are broken into peaks, ravines, and lesser precipices. Sometimes, in looking far down, you may discover among the rocks, scattered here and there, a few rods where a crop of rye or barley is ripening by the rays of a short summer reflected from the naked rocks that surround it. Patches of grass, too, sprinkled with a few cows or goats, are also seen peeping from among the rocks. At the top of the second range of rocks runs the road; and here, also, is the peopled and cultivated part of the valley. Here the mountains slope backward, leaving now and then little plains of half a mile across, or undulating platforms of even greater width. These, and the slopes of the mountains, are covered with grass, and occasional fields of rye. In these also lie the villages, around which the wants of the inhabitants have forced a more varied product from the unwilling soil. Small enclosures of wheat are seen. Rye is more prevalent than grass. In the corner of every field grows a little flax; and by the side of every house there is an attempt at a garden, whose stock is confined to a few potatoes, cabbage, and lettuce. A few gooseberry-bushes, too, are here and there to be seen; but no fruit-tree of any kind is visible. Above the peopled and cultivated slopes, the mountains rise to the region of snow, and show, throughout the valley on either side, a range of snow-peaks and naked rocks. Such is the aspect of the Engadine.

The day upon which I walked through this part of the Engadine, was intolerably hot. This, and the fatiguing nature of the road, rendered my progress slow; and it was mid-day before I reached the village of Fetzam. Here I could find no auberge; but a well-dressed boy, who was standing at the door of a very respectable-looking house, and to whom I addressed myself for information, told me, that the house belonged to the professor; and, anxious to find a cool resting-place, as well as to know who this professor at Fetzam might be, I took the liberty of entering, and introducing myself. I

found a white-haired old gentleman of fourscore years, who received me with the greatest urbanity. He was just going to dine, and urged me to partake the meal with him, which I had no inclination to refuse. Three youths sat down to dinner with us; and the dinner, although not very varied, was abundant and wholesome.

The old gentleman informed me, that he had lived in the village of Fetzam ever since the revolution of 1789. He was a Frenchman; and, having lost his all in that fearful season of strife and anarchy, he had left his native land, and travelled into the country of the Grisons, and into the valley of the Engadine. In this village he found a home in the house of the *curé*, on condition of his teaching his children the French, Latin, and German languages. At forty, he was not too old to enter into matrimonial engagements; and the good minister being called from his duties in this world, and having one daughter of twenty-eight years old, she accepted her instructor, and for thirty years they had lived happily together. But the old man was now once more left alone. During all this while, he had employed himself in the instruction of youth. The richer peasants, who intended that one of their family should seek his fortune in other countries, sent him to live with the professor, there to acquire the language of the people among whom fortune was to be sought; and as he had grown old, he had grown rich. He had still three pupils; but he told me he could live without them; though, having been so long accustomed to the business of instruction, he found it necessary to his happiness to continue his vocation.

This gentleman was well acquainted with the people among whom he lived. How, indeed, could he be otherwise, after forty years' residence among them? From him I obtained an important corroboration of what I had heard and seen respecting the condition and character of the inhabitants of these valleys. He told me that the people were proud of their freedom, and contented with their condition. He explained to me, that the reason why so many of the young men left their country to seek fortune in other quarters, was not owing to any dissatisfaction with home, nor even to a vague desire of seeing the world, but that this arose from a certain habit of thinking, which teaches every peasant of the Engadine, from his earliest youth, to look with horror upon a state of dependence; and as every father cannot leave to a numerous family a patrimony sufficient to secure them all against dependence, one or two sacrifice themselves to the general good: and so sober and industrious is the general character of the Grisons of these valleys, that the greater number of those who have left their home when youths, return to it before their best years be over, and before the death of friends and relatives has robbed home of its greatest charm. For the most part, these young men carry away with them from 300 to 500 francs. They direct their steps to any of the great cities—to Paris, Marseilles, Lyons, or Bourdeaux, and perhaps spend a hundred francs upon their journey. Three or four hundred francs are therefore left, one-half of which, perhaps, they offer to the master of any well-frequented *café* or *restaurant*, as a fee to be taken as a *garçon*. Activity and industry recommend them to the master, civility to the customers, and saving habits soon produce a little store. A knowledge of pastry, acquired at

home, renders them useful; and perhaps, after some time, this department is confided to their care. At all events, in the course of a few years, they generally open a confectioner's shop, and in it acquire a sufficient sum to carry back to their native valley, though not yet sufficient to purchase repose. They then become travelling merchants between their own country and those parts where they purchase foreign articles for home-consumption; and it frequently happens, too, that, even after their permanent settlement at home, they retain a shop in some distant city, to which they pay an annual visit. In the absence of the proprietor, the business of the shop is not intrusted to a stranger, but is always conducted by some young man of the same valley, or, perhaps, of the same village, who is fortunate enough to get at once into so excellent a road to fortune, and who willingly pays some hundred francs for the privilege. In time, he purchases the proprietary, and becomes rich in his turn.

Before leaving the house of my kind entertainer, I questioned him respecting the state of education in the Engadine. He told me there was no want of it. Schools were every where to be had, where reading, writing, and arithmetic were taught, at the moderate charge of thirty *sous* (15d.) a month—this being a charge every one in the Engadine can afford to pay. Every child goes to school, and consequently there are very few who are ignorant of the essential elements of knowledge. I omitted to inquire what salary the schoolmasters receive; but, judging from the scanty salary of the ministers, I should presume the remuneration must be small. These have not more than 25*l.* per annum; and, like the ministers of religion in every country, I understood that some were deserving of more, and others of scarcely what they had. The labours of a minister of religion, one would think, must be light and pleasant in a country like the Engadine, where there is nothing to tempt the rich into the flowery paths of vice, and where that worst enemy of morality, poverty, is unknown. There is not one pauper in the two Engadines; yet, even there, I have no doubt the pious minister would shake his head, and say, "I often find my mission thwarted, and my lessons despised. It is true, I have neither to contend against the sins that ensnare the rich man, nor the temptations that drag on the poor; but envies and jealousies, human failings and human passions, are found here, as elsewhere; and in the Engadine even, a man may live 'without God in the world.'"

About two o'clock I took leave of the professor, and continued my journey. After passing through Fettau, the road gradually approaches the river; and during the remainder of the day, I skirted precipices, that, accustomed as I have been to mountain-scenes, I could not help hurrying by, so fearful was their depth, and so unprotected the path. Most valleys open and expand as we descend; but the Engadine forms an exception. The Ober Engadine is wider than the Unter Engadine; and the upper part of the Unter Engadine is wider than the lower part of it. I found the valley grow gradually narrower as I proceeded. Sometimes it expanded a little, and then I found a village, several of which I passed during the afternoon. But the plains became less and less frequent; and at length, about a league and a half before reaching Martinsbruck, there is room only for the river,

and a stripe of land 100 yards across by its side. Upon this stripe, lying low, and sheltered from the wind, I saw a promise of some good wheat, and, scattered here and there, I noticed a few cherry-trees—the only fruit-trees I had seen in the Engadine. There, too, I found several of our forest-trees, and an infinity of wild roses, besides a number of shrubs that could not have flourished in any other part of the valley. The difference in elevation between *Selva Rana*, the highest inhabited part of the Upper Engadine, and Martinsbruck, the lowest part of the Unter Engadine, is nearly 3000 feet; which might well account for a greater difference in the vegetable productions than I have remarked. It was after sunset when I reached the extreme point of the Engadine, Martinsbruck, where the Austrian arms, displayed over the door of the custom-house hard-by, led me to look back upon the valley through which I had passed with greater pleasure, and upon the boasts even of Grison liberty with greater indulgence.

CHAPTER IX.

THE COUNTRY OF THE GRISONS—THE VALLEY OF THE UPPER RHINE.

Return to Chur, through the Engadines—Instance of Gross Imposition—The Baths of Plessers—State of Society in Chur—Reunions and Balls—Statistical Details—Journey up the Rheinwald by the Sources of the Rhine—Character of the Valley of the Upper Rhine—Charming Scenery—Ilanz—Grison Imposition—Examples of Dishonesty—Road to Dissentis—Picture of Idleness—Domestic Economy of the Inhabitants of the Valley of the Upper Rhine—Wages of Labour—Dissentis.

I COULD not regain Chur by any other road than that by which I had come from it; and, as it is somewhat tedious to walk over the same ground twice, I accepted the offer of a seat in a little chariot, partly on springs, which was going with some trifling merchandise to Suss, and early next morning I was *en route*. I found it impossible, however, with common prudence, to make much use of the convenience I had bargained for. The driver fell asleep every moment, and in roads such as I have described, and where a variation of three inches in the direction of the wheel was sufficient to bring my journey to a sudden and very disagreeable termination, I found it impossible to remain seated in the vehicle, and I accordingly performed the journey on foot.

To ascend and to descend the same valley, are not precisely the same thing as respects scenery. New and infinitely varied combinations are produced by viewing scenery from different points; so that, although I found it tedious in some respects to retrace my route, I was frequently rewarded by the view of natural objects which had been hidden or unnoticed in descending the valley, and by the new forms in which remembered objects appeared. But I have no intention of detailing a second time the particulars of a journey through the same valleys. There is only one circumstance that I must not neglect to record. I arrived at Suss on Saturday, and wished to proceed next day to Pont in another little vehicle, of which I had bargained to be the driver, unwilling a second time to put my

life in the hands of a sleepy Grison; but late at night, the person with whom I had agreed came to inform me, that travelling was not permitted on Sunday in the Engadine, and that, therefore, I must wait until Monday. I need scarcely say that I declared the bargain void, and that next morning, betimes, I was on my way to Pont, regardless of the injunction against locomotion.

There is yet one other circumstance in the journey worth recording, chiefly because it throws some light upon the moral character of the people. The general character of the inhabitants of the Engadine may be included under that of the Grisons, of which I shall speak by-and-by; but, as exemplifying one trait in that character, a love of money, to be gratified at the expense of moral principle, the following little incident may not be uninteresting.

When I arrived at Pont the weather was insufferably hot, so much so, that a walk over Mount Albula was a thing to be dreaded; and I resolved, accordingly, to hire a horse. For this purpose, I addressed myself to the mistress of the inn, and she immediately sent for a man who had a horse to let out. The man arrived, and said he had an excellent horse, for the use of which he demanded ten francs. It was two days' journey, he said. He could not return to Pont that day, for it was already mid-day, and he should have to pay the expenses of keeping his horse all night at Bergun. I knew it was impossible to return to Pont that night, and that, therefore, the man might reasonably charge two days; but still I knew he asked too much, and refused to give him what he demanded. "Well," said the man, "the horse does not belong to me, but to my father; I'll go and fetch him, and we'll see what he says;" and accordingly the man ran off, and returned in a few minutes with an old man, who said he was the owner of the horse, and that, taking into account the long time the journey would occupy, and the expense of remaining all night on the other side the mountain, he could not take less than ten francs; and I was accordingly obliged to agree to the demand. Now, attend to the sequel. I passed Mount Albula upon the horse, arrived at Bergun, and went to the inn, where I again met the retired pastry-cook with whom I had breakfasted a few days ago, and to him I mentioned that I had hired a horse at Pont, and what I had paid for it. "What a pity it is," said he, "you did not know that there was a man and a horse from this place, on the other side of the mountain, who are returning home this evening. I sent them over yesterday for something I had need of from the Vateline, and you would not have paid the fourth part of ten francs if you had come by them." I immediately suspected that I had been imposed upon, and that the horse in question was in reality the horse for which I had paid ten francs; and my suspicion turned out to be just. The man who was conversing with me went out and ascertained the fact; and thus, for the sake of four or five francs, the mistress of the inn, her daughter, the man who first bargained about the horse, the man who pretended to be his father, and a respectable-looking man who acted as an interpreter, conspired to cheat a stranger, by inventing a story, and supporting the imposition by a pack of lies! This incident, I fear, may have occupied more room than it is worth; but I would rather run the risk of being charged

with prolixity, than omit any thing which may in the smallest degree tend to throw light upon the character of the people.

The next day, I again arrived at Chur; and the day following, I made an excursion to the *Bains de Pfeffers*. The road to them led me through a picturesque country, tolerably populous on the side of Chur at least, and offering, now and then, some pleasant views up the different valleys. The baths are situated at the bottom of a deep gorge, surrounded by very savage scenery, and close by a turbulent stream, called the Tamina. There were but few strangers resident at the time; but the season was not sufficiently advanced. I believe the reputation of the baths is considerable, and occasionally attracts many strangers. The waters only flow during summer, and not very abundant. There are two springs, one 20½ degrees of Reaumur, the other 30 degrees. I tasted the water, and found it without any peculiarity. The baths belong to the abbey, which is situated half a league distant, and which, in former times, exercised an extensive sovereignty. All the buildings, too, for the reception of strangers, belong to the convent, and return a very handsome revenue to the religieux. I did not walk as far as the convent, though I believe I might have been repaid for my trouble; for I understand its site is very picturesque, and the building itself large, and handsomely constructed. Upon the whole, I was not much pleased with the *Bains de Pfeffers*; and, unless forced to their neighbourhood by disease, I think I should not select them as agreeable summer quarters.

I remained a few days in Chur, making excursions in the neighbourhood, and informing myself respecting the manners and character of the Grisons; and, before proceeding upon my journey, let me here note down the results. In the Grisons, as in many other parts of Switzerland, the sexes rarely mingle in society. A man seldom visits in company with his wife; and it scarcely ever happens that young men and women are found in the same party, unless when visits are made to the houses of near relatives. But to this strict limitation of intercourse there is one very extraordinary exception. In Chur, there is what they call a *reunion* of young men; that is, unmarried men, from about twenty to twenty-eight years old. During the winter, this society has two or three balls, generally given at some place out of town; and each member of this *reunion*, which comprises all the respectable young men of the town and neighbourhood, invites a young lady. The invitation is always accepted, with consent of her parents; and on the appointed evening, the young lady is put under the protection of her *cavalier*, who conducts her in a sledge or carriage to the place appointed for the ball. None of the parents are present. The party is composed entirely of young unmarried persons. The ball continues till three or four next morning; and when it breaks up, each gentleman conducts his partner home. This, I say, is a very extraordinary exception to the strictness otherwise observed in the intercourse between young persons of opposite sexes, and cannot fail to produce its results. The Grisons are doubtless as susceptible as the people of other countries; and it is evident, that a custom like this must greatly encourage the formation of attachments. Now, what would any

one naturally infer from the existence of this usage, knowing to what it must lead? They would presume, that the young men composing this *reunion* were all of them young men of so much respectability, and of such worldly prospects, that it was almost a matter of indifference to the parents of the young ladies to which of them their daughters were united. Nay, one might almost go the length of inferring, that this *reunion* was formed by the young men, and sanctioned by the old people, purposely to facilitate the marriage of sons and daughters. But all this is far from being the case: there are no such things as marriages of inclination. If, as must often be the case, a proposal is made by a member of this *reunion* to the young lady whom he has been accustomed to escort, it immediately becomes a matter of diplomacy. If the suitor be agreeable to the young lady's parents, he is accepted, and the *fiancée* goes to no more balls, even in company with her intended husband: her visiting days are over until the marriage takes place; but if the marriage proposed be not acceptable to the parents of the young lady, there is an end of the affair; she must get the better of her attachment, and may continue to go to the balls, though etiquette and prudence, of course, forbid that she should continue to have the same escort. It is quite impossible to conceive any thing worse calculated to promote happiness than this. It is a tissue of cruelty, and cannot fail to engender the most fatal results.

Learning the existence of such a custom as this, it was natural to make a few inquiries into the state of morals. These I ascertained to be high, and that certain results, which in other countries would almost infallibly arise from a similar cause, were here unknown. I could learn no instance in which the existence of a former attachment had interfered with the duties of wedded life; nor could I hear of any case in which the confidence reposed in the young men of the *reunion* had been abused. These are curious facts, scarcely to be accounted for upon common principles.

There are some other facts worth noticing, relating to the state of society at Chur. There are various *reunions* of men of all ages, from which ladies are entirely excluded; but there no *reunions* of ladies, who occupy themselves entirely with the cares of their household and their families, and never visit, excepting at periodical meetings of relatives. But a well-informed man, an inhabitant of Chur, engaged in the transit trade, assigned a reason for this secluded life, and why the ladies had no re-unions among themselves. "Our notions of equality," said he, "permit that men of different stations should associate together; and this is fortunate, in a place where society is so limited as it is at Chur. At the *reunion* here, I meet my baker, my butcher, and men of very different grades in life; but they are well-informed men; and while we talk over the politics of the day, we remember only that we are citizens of the same state, and enjoy the same privileges. But the ladies do not feel as we feel; they are not so penetrated with the spirit of equality; their education has not taught them to feel the value of political rights; their prejudices, therefore, remain with them; and although I find pleasure in intercourse with my butcher and baker, my wife would feel none in gossiping with the butcher's or the baker's wife." I found this reasoning satisfactory enough. I attended one of

the *reunions*, and, with the exception of some absurd boasting about political privileges, I found reason to be pleased with the conversation, and certainly conceived from it a very favourable idea of Grison information. History, geography, and the political state of Europe, formed the topics of discourse; and some few seemed also to have a little acquaintance with the literature of England. I understood, however, that general literature is but little cultivated, and that there is no good library in the country.

The Grisons is the largest canton of the confederation, next to Berne. They say it derives its name from the gray colour of the men's dresses; but if so, the name outlives the cause from which it originated, because at present the men's coats and pantaloons are almost universally blue. The two great valleys of the Grisons, are the valley of the Inn, which comprises the two Engadines, and the valley of the Upper Rhine, in the lower part of which Chur is situated. There are several other lateral valleys; but far inferior to these in extent and population. The country contains no plains whatever. I have already mentioned the transit of goods by the Splügen, as a source of wealth to Chur, with other parts of the Grisons. There is an extensive trade in cattle with Italy, returning to the country, as some say, a profit of 50,000*l.* The export of cheese is very inconsiderable; it is chiefly consumed among themselves, though a little of the coarser kinds passes into France and Italy. The cheeses of the finest kind are too delicate to bear transportation. Bread, wine, vegetables, and fruit, are dear in the Grisons. They do not grow a third of the wheat they consume, and scarcely a half of the rye. A little wine is made in the lower part of the valleys, and is not disagreeable in flavour; but is so small in quantity, that the price of foreign wine is scarcely affected by it; and, excepting in the neighbourhood of Chur and Mayenfeld, and in some low parts of the valley of Bregaglia, it is only the hardier kinds of vegetables that arrive at perfection; and the cherry is the only abundant fruit.

The route I selected to pass from Chur to the central parts of Switzerland, is the only one I could have chosen, except that by which I had arrived. There is no carriage-road—I might say no road at all—from any of the other cantons of Switzerland into the Grisons, excepting by Mayenfeld, where the road branches into two, one leading to the Wal-lenslatter lake, by which the reader will recollect to have already travelled with me; the other running due north, skirting the Tyrol, and leading to St. Gall, &c. The route I resolved to take from Chur, was to ascend the valley of the Upper Rhine, called the Grison Oberland, or Rheinwald, and the valley of Tavetch, to pass between Mounts Badus and Tombohorn, by the sources of the Rhine, and so reach the Canton of Uri. By adopting this route, I should have the advantage of having journeyed through almost every part of the Grisons, and of seeing a part of Switzerland almost untravellered.

I left Chur, as usual, at break of day, well satisfied with my treatment in the house of Daniel Denz; and after about an hour's walk through a very fine fertile country, I found myself upon the banks of the Rhine, which I was now to trace upwards to that infancy, from which the mightiest river and the tiniest rill must alike begin its race.

There are few rivers more interesting than the Rhine, whether on account of the variety of countries through which it passes, the charming scenery to be found on its banks, or the historical associations with which it is connected. The course of the Rhine is not so long, by some hundred miles, as that of the Danube, nor does it bathe the walls of so many great and metropolitan cities. Commercially, however, it is a river of greater importance. The free navigation of the Rhine is of so much importance, as to form an article of treaties, and to set nations by the ears. The prosperity of Frankfort, and of many other important places, depends upon it; and, without the Rhine and the Meuse, the Low Countries could never have acquired a consequence among the countries of Europe, which, from their extent, they are not entitled to possess. The Upper Rhine may be said to extend from its source to its entry into the lake of Constance. The Lower Rhine to comprehend its course from the lake of Constance to the German Ocean. The fall, of course, interrupts the navigation of the river, so that the navigation of the Upper and Lower Rhine is entirely distinct; but the navigation of the Upper Rhine is of very inferior moment.

The Rhine, where I now met with it, is not much larger than the River Derwent at Matlock. It is certainly not so large as the Tweed at Melrose. Its waters are extremely transparent, as, indeed, the Rhine is well known to be throughout all its course. A fine broad road leads from Chur as far as *Richenau*, three leagues from Chur; but at this place it turns to the left, leading into Italy; and the road up the Rhine then becomes what we should call in England a cart-road only. *Richenau* is a large and handsome inn, used by the inhabitants of Chur as a place of festivity; and it is there that the *reunion* of young persons, of which I have already spoken, is generally held during the winter.

I do not recollect, in any part of Switzerland, to have travelled through so captivating a country as that which lies between *Richenau* and *Ilanz*, a village lying about ten leagues up the Rhine. Sometimes the road skirts the river—always a pleasant companion, even when it runs away from us; sometimes it mounts up a steep bank, overhung with charming foliage, and winds along the face of the rocks, while only occasional glimpses are caught of the stream that sparkles below; then we descend again, and pass through a little plain, green and shady, over which the river strays in a hundred windings, and again the steep banks force the road upward; and now we leave the river for a season; and, after many ascents and descents, and frequent turnings, we find ourselves among those back alpine valleys, which to me form the most charming feature of Swiss scenery. It was a captivating scene that opened before me; it was a basin among the mountains, and the road made the circuit of it. The Rhine flowed about a league to the left, but it was not visible—a high wall of wooded rocks shut it out. In the basin below, a plain of a mile across, hay-harvest was gathering;—some part of the plain was a smooth and verdant carpet, other parts were dotted with hay-ricks, and on half a dozen little eminences in this basin were placed as many cottages. Behind, the mountains rose in various ledges, falling backward and backward, but not in any order;—hillocks garnished the sides of the mountains, and knolls rose

upon the little mountain-platforms, all of the freshest green; and numerous herds of cattle browsed upon every height. Far back upon the mountains, were deeper valleys and wooded ravines; and from the highest and most distant ridge were seen numerous cascades, which had united into the one stream, that slowly wandered over the little plain at my feet. I wish it were possible, by means of words, to exhibit to the reader a living picture, and that I possessed that power. It was long before the road returned to the river. It first made many windings among the mountains, passing through one or two little villages—villages forming little worlds within themselves, because beyond the din of the great world, and showing the traveller scenes among which the great highways of the world can never lead him. At length I found myself again above the river, which I saw at an immeasurable depth below, skirting the edge of one of the most frightful precipices I ever beheld; and gradually the road descended, till it reached the brink of the Rhine, then flowing in diminished volume through a little winding wooded valley. I cannot tell how all this day passed away. I frequently sat down among the beautiful spots I passed through; and it is possible I may have dreamed away an hour. But I know, that, when I reached the river, it was sparkling beneath the last rays of the sun, that came slanting over the distant mountain-tops; and the last league of my journey, the moon lighted me on my way. I wandered a considerable while through the streets of this little town, before I was able to find the inn. Everybody was in bed; but at length I stumbled upon what seemed rather an occasional inn, than a regular rendezvous for strangers; and, indeed, where so few strangers come, the business of an *aubergiste* would be but an unprofitable one.

It seems to have been formerly the custom in the Grisons, for the rich who built a house, to build it in the form of a castle, and to ornament the interior with a variety of woodwork. The room into which I was ushered was most spacious, large, and lofty; and the roof, walls, and doorways, were covered with a profusion of delicate carving. So was the furniture; and I noticed that the round table in the centre might have served as the model of one of those modern circular loo-tables, which stand upon what upholsterers call pillar and block. New fashions are nothing but old fashions revived; and it might perhaps tend to lower our estimate of their importance, could we always know the source from which they have originated.

I can scarcely choose a fitter time than while I am speaking of *Ilanz*, to say a few words of Grison honesty. It is a pity that the inducement to travel through a country so interesting as the Grisons—interesting from the grandeur of its scenery—interesting from the peculiarities of its natural and moral aspect—should be in any degree counterbalanced by the unpleasant knowledge, that every man's object is to cheat you; and that, moreover, any attempt to resist even the grossest robbery, will be followed by abuse and insult, sometimes even by violence; and yet such is the state of things throughout the country of the Grisons. I do not allude to what I would call *simple imposition*. Overcharges a stranger must submit to; and the traveller will do wisely in making up his mind to bear these quietly. But the imposition practised upon travellers throughout the Grison country

is of a different kind, and amounts to robbery. This is less excusable, too, among the Grisons, than in any other part of Switzerland, and must be attributed, among them, to an innate want of honesty. In the more travelled parts of Switzerland, intercourse with strangers may have corrupted the natural simplicity of the natives. When the continent was first opened to the English, they scattered their money with the most lavish hand, measuring their bounty not by the wants of the natives, and the scale of things abroad, but by the high war-prices of England; so that upon the principle, that a thing is worth what it will bring, the Swiss adapted their demands to this rule; and, even at this day, although the majority of travelling English act with greater prudence, there are still many exceptions; and when you offer a Swiss something reasonable and just for his services, nothing is more common than to be told, that *un Monsieur Anglais* gave so and so the other day for a similar service, naming a sum two or three times greater than you have offered. But the Grisons have no such examples of folly to bring in support of their extortions; and these extortions are, besides, far greater, as well as of a different character. I have already given one example of a conspiracy to cheat, and I could recount twenty more. I scarcely ever changed a piece of money in the Grisons, that an attempt was not made to give less than its value; and, at the same time, presuming upon my ignorance of Swiss coinage, money either altogether false, of depreciated value, or useless in the country of the Grisons, made a part of the change. Moderate overcharges I do not complain of, because I lay my account with them. But these, when very gross, become mere robbery; and of this description was the demand made at Ilanz, where I now am. I had bread, milk, and two eggs for supper—this was all the house afforded; and for breakfast, I had bread, butter, sugar, and hot water to make tea, which I carried with me. The whole of these could not have been worth one franc; and in the morning, when I demanded my bill, I was told it amounted to *nine francs*. I requested to know the particulars. Supper three francs, breakfast three francs, bed three francs. I told him the charge was quite absurd. He shrugged his shoulders. I told him it was at least three times what would be charged for the same accommodation in England. "*C'est possible?*" said he, with the greatest coolness; "*mais nous sommes à présent en Suisse.*" I told him I would not pay it. "How can you help it?" said he, with the utmost effrontery; and, in short, I purchased leave to go upon my journey, by submitting to be robbed. I could mention several other instances of robbery to match this. And with respect to begging in the Grisons, how do the peasants manage to reconcile their cupidity with their independence? They manage in this way. They employ their children to beg in the neighbourhood of Chur; and, on the road to the *Bains de Pflefers*, where the inhabitants are accustomed to see strangers, you cannot pass a hamlet, without being assailed by children, while the parents, richer perhaps than you are, stand at the door with an air of Grison independence. But this is not all—when I have refused to give any thing (and, I need scarcely say, I always did refuse), I have been frequently hooted at, and pelted with stones; and, upon one occasion, when I turned back, to bestow a little wholesome chastisement

upon some boys past the age of children, two or three men, and as many women, all of whom had seen the misconduct of the boys, rushed from the cottage-door, and showed, by their menaces, that I should act wisely in submitting to be pelted with stones in so free a country as the Grisons. So much for Grison honesty, and Grison civilization.

The situation of Ilanz, the town where I was so grossly imposed upon, is particularly agreeable. The Rhine is here joined by a considerable stream, called the Gleimer, which adds at least one-third to its waters.

In ascending the Rhine from Ilanz to Dissentis, the road generally keeps near to the river. The greater narrowness of the valley forces them to be close companions. The character of the valley is now considerably changed. It is not only narrower, but wilder and less fertile. The crops of grain were scanty; but the grass on the meadows was fine and abundant. I noticed a considerable quantity of land lying waste, that might have been under tillage. The fields were less carefully prepared than in the lower parts of the valley, the road much worse, and the villages poorer and dirtier; altogether, there appeared a want of industry, of which I had seen no trace in any other part of the Grison country. All this was explained upon entering a pretty large village about mid-day. The men were assembled in an open area in front of the church, standing, sitting, walking up and down; the women were sitting at their doors, or leaning out of the windows; no one was in the fields; it was a *jour de fête*, some saint's day; but which saint, I forget. The inhabitants of this part of the valley of the Upper Rhine all profess the Roman catholic faith; and, unfortunately for this district, it happens, that those at the head of religious affairs lend too positive a sanction to the observance of those feasts, which are not obligatory upon all catholics, but which are left to the conscience, and which vary in almost every jurisdiction. Inaction could not have been more *mal-apropos*, than at the present moment; the ground was covered with hay, for the most part cut, and ready to be housed; the weather had been unsettled, and still looked dubious, but all morning the sun had been out; and a better afternoon, either for making or leading hay, could not have been desired; and yet the whole population of the village was idle. I pity, but do not blame the villagers—the fault does not rest with them.

The inhabitants of the valleys of the Upper Rhine resemble, in their domestic economy, those of the Engadine, and other parts of the Grisons. Like them, they are proprietors, and, like them, live upon the produce of their land. Nothing is bought in these valleys, excepting coffee, sugar, indigo, and salt. Excepting the trade of tailor, which is exercised by the females of every family, the ordinary handicrafts are followed by individuals bred to them; and the wages of labour throughout the Grisons are high. A labourer in the fields receives from thirty sous (15d.) up to 2s.; a carpenter's wages are three francs per day; a mason's scarcely less; a shoemaker's two francs; so that the industrious find ample remuneration.

If a traveller ask the distance from one place to another in the Grisons, the reply is somewhat puzzling. Supposing the distance to be two leagues, if you are on foot, the answer will be two hours; if on horseback, one hour; if in any wheeled con-

veyance, as many hours as the person to whom you address yourself thinks sufficient for the journey; so that an hour means no specific distance, but expresses whatever distance you are able to go in an hour. As I walked out of the holiday village, I saw a considerable number of the inhabitants assembled by the river-side shooting at a target—an exercise very much practised throughout Switzerland, and much encouraged by the government. I did not stop to observe their skill. I was sorry to see so many persons spending the afternoon in idleness, when close by were several fields of hay, which a few hours' labour might have secured.

The character of the valley was now materially changed. It was quite an upland valley. The Rhine was shrunk into a stream not thirty yards across. There was no grain; and fir was the only wood to be seen; but gigantic firs they were, such as I had never seen, excepting in Norway. The road in this part of the valley is fitted only for a pedestrian, though carts occasionally pass along it. In one place it had entirely given way; and I saw the mark, and part of the remains, of the vehicle that had fallen down. Before reaching Dissentis, you enter among the mountains, and the village stands upon an outer elevated platform, the Rhine flowing in a deep bed below, with all the characteristics of a mountain-stream. The extreme badness of the road had made the day's journey fatiguing; and I was well pleased, therefore, to find myself entering the town, especially as a storm was evidently brooding.

CHAPTER X.

THE GRISONS.

The Scenery of the Lower and the Upper Rhine compared—Dissentis, and the Valley of Tavetch—Life in the remote Alpine Valleys—Passage of the Mountains—Ciamut—The Rhine near its Sources—Observations upon the Sources of Rivers, and Description of the Sources of the Rhine—Mountain Prospects—The Lake of the Oberalp, and Sources of the Reuss—A dangerous Bog—Descent into the Canton of Uri—The Valley of Ursern.

WITH Dissentis ends the valley of the Upper Rhine; and here the valley of Tavetch begins. If the principal feature in the scenery of a valley be considered to be the river that traverses it, then there is no comparison between the scenery of the valleys of the Upper and Lower Rhine. The Lower Rhine is a majestic river; the Upper Rhine an inconsiderable stream. But if, on the contrary, the river is to be considered but one, and not the most important feature in the landscape, the valley of the Upper Rhine, I rather think, is entitled to be preferred. For my own part, I have no hesitation in according it the preference, chiefly because of the greater variety which it includes. The finest scenery becomes tedious by repetition: and, with all the attractions of the Lower Rhine, it can scarcely be denied, that, in the character of its banks, there is a sameness that in some degree damps the enjoyment of a voyage. But the scenery of the Rhine, as the Lower Rhine is called *par excellence*, is so great a favourite with everybody, that I dare not say any thing more in disparagement of it.

I had scarcely taken my seat in the inn, when the storm I had seen brooding burst among the

mountains; and as I saw it take the direction of the valley I had ascended, I recollected the *jour de fête*, and the hay-fields that were already drenched with rain. One afternoon of idleness had thus created a necessity for several days' labour, which might otherwise have been employed in the cultivation of waste land, or upon the fields already under imperfect tillage.

The inn at Dissentis is almost as bad as inn can be; but this is not to be wondered at, since its services are so seldom required. I could get nothing but bread, so sour as to be quite uneatable, and hot water, with which I again manufactured my favourite beverage. Even milk was scarce here. All the cows were high in the mountains; and the milk that had been brought down in the morning was expended. At Ilanz, however, where I had been cheated, and where I found the bread excellent, I had revenged myself by putting a couple of loaves in my pocket; and these I found useful at Dissentis. The traveller among the Grisons pays the same, whether he consume the articles furnished in the house, or those which he brings along with him. The least charge ever made is a franc and a half, even if nothing but hot water be supplied. In such inns as this, one is strongly reminded of the remote inns of our own country, not by similitude, but by contrast; for in England, however poor a table may be served out, one may always find a comfortable seat in a snug corner, where neither wind nor rain can reach, and where, in a raw and chill evening, the traveller enjoys the warmth and cheerfulness of a blazing fire. But here, at Dissentis, in as raw an evening as I ever felt in my own country, in place of warmth and comfort, there was not even shelter from the storm. The rain beat in at every one of the three windows; and five or six streams were straying along the floor.

Dissentis is the last village of the Grisons in the direction of Central Switzerland. Some hamlets, of twenty or thirty houses, lie higher up among the mountains—wretched places, of which I may say a few words when I pass through them. Dissentis lies no less than 4000 feet above the level of the sea, so that rye is almost the only kind of grain cultivated, and that not in great quantities; but if the inhabitants of the Engadine, in place of the natives in this valley, owned the land round Dissentis, it would be turned to a very different account: grass would be seen where there is nothing but rushes; rye would take the place of coarse grass; and oats, barley, and perhaps even a little wheat, might nestle in the sheltered nooks. When speaking of the Engadine, I did not enlarge sufficiently upon the industry of the inhabitants; but it deserves a panegyric. There is not a foot of waste land in the Engadine, the lowest part of which is not much lower than the top of Snowdon. Wherever grass will grow, there it is; wherever a rock will bear a blade, verdure is seen upon it; wherever rye will succeed, there it is cultivated. Barley and oats have also their appropriate spots; and wherever it is possible to ripen a little patch of wheat, the cultivation of it is attempted.

In passing through such a place as Dissentis, we are apt to say: "How is it possible for any one to pass his days in such a place as this?" The feelings that give rise to this reflection are natural enough, because we suppose ourselves, with all our

recollections and acquired habits, placed in the situation of the inhabitants. It is impossible, by any effort of the imagination, to free ourselves of these so entirely, as to be able to judge of the condition of the inhabitants. At the same time, I am not a convert to the doctrine which teaches, that happiness is nearly equally distributed; and that the native of *Tierra del Fuego*, who wanders half-naked upon his inhospitable shore, is as happy as the enlightened inhabitant of a metropolitan city. If so, to what purpose is the diffusion of knowledge? And why attempt to raise men in the scale of humanity? It is a mistake to suppose that ignorance is equivalent to enjoyment; and that he who never tasted a pleasure is not the less happy, inasmuch as he cannot feel the want he has never enjoyed. This, I say, is an error, and would strike at the root of all improvement. Man has many capabilities; and the more of these that are called into action, the more numerous are his sources of enjoyment. The inhabitant of Dissentis is less happy than the inhabitant of Paris or London; and our surprise that any one can pass his life in such a place, is therefore not only natural, but philosophical. But, to return from this digression—Dissentis is a miserable village, of one narrow, dirty street, but looked down upon by a magnificent monastery, which is situated upon a hillock close by. This monastery was some time ago almost entirely destroyed by fire; but it is partly rebuilt, and I believe contains a large library and some valuable manuscripts, which might as well have perished in the flames, if they are to remain for ever buried in the Benedictine abbey of Dissentis.

After having passed one night at Dissentis, I left it tolerably early next morning to pass the mountains. My course from Dissentis lay up the valley of Tavetch, which is the last valley of the Grisons, and which terminates at the foot of the highest ranges of Mount Badus and the Crispalt. If it be possible, I always travel without a guide; but this incumbrance is sometimes indispensable; and so I found it in passing from the country of the Grisons to the Canton of Uri.

In leaving Dissentis, I found by the way-side abundance of sweetbriar, sweetmarjoram, and sweetwilliam, which ensured me a pleasant nosegay for my journey. The road—only a horse-road—winds round the mountain sides, showing, very far beneath, the deep ravine that contains the Rhine. All the way to Ciamut the road is highly interesting. It ascends continually, always keeping above the deep bed of the river, and every moment opening up new and striking views into the heart of the majestic mountains that separate the Italian frontier from the Grisons.

Ciamut lies about two leagues and a half up the mountains from Dissentis. Its height above the level of the sea is stated to be upwards of 5000 feet; and, at such an elevation, it is scarcely necessary to say, that, excepting a little rye, no grain is cultivated. The village is a congregation of scattered houses, for the most part miserable enough; and a church, dedicated to the Romish worship, overlooks them. I saw the *curé* walking in the neighbourhood, and could not help pitying the man of education condemned to so cheerless a life.

From Ciamut there is only a track, which leads from one platform to another, higher and higher up. Among these I still found a few hamlets, the

most wretched abodes I had seen in any part of Switzerland. The houses were mere hovels, black with smoke, and exposed on all sides to the bitter winds that belong to the neighbourhood of eternal snow. The few inhabitants I saw scarcely wore the aspect of human beings; they were covered with filth and rags, and showed, in their countenances, the poverty—the hopeless poverty that was their lot. Wretched, indeed, is the lot of some! What a contrast is exhibited between the condition of an inhabitant of one of these hamlets, spending his days in that desolate valley, shut out from every one comfort, his intellect fruitless in enjoyment, his nourishment, day after day, goats' milk and the coarsest bread; and the condition of him who can command, in the heart of a civilized country, every enjoyment that a cultivated intellect can demand, and every luxury that the body can desire! To the selfish man, a contemplation like this is pleasant; to the philanthropist, it is painful. For my own part, I fear I am more inclined to indulge in self-congratulation, than to commiserate the condition of my less fortunate brethren.

Soon after leaving the last of these hamlets, and after an ascent of about an hour, I found myself in the highest reach of the valley of Tavetch. It was a green, quiet, narrow valley, in the centre of which flowed the Rhine, now shrunk to the dimensions of a rivulet ten yards across. The sides of the valley are the flanks of lofty mountains, but the bed of the stream is not deep. Here and there it forms a cascade; and between these, it may be said almost to meander through this alpine valley, which is about two leagues in length, and nearly level. About half-way up this valley, a stream, flowing from the right, joins that which flows through the valley. This comes from the Crispalt, and is considered to be one of the anterior sources of the Rhine. The other branch, however, which flows down the valley, is the larger; and as its course is said to be longer, it may perhaps be considered the principal of the two anterior sources of the river. Near the head of the valley, which is now but a ravine, I found this branch again divide into two; and the stream which flowed from the left, tumbling down the mountain side—a part of Mount Badus—the guide pointed out as the Rhine. The other or lesser branch was nameless. But, after all, are not the sources of rivers conventional? Who can pretend to determine which are the sources of the Rhine, or what branches of the same stream are entitled to bear its name? In passing up the valley of Tavetch, several fine streams contribute their waters to the Rhine, and yet are denied its name; and at the point at which I had now arrived, where one branch flows from the left, and where the other comes from the direction in which the main body of the river afterwards flows, the former is called the Rhine, and the latter, whose course is quite as long, is a nameless mountain rivulet. The reason of this distinction I think I can account for. I followed the branch coming from the left to its source. During about an hour, I mounted the steep ravine or gorge in which it flows, and then reached a plain of some extent near the summit of Mount Badus. In this plain I found a lake from which the stream issues. This is a definite and single source. It is true, that this lake seemed to have many feeders, which I saw farther back—mere threads of foam coming from the glaciers, each of which contributes

to form a source of the Rhine; but the lake, and the one stream that flows out of it, form a defined source; and, therefore, this branch enjoys the reputation of being the principal of the two anterior sources of that river. The same distinction is denied to the other branch, which I have spoken of as a nameless rivulet, because it has no defined source. Such, at least, is the only explanation I am able to give. My path across the mountain led me up the side of this latter stream, and I found it impossible to assign to it any definite source. It is formed by innumerable minute rills, and small springs that rise on every side as you ascend, imperceptibly swelling the main stream; and at length you entirely lose it in the boggy ground that forms the upper part of the pass. I was now above the sources of the Rhine, and, looking back, I saw it beneath me, setting out on its long journey. Before me was the more imposing source of another, though a less celebrated river, the Reuss. The scenery here is of the most majestic character. The snowy summits of Badus and the Crispalt rise on every side; behind, stretches downward, in long windings, the valley of Tavetch, carrying the Rhine in its bosom, and losing itself in the dark forests that stretch over the lower part of the mountains. In front, dark, deep, and calm, lies the lake of the Oberalp, the largest of all the Upper Alpine lakes—surmounted by the snowy peaks of the Badus and the Crispalt. At this place, the path became difficult and even dangerous. There was, in fact, no marked path. A considerable quantity of snow was accumulated in many places, and beneath, it was entirely excavated by streams. After passing these snow heaps without any accident, a still greater difficulty arose. A formidable bog lay between us and the lake, stretching along its head, and traversed by several deep streams which strayed leisurely through it. My guide was evidently at a loss. The path, he said, was never the same two consecutive summers; and this summer no one had yet crossed. The greatest caution was necessary in making every step; and we were frequently obliged to withdraw our feet, which, by a very slight pressure, had sunk to a considerable depth. Contrary to the usual practice, I left my guide. In one direction the bog seemed less formidable; but a deep and tolerably broad stream must be passed. The guide, however, assuring me, that if I could reach the lake I should find a fine gravelly bottom, I attempted this, and succeeded in leaping over the stream, from which I soon reached the lake, and found that the guide had spoken truly. I therefore walked in the water all the way round the head of the lake, till I got entirely clear of the bog, and found a firm footing the whole distance, at the depth of from two to three feet of water. As for the guide, he was more than an hour before he came up with me. Not thinking it prudent to attempt leaping the stream, he had endeavoured to pick his steps across the bog; but found this impracticable, and was obliged at last to follow my example, though with not quite the same success; for he was not able entirely to clear the stream, and scrambled out with some difficulty. There is scarcely any kind of danger that I would not more readily encounter than the danger of a bog: it is of a hidden kind, and human courage and human effort are alike impotent to save. I readily admit that my sensations were agreeable, when, seating myself

upon a stone upon the mountain side, I looked back, and saw the bog behind me. It is a pleasant feeling, too, that which we experience in reaching the highest part of a pass, and in looking at the mountains opening below; but being entirely soaked by walking through the lake, I hastened forward as fast as the nature of the path would allow. This, however, was slow enough. All the way along the side of the lake, a distance, I should think, of at least a league, the banks rise very precipitously, covered with rocks and stones, beautiful to look at, from the scarlet blossoms of the rhododendron which every where abound, but extremely difficult to pass over; and I hailed with pleasure my arrival at the farther end of the lake, where a small grassy plain stretched into the valley that leads down to the Canton of Uri.

The descent into the Canton of Uri is less interesting than the ascent from the Grisons. The valleys are indeed green and beautiful; but there are no sublime prospects; and you never get so low as the region of wood. The branch of the Reuss, which flows from the lake of the Oberalp, is your companion all the way, flowing in a succession of rapids into the valley of Ursern, where it is joined by the other branches, afterwards flowing in one stream down the valley which bears its own name—the valley of the Reuss.

The Reuss is a remarkable river on several accounts; not from the length of its course, nor from the volume of its waters; in both of these it is insignificant in comparison with the Rhine, the Rhone, and perhaps even the Aar; but from its extraordinary rapidity—far exceeding that of the Rhone—and from the magnificent scenery which is found upon its banks. The whole course of the river, from the vale of Ursern till it falls into the lake of Lucerne, is a succession of cataracts; and, in the short space of four leagues, its inclination is no less than 2500 feet. But it is unnecessary to anticipate, as I purpose descending the valley of the Reuss.

The first view that opened before me into the valley of Ursern, particularly pleased me. You unexpectedly reach a platform, and the whole vale lies smiling at your feet. Its beauty is of a quiet and modest kind. It is not like the richer valleys, diversified with corn-fields and gardens, and with all the variety of fruit and forest-trees. It has none of these attractions; its robe is all green, the freshest green in the world. There it lies, environed by eternal snows, a beautiful image of spring in the bosom of winter. I hastened to reach it; and after about two hours of very rapid descent, I walked into the village of Andermatt, where there is one of the best inns in Switzerland.

CHAPTER XI

THE CANTON OF URI—THE VALLEY OF THE REUSS.

Andermatt, and the Valley of Ursern—Rural Economy—Descent of the Valley of the Reuss—The Devil's Bridge—Neglected state of Agriculture, and the causes of it—Scenery of the Valley—Altorf, and its connexion with William Tell—Fluelen, and the Lake of Uri—An Evening on the Lake—Tell's Chapel—Character of the Lake of Uri—Comparison between the Lakes of Switzerland and Swiss Scenery, with the Scenery of the Scotch and English Lakes.

ANDERMATT is the largest of the four villages which

sprinkle the little vale of Ursern. It lies about 4500 feet above the level of the sea ; and, with the exception of a small plantation of old ash trees, no wood of any kind is to be seen. But I recollect Andermatt with pleasure ; whether because it is really deserving of pleasant recollections, or because, after the wretched inns of the Grisons, the inn at Andermatt seemed a paradise, I am scarcely able to tell. Before nightfall, I had time to walk as far as Hospital, and to enjoy the stillness and green beauty of the valley : and before I returned to Andermatt, the bounded horizon of the vale of Ursern was lighted up with stars. In former times, this valley formed a republic in itself, and was governed by separate laws ; now it is merged in the Canton of Uri, and is governed by its laws. The whole inhabitants of the valley amount to about 1400. They generally live upon the produce of their own possessions ; but these are small, sufficing only for the scanty support of their families. It is a pity that the cheese which is made in this valley should be too delicate for exportation. It is truly delicious, and would bear a very high price, were it found in the French, or even in the principal Swiss markets. Andermatt, which in most of the other cantons would be but a very inconsiderable village, is a place of some consequence in the little Canton of Uri, which, indeed, can boast of only one town, Altorf. The whole Canton of Uri may be said to be comprised in one valley, the valley of the Reuss, having the little plain of Ursern for its head, and the lower end expanding into another little plain between Altorf and the lake of Uri. It is said of the Canton of Uri, that the inhabitants and the horned cattle are about equal in number, each amounting to about 11,000. If this saying be true, and I have reason to think it does not greatly err, it sufficiently indicates the poverty of the inhabitants, whose sole wealth is their cattle. The Canton of Uri recognises no hereditary privileges. A general assembly of all citizens arrived at the age of twenty, exercises the supreme power, and appoints the different councils. It is a purely catholic canton, dependent upon the bishop of Chur ; and all the schools are under the management of the priests.

The well-known and much-visited Devil's Bridge is only about half a league from Andermatt. Every mountainous country has one or more Devil's bridges. Whenever there is a bridge with any thing terrific about it, it receives from the natives of the neighbourhood the appellation of Devil's Bridge. Wales and Scotland have both their Devil's bridges ; and in Switzerland there is one in several of the cantons. But the Devil's Bridge, *par excellence*, is undoubtedly that over the Reuss. I confess it somewhat disappointed me ; and yet I can scarcely tell why. I believe I expected that the height of the bridge above the river would have been much greater. But the chief claim of this bridge to the distinguished rank it holds, does not depend upon its elevation—for Pantenbruck in Glarus, and several other bridges, are greatly more distinguished in this respect—but upon the tremendous torrent that rushes through the gorge above, and forms first a fall, and then a fine rapid, underneath the arch. It is not unlikely that the improvements then going on in the neighbourhood, may in some degree have weakened the impression which might otherwise have been produced. A new and very substantial bridge, in which the devil can-

not claim any share, is erecting within a few yards of the old one ; and when I reached the spot, I found twenty or thirty workmen busily employed in its construction. I feel well convinced, that the impression made upon the mind under circumstances like these, must be feeble in comparison with the impression that would have been made upon it had I travelled this country a few years earlier, when the old arch spanned the torrent, and when the traveller might have been alone with nature, in place of in the midst of human labour, and when the only voice heard would have been the voice of the cataract. I readily admit, however, that the work going on is a most important one. There is not only a new bridge erecting, but a new road down the whole valley of the Reuss is already far advanced. It is constructed upon the very best system of road-making. It is safe and broad ; and, although the inclination of the valley is an inch and a half in the yard, a carriage may be drawn at a full trot the whole way down.

In walking from Andermatt down the valley, I met several small carts laden with sacks of flour, for the use of the inhabitants of Ursern, and of the upper part of the valley. I also met at least twenty women carrying up potatoes and other vegetables. Throughout the whole of the upper part of the valley of the Reuss, and in the vale of Ursern, not one stalk of any kind of grain, nor one vegetable of any kind is to be seen. There is no doubt, however, that these might be successfully cultivated. The vale of Ursern produces most excellent pasture, and is admitted to possess a good soil. It is far more sheltered than almost any part of the Engadine ; and although more elevated than some parts of it, it is less elevated than many other parts where rye is grown abundantly, where other grain—even wheat—is not a failure, and where all the hardier vegetables are plentiful. But the land throughout all the upper part of the valley of the Reuss, and in the lower part of Ursern, is greatly neglected. I am convinced that grain of one kind and another, and the hardy vegetables, might be cultivated in sufficient quantities to supply the wants of the valley ; but the inhabitants seem to be contented with poverty, and leave the soil to nature.

I have frequently observed, that in all places where there is a great influx of strangers, the inhabitants are idle, and consequently poor. They trust to casualties ; and find it easier to pick up a living by the wants, and partly by the bounty of travellers, than to labour the ground. This is observable in very many parts of Switzerland, and might no doubt be remarked in other countries also. There are few parts of Switzerland more visited than the Devil's Bridge, Ursern, and Mount St. Gothard ; and in few places are the effects of this more visible in the imperfect cultivation of the soil, and in the state of the inhabitants. If Ursern and the valley of the Reuss were, like the Engadine, shut out from the rest of the world, the result would be different. It is then that the inhabitants are forced upon their resources, and these are found in the exercise of their industry.

No one can be otherwise than charmed with the scenery, in descending the valley of the Reuss. From the Devil's Bridge, during at least two leagues, the banks form a succession of tremendous precipices, and the river is itself one continued rapid. I was now on one of the great Swiss high-

ways ; and, accordingly, I met tourists at every town, chiefly English or German. After the English, the Germans and Russians travel the most ; the French the least of all nations. They think too highly of their own country to go into others in request of either pleasure or profit. It is only men of science who travel ; and the consequence of this is, that abroad the French have acquired, and probably with justice, the character of being more inquiring than the natives of any other country.

About two leagues lower down than Andermatt, I found the valley widen. It was no longer a gorge, but deserved the name by which it is known—the valley of the Reuss. The scenery, too, had somewhat changed its character. The rocks that bounded the valley were somewhat less precipitous, and were no longer entirely naked ; and mingled with the firs that fringed the river side were some walnut-trees. Cottages, too, were sprinkled here and there, and now and then a hamlet ; still, however, grass only was to be seen. I saw many warm stripes, and even little plains, along the river side, where wheat and vegetables could have been successfully cultivated ; but I still continued to meet carts laden with flour and potatoes.

Passing through a little village, about nine in the morning, I met upwards of a hundred persons returning from prayers, all in their holiday clothes. This was no holiday ; but the daily custom here, and in many other of the catholic jurisdictions, is to spend the morning from six to eight in church. I should be sorry to say a word against the habit of daily devotion, or to speak with levity of the duty incumbent upon all, to return thanks to God for the light of another morning ; nor will I even venture to say to those who profess a creed differing from mine, that a prayer in the closet, and of greater brevity, might be as pleasing to the Deity ; but I may, nevertheless, in mentioning a fact, state what seem to be its results ; and I think it cannot be doubted, that a neglected soil, and imperfect cultivation, are occasioned by the many hours daily devoted to prayer and ceremonial, even more than by the too frequent recurrence of *jours de fête*. The strict catholic, who happens to reside within a jurisdiction where great encouragement is given to the frequency and prolongation of prayers and ceremonials, spends in church those morning hours which an English labourer spends in the fields. The former dresses in the morning in his holiday clothes, and throws them off when he returns ; the latter dresses in the morning for the whole day, and loses no time in dressing and undressing. Nor is it only the morning hours that are lost to labour. At two in the afternoon, the strict catholic of Uri and elsewhere must again throw off his labourer's apparel, put on his best clothes, and repair to church. I do trust the reader will not suppose for a moment, that I intend to pass any censure upon those who thus occupy their hours in prayer ; nor even upon those by whose counsel they are directed. All this may be considered by them essential to salvation ; but can it be for a moment denied, that most important results are thus produced upon the agriculture of a country ? Ask an English farmer what would be the effect, if a law were passed by which all labour were forbidden between the hours of six and eight in the morning, and between two and four in the afternoon ; and I believe his answer would be, that if

he continued to pay the same rent, taxes, and wages, he should speedily be ruined.

As I descended still lower in the valley, the scenery became more varied and more beautiful. Charming meadows lay by the river side, prettily diversified by clumps of walnut and pear-trees, which entirely fringed both sides of the river. The cottages and hamlets thickly dotted the slopes, standing generally upon those little eminences which were above the reach of the winter floods, and in part also secure against the descent of stones, and the avalanche of snow ; and here, although the Reuss had escaped from the rocky defiles that higher up forced it into rapids and cataracts, it still retained the interest and character of a mountain river. Still it ran a joyous course, leaping and rioting along, and occasionally broke into little cascades, as if just to remind one of the feats it had already accomplished.

I was much pleased with Altorf. It is clean, beautifully situated, and surrounded by gardens and orchards. Yet, even here, where the climate is mild, and where the ordinary fruits come to great perfection, scarcely an ear of grain is to be seen. Altorf is closely connected with the history of William Tell. He was born in the little village of Bürglen, close by ; and it is here that the scene, so well known as the origin of Swiss liberty, took place, when Tell was required to strike off the apple from the head of his child. An old tower was shown to me, as indicating the spot formerly occupied by the linden-tree, beneath which the child was placed. This may be true, or it may not ; but I should rather think the tower is of an origin anterior to the history of William Tell.

I did not remain long at Altorf, but walked forward to Flüelen, where I intended remaining till next morning. It is a mere village, but is of some little importance as being the place of embarkation for Lucerne. Here the lake of Lucerne is seen for the first time, and at no point can it be seen to greater advantage. It happened to be one of those delicious evenings that lend a charm to any scenery. The most barren heath would have smiled beneath its mellow light. But the lake of Uri, confessedly one of the most magnificent scenes in Switzerland, was spread out before me ; and I felt myself quite justified in refusing the invitation of a large party of travellers to join them in a late dinner. I hired the smallest boat I could find, and coasted up the lake ; and in about an hour I found myself opposite to a chapel, erected upon a little elevated rock, gaudily painted, and not at all harmonizing with the wild scenery around. The history of the chapel is this :—William Tell was taken prisoner at Altorf, and was to be conveyed to Kuznach. For this purpose, he was put into a boat at Flüelen, and the boat set sail ; but one of those sudden and violent storms to which the lake is so subject having arisen, the boat was driven close to the shore. Tell, who is well known to have been a powerful man, saw his opportunity, and availed himself of it. He suddenly shook himself free from his bonds, and leaped on shore ; and it is upon the spot where this was accomplished, that the chapel is erected, because it was owing to this the enemy of Swiss liberty was destroyed. Tell, who knew all the mountain-passes, fled over to Kuznach, and there killed the tyrant.

However little in harmony with the scenery the chapel and its decorations may be, it is delightfully

situated for the enjoyment of the surrounding views. I moored my boat beneath, and sat long within the hallowed precinct, looking over the lake, and across to the great mountains that bounded it. I saw the last sunbeam depart from the face of the waters; and I saw the shadows gradually creep up the mountain-side, till the bright hues of evening now forsaking one ravine, now another—now leaving the cottage, and then the chalet—crimsoned only the snow-peaks with their dying lustre. All was gay as I coasted back to Fluelen; but the dimness of evening accords well with the gloomy character of the scenery of Uri. With corn-fields and pleasant pasture, and sprinkled cottages, we look for the harmony of light and sunbeams; but with grim rocks, and deep waters, and dark woods, we feel that the glare of light is offensive. Sunbeams have no business there. A cloudy sky, or the dim evening, are the best accompaniments of the sublime.

Next morning I left Fluelen; and with a fine breeze from the south, and a well-filled sail, I soon passed the chapel, and approached the head of the first reach of the lake. Nothing can be finer than the view back into the lake of Uri. The situation of this lake is such, that it is impossible to obtain a view of it unless from the water; and no one should visit Lucerne, without sailing to Fluelen. When I speak of any of the Swiss lakes, I always call to imagination the lakes of my own country, that I may, if possible, find some resemblance; because no power of description, even if possessed in a tenfold greater degree than any that I am able to exercise, can be so satisfactory to the reader, or convey to his mind so distinct an image, as a reference to something that he has seen. The lake of Uri bears some resemblance to the upper part of Ulleswater, looking into Patterdale. No doubt the scenery of the lake of Uri is greatly more majestic, the mountains are greatly higher, and the rocks far more elevated and more precipitous; and in Ulleswater, we also look in vain for that thick clothing of wood, which in many places so finely covers the rocks that bound the lake of Uri. Still there is a resemblance, which I believe no one who has seen both lakes will refuse to admit.

I have frequently heard the observation made, that, after seeing the scenery of Switzerland, one will find little pleasure in travelling through the mountainous districts of our own country. I entirely dissent from this opinion, not only because I think one may look with pleasure upon beauty or sublimity of an inferior order, after having beheld that which far eclipses it, but because the scenery of our lakes and mountains is of a different character. The character of Winandermere is, indeed, the same as the character of the lake of Zurich, which far eclipses it in splendour; but there is nothing in Switzerland that resembles either Derwentwater or Wastwater. Let it be recollected, too, that, on the bosom of a lake, the horizon is extremely bounded, and that, generally, the peaks of the lofty mountains retire; and it will not seem extraordinary if I assert, that the scenery around one of our English lakes may *seem* as majestic as that which surrounds the lakes of Switzerland. I do not say that this is always the case. From the entrance into the lake of Uri, a multitude of snow-peaks are visible; and at the upper end of the lake of Geneva also, the tops of the highest mountains bound the horizon; but this is far from being invariably true of the Swiss lakes; and at all events, the distinctive character of Kes-

wick and Wastwater will indemnify the traveller for his journey, even if he has already made the tour of Switzerland. But the Scotch lakes afford me a still stronger argument. The character of Loch-Lomond is entirely distinct from that of any lake in Switzerland; and altogether, I think it is more beautiful. With the exception of the lake of Bienne, none of the Swiss lakes have any islands. This is a serious defect, scarcely compensated by their other claims to superiority. Let any one who has seen the lake of Zurich, or the lake of Lucerne, figure to himself the effect of many wooded islands sprinkled along their surface: whichever of the Swiss lakes might be so distinguished, would unquestionably possess a decided superiority over all the rest; and if, in other respects, Loch-Lomond approaches even at a very humble distance, the charms of the Swiss lakes, the numerous and beautiful islands by which that lake is adorned, will entitle it to a rivalry with the most beautiful of them.

But there is yet another reason why the scenery of the British mountain-districts will bear an inspection, after the traveller has made the tour of Switzerland. Many of the Swiss lakes lie little less than 2000 feet above the level of the sea; and many of the Alpine valleys are double that elevation. On the other hand, the level of most of the British lakes exceeds, but by a few hundred feet, the level of the sea—indeed some of the Scotch lakes are arms of the sea. Now the effect of this is obvious. If the mountains, or rather the visible heights surrounding one of the British lakes, be 2000 feet lower than those which rise above the Swiss lake, the scenery of the one will seem as majestic as that of the other; and, in truth, is so. It seldom happens that mountains, rising beyond 6000 feet, dip into any of the Swiss lakes. This is, at all events, true of the lakes of Geneva, Zurich, Neuchatel, Bienne, and perhaps Brienz and Thun—all, indeed, excepting Lucerne and Zoug, and the Wallensee; so that the scenery around the head of Ulleswater, Wastwater, Loch-Tay, and the head of Loch-Lomond, is nearly upon an equality with the scenery surrounding these Swiss lakes. The same reason which I have just assigned, as entitling me to compare the lake-scenery of Britain with that of Switzerland, has certainly the effect of disappointing, in some degree, the expectations of the traveller in Switzerland. Before travelling into Switzerland, we hear of mountains 10,000, 12,000, and 14,000 feet high; and we fancy Snowden with two other Snowdons piled upon it, and imagine within ourselves the sublimity of such a scene. But this we find to be a delusion. Before reaching the base of any of the great mountains, we have probably attained an elevation of 4000 or 5000 feet, by a gradual ascent, begun at Calais, and ending perhaps in the valley of Grindelwald. It is doubtful, even when we have reached this elevation, if we are able to see the loftiest summit of the adjacent mountains. We probably see only an inferior peak or flank of the mountain 10,000 feet above the level of the sea, so that we are then looking upon a mountain 5000 or 6000 feet higher than the point upon which we stand—a reality very different from the conception of three Snowdons piled upon each other. Or even supposing that, from the elevation we have attained, we should be able to discover the highest peak, it is so far back, so distant, and so surrounded by other peaks, whose greater proximity deceives us as to re-

lative elevation, that we still call to mind the majestic image we had conceived, and lament to find that it is not realised. The traveller, who contents himself with viewing the mountains from the valleys, cannot feel and comprehend the majesty of Swiss scenery. He must leave the valleys and go into the mountains—fatigue, cold, storms, glaciers, precipices, and the thunder of the cataract and avalanche, will open to him a world of knowledge, which would otherwise have been for ever closed.

CHAPTER XII.

THE CANTON, LAKE, AND CITY OF LUCERNE.

The Lake of the Four Cantons—Historic Recollections—Brunnen—Schwytz—Visit to the Valley of Lauertz, and the Site of Goldau—The Fall of the Rossberg—Some Details, and Reflections—Return to Brunnen, and Voyage to Lucerne—Gersau and its History—The Rigi—Lucerne—The Situation and Environs of Lucerne—Markets, and Prices of Provisions—Bridges—Public Seminaries—State of Morals—The Monument in Commemoration of the Swiss Guards—Churches and Relics—Promenades—State of the Canton—Attempt to Ascend Mount Pilate.

LET me return to the Lake of Uri, from whose bosom I have been all this while comparing the scenery of the Swiss and British lakes.

The reader probably knows, that the Lake of Uri is the upper reach of the Lake of Lucerne, or, as it is called in German, Waldstättersee. It also bears the name of the Lake of the Four Cantons, because its shores belong to the four Cantons of Lucerne, Unterwald, Schwytz, and Uri. Although the lake has three distinct reaches—each so distinct from the other, that from one you cannot see into the adjoining reach—no part of the lake bears any distinct name, excepting that which belongs to the Canton of Uri. The whole of the Lake of Lucerne is about nine leagues long, but scarcely in any part exceeds a league in breadth. Its depth is very various; the reach which touches upon Lucerne nowhere exceeds 300 feet; the middle reach is in some places a hundred feet deeper; and the Lake of Uri ranges from 600 to 900 feet in depth. This is not a great depth, considering the height of the surrounding mountains. Several of the English lakes are considerably deeper. Lucerne is decidedly the finest of the Swiss lakes; its three reaches present every variety of lake scenery. Beauty is the characteristic of the lower branch, which is surrounded by country-houses, and orchards, and wooded knolls. The middle branch may be said to be picturesque, though still there is much beauty mingled with it; and the character of the branch of Uri is sublimity. In sailing from Altorf to Lucerne, a perfect conception of the principal varieties of lake scenery is obtained. Lucerne is an interesting lake also, from the historic recollections with which it abounds; for the establishment of Swiss independence is the glory of its banks. There, the tyranny of its Austrian masters first begot the resolution to oppose it; there, many fierce struggles for freedom took place; and there, were performed the valiant deeds of the patriot Tell. Much is said about the danger of the navigation of the Lake of Lucerne; but I could not learn that accidents were frequent. It is generally said, that the banks of the Lake of Uri are so precipitous that a boat can

nowhere put to shore, and, consequently, that the danger is imminent, should a storm overtake a boat in that reach; but this is not strictly true. The banks are indeed precipitous, and in many places the rocks dip perpendicularly into the water; but there is nowhere so great a continuity of perpendicular rock as to render a landing impossible; and where rocks seem at a distance to be perpendicular and inaccessible, you often find, upon approaching them, that a footing is not altogether hopeless.

I had engaged the boat from Fluelen, not to take me to Lucerne, but to the little village of Brunnen, which lies on the right bank of the lake in sailing upwards, and just opposite to the entrance of the Uri branch. It was not for the purpose of seeing Brunnen that I landed there, but because I intended going from Brunnen to Schwytz, and to Goldau. Even in this little village, I found an inn which brought no discredit upon the character of the inns of Switzerland; and, after an excellent breakfast, I set out for Schwytz.

The walk between Brunnen and Schwytz is singularly beautiful. At Brunnen, the lake recedes, and the shore, no longer precipitous, slopes gently back to Schwytz, covered with fertility, and full of beauty. This is the finest part of the Canton of Schwytz; for, excepting a small part which lies towards the Lake of Zurich, it is covered with sterile mountains, and intersected by valleys, by no means remarkable for their fertility; but there is no trace of sterility in approaching Schwytz, which stands most imposingly upon the upper part of the slope—a garden around it, and the red rocky summit of Mount Mythen towering above it. This pyramidal mount presented a very singular appearance as I approached Schwytz; a thick mist extended longitudinally along the sky, cutting this mountain in two; and above it, as if floating upon the sea of vapour, stood the red peak of Mount Mythen, bathed in sunbeams.

I found nothing to detain me long in the town of Schwytz, whose chief attraction lies in the singular beauty of its situation; but as it was then too warm to continue my walk to Goldau, I remained at Schwytz till dinner-time, passing the interval very unprofitably, though very agreeably. I found a sloping orchard, where I lay dreaming away an hour or two: a very large pear-tree spread its shade above; and I had only to walk a few yards, if I wished to cool my lips with the delicious cherries that coloured one-half of the orchard. I returned to the inn at half-past one, where I found a most admirable dinner, and two agreeable companions. It may not be a piece of information altogether useless, if I tell the reader, that, being much pleased with the dinner, and with the appearance of every thing I saw, I asked the landlord upon what terms he would furnish board and lodging—dining every day as well as I had dined that day, and including breakfast, coffee or tea in the evening, and a comfortable chamber? The answer was, four francs—the sum which one often pays for dinner alone, if no bargain has been made.

I left Schwytz in the afternoon to walk to Lauertz, and to the spot where Goldau *was*. The valley of Lauertz is very charming; and, after a pleasant walk, I reached the brink of the lake. It was a tranquil and beautiful scene, such as all the valley had often exhibited before the awful catastrophe that covered it with desolation. A few cattle were

standing in the water. A little island, and the ruins of some old castle that once had crowned it, finely broke the surface; and a fisherman stood angling on a low promontory. I continued my walk, and about sunset reached a little inn which stands upon the site of the buried Goldau. All around is ruin still; and doubtless many ages must yet elapse, before the aspect of ruin can be changed to fertility. Were it not that a scanty vegetation has sprung up amid desolation, one might believe the event to be of yesterday, for the enormous masses of rock lie as they have fallen: and how shall this ever be otherwise? Rocks withstand the influence of time; and man is too insignificant a creature to cope with even the *fallen* mountains.

I have no doubt that most readers know the history of this catastrophe. Those who do, may pass over a page or two; for I think it would be inexcusable were I to make no mention of an event so calamitous as the destruction of Goldau. It is from the little work of Doctor Zay that I abridge the few following details.

The Rossberg, a mountain three or four thousand feet high, stood, before this catastrophe, behind the village of Goldau. The summer had been unusually rainy; and the formation of several wide crevices in the mountain, though they alarmed the individuals who discovered them, were unfortunately not sufficient to rouse the inhabitants of the valley to a sense of their danger. In the early part of the eventful day, subterranean noises were heard; and several large stones broke from the mountain side, as if acted upon by some interior force. About three in the afternoon, the awful event took place; the mountain was rent in twain, and in a thousand ponderous fragments precipitated itself upon the valley below. Goldau, Lauertz, and two other villages, were whelmed in its ruins. Cottages and chalets, flocks and shepherds, were carried with the falling mass; and one of the most smiling among the valleys of Switzerland was made desolate and a grave.

There are many most affecting little histories connected with this event. The most calamitous of these is, perhaps, the history of a party of pleasure, that had made an excursion from Berne to ascend the Rigi. The party consisted of eleven persons, and, among these, were a new-married couple, M. de Diesbach and his bride. Four only of the eleven persons were saved; and among those who perished was the wife of M. de Diesbach. Beneath these masses their bodies still lie buried; and the rocks that are piled above, are a sufficient record of their history.

There are also recorded some extraordinary escapes, particularly those of a nurse and a child, buried all night among the rocks, but uninjured;—of another woman and her child, carried in the cabin they inhabited into the valley, and unhurt;—and of a house and its inhabitants swept into the lake, but saved, owing to the upper story, which was of wood, detaching itself from the rest of the building, and swimming, till a boat relieved its inmates.

Four hundred and fifty persons perished. The wrecks of the mountain covered a square league, the value of which was estimated at about 125,000*l.* A hundred and eleven houses were buried, besides several churches and chapels. Several hundred head of cattle were destroyed, and a great loss to

the *commune* was sustained, from the annihilation of the vast extent of fine pasturage that lay upon the sides of the Rossberg. Such are a few of the principal facts connected with the fall of the Rossberg. The catastrophe has been attributed to different causes; but, like most of the great natural phenomena, the remote cause is hidden. We may go a few steps back; but they are only steps; we at length, sooner or later, reach a point beyond which all is obscurity. The fall of the Rossberg was doubtless occasioned by some internal convulsion; but the cause of that convulsion can never be any thing else than matter of ingenious dispute.

It was nearly dark when I left this scene of desolation. But a few years ago, and the sun had set upon a smiling valley; a hundred habitations had been gilded by its beams; and those who now lay mouldering beneath these mighty ruins, had sat by their cottage doors, and amid their smiling families, the evening before the world closed upon them. They talked of the morrow, and the day after, as days that would surely come. They came, indeed, but destruction came with them.

Some of those who perished must have found a slow and terrible death. Several were discovered near the surface of the ruins, enclosed among the rocks, and living; and doubtless there were others who found themselves in a living tomb, far beneath the surface of the wrecks, and far beyond the reach of help. Let us hope that their number was few.

It was quite dark when I reached Schwytz, and next morning I returned to Brunnen to breakfast, and immediately afterwards continued my voyage towards Lucerne. The boat kept close to the right side of the lake, which, in the second reach, is much the more beautiful side of the bank: although in many places very steep, it is mostly covered with the richest verdure, and is well clothed with beech, ash, hazel, and oak. Hay-harvest was still going on upon the steep; and the groups of persons upon the green slopes, pausing from their labour, and leaning upon their rakes, as we passed below, added much to the interest of the landscape. This reach of the lake appears to be terminated by Mount Pilate, whose pointed summits form a magnificent back-ground. Gersau, a little village close to the water, lies charmingly. It stands upon a low platform of the brightest grass, level with the lake, about a quarter of a mile square, and bounded on the other three sides with lofty mountains. Its white houses lie along the margin of the water, every one with its garden, and every garden full of white lilies. I thought I had seldom seen a spot of sweeter seclusion.

The history of Gersau is curious. Before the revolution it was a republic, separate and independent, and was certainly the least state in the world. Its territory was not two miles square, and it contained about two hundred houses, and twelve hundred inhabitants. An attempt was made in 1814 to revive the republic, but it of course failed.

I wished to have landed at Gersau; but the boatmen, apprehending a storm, said we had no time to lose, if I wished to reach Lucerne before it commenced; and the event proved the correctness of their judgment. The lake, at this time, was a sheet of glass; not the smallest breath of air could be felt; but the sun shone as if through a veil; and there was that oppressive feeling in the

atmosphere that always indicates a change. The entrance into the lowest reach of the lake is extremely narrow. A new scene then opens, soft and beautiful, excepting in the direction of Mount Pilate, whose bald summits still rise to the left. Before travelling into Switzerland, or, at all events, soon after arriving in it, every one hears of the *Rigi*. "Have you been up the *Rigi*?" is the universal question; "You must be sure to ascend the *Rigi*," the universal injunction. I knew that the *Rigi* lay close to the Lake of Lucerne, and towards its northern extremity; and, full of expectation, I requested the boatmen to point out the *Rigi* the moment we should come in sight of it. "Voilà le *Rigi*," said the only one of the boatmen who spoke French; and I saw before me a low, clumsily-shaped hill, green to the summit, and overtopped by many others of the mountains. The *Rigi* is, in fact, scarcely higher than several of our British mountains, and is only remarkable by its position, and on account of the magnificent prospect enjoyed from its summit. The finest views are not from the highest mountains. An extensive, and a beautiful view, are totally different things; and of this distinction, a better illustration cannot be found, than in the relative interest of the prospect enjoyed from the summits of the *Rigi*, and of Mount Pilate.

The boatmen made every exertion to reach Lucerne before the storm began, not probably from any apprehension of danger, but afraid lest a heavy gale should set in ahead, when they would require to labour harder and longer. About a league before reaching Lucerne, however, the storm burst over us, the sheet of glass was changed into a little angry sea covered with foam, and all the mountains were in a moment shrouded. But we were already almost sheltered by the land; and another hour's hard tugging brought us into the basin.

The situation of Lucerne is more beautiful than striking. Upon the whole it disappointed me at first, because the beauty of its environs is scarcely seen in approaching it from the lake; and I missed those stupendous mountains among which I had thought to have found it. In fact, Lucerne does not lie in a mountainous country, although the mountains approach near to it; but it lies in a highly fertile and eminently beautiful country, such as no other town in Switzerland can boast, excepting Zurich. I took an evening stroll through the street, after the heavy rain which followed the storm that had subsided, and found myself accidentally upon one of the bridges. The rapidity of the Reuss as it leaves the lake is astonishing, and the clearness of its water no less so. All the rivers which empty themselves into the Swiss lakes—the Rhone, the Rhine, the Reuss, the Aar, the Limmat—enter the respective lakes less or more discoloured: but all of them leave the lakes perfectly transparent, though not all of precisely the same hue. The Reuss, in leaving the lake of Lucerne, is of a light green, almost approaching limpidity; the Rhine, in leaving the lake of Constance, is of a darker green; the Rhone, in leaving the lake of Geneva, bears a deep blue tint; while the Aar and the Limmat, as they flow out of the lakes of Thun and Zurich, are almost entirely colourless.

The day after I arrived in Lucerne, the weekly corn-market was held. It is one of the largest in Switzerland, because it is meant for the supply, not

of Lucerne only, but of the Cantons of Unterwalden and Uri, neither of which grow almost any grain; and Lucerne is the only place from which the inhabitants can supply their wants. Numerous boats from Fluelen, and from the villages lying on the Unterwalden side, arrived during the morning; and the market was a busy and very abundant one. There was a large supply of rye and of wheat, and a little oats and barley. The price of wheat, reduced into English money and measure, was 36s., the price of rye 14s. per quarter. The growth of grain in the Canton of Lucerne is not sufficient to supply those other Cantons of Uri and Unterwalden. Lucerne grows scarcely more than suffices for its own demand. The greater part of the grain that comes into the market at Lucerne, is from the Canton of Argovie, which is the granary of Switzerland.

From the corn-market I walked into the other markets. The vegetable-market I found very abundantly supplied, and very picturesque, owing to the great variety of the women's dresses. A stranger ought never to omit visiting the vegetable-market in every town, because he may always gather, from what he sees there, a tolerable idea of the female peasantry, both as to dress and personal appearance. Here I found nothing to admire in the latter; and could only regret, that dresses so well calculated to set off a pretty face, were employed to so little purpose. The meat-market I found clean and orderly, and the meat, although not in great variety, seemed good. I found prices to be as follows:—beef 3½d., other kinds of meat 3d., butter 7½d., eggs 4d. a dozen, a good fowl 8d. Bread, I afterwards found to be 1½d. per lb. Vegetables and fruit are always abundant and reasonable. No wine is grown in the canton. The inhabitants drink either the wine of Neuchâtel, or of the Pays de Vaud. The former costs, in an inn, a franc per bottle, the latter fifteen sous.

In walking through the streets of Lucerne, the stranger does not find much to attract him, unless he be so interested in Swiss history as to be arrested by the pictures on the old bridge, where all the important events in Helvetian history are faithfully represented in oil-colours, doubtless tending to keep alive, among the youth of Lucerne, a knowledge of Swiss independence, and a regard for its preservation. But Lucerne, although not prolific in those external attractions which catch the eye of a stranger, is possessed of many recommendations of another kind. The institutions for the intellectual and moral improvement of its inhabitants, are upon a scale of great liberality. Of these, I will mention only one—the great public school. Into this school, every child until the age of twelve is admitted, upon payment of six francs per annum, and is taught reading, writing, arithmetic, and the first principles of Latin; and this privilege of acquiring, in early years, the rudiments of learning, is not confined to the city of Lucerne, nor even to the canton; persons may claim admittance from any other of the Swiss cantons, and even from foreign countries. But the privilege I have mentioned is followed by another still greater. The college and the school are one establishment; and every one who has received his education in the school, is immediately received as a pupil of the college, and pays nothing for his instruction there. He is taught Latin, Greek, Mathematics, Theology, Painting and Music.

The French language is also taught ; but this costs six francs per annum—a trifling sum indeed, but nevertheless justifying the strange conclusion, that painting and music are looked upon as more indispensable branches of education than French. The original fund for this establishment amounted to 400,000 francs, but has subsequently been greatly increased by donations. With such an establishment as this, the Canton of Lucerne ought to be more enlightened than it is.

The state of morals in Lucerne, I have reason to think, are not remarkably pure—less so than in most of the other Swiss cities. I visited the gaol, and found in it forty men, and the same number of women—twenty-six of the latter for repeated violations of chastity. The magistrates of Lucerne guard well the morals of the inhabitants ; for there, as in Zurich, dancing is forbidden, excepting during the last three days of the carnival, and any two other days that may be selected. At marriages, however, the strictness of the law is relaxed, and permission may, upon such occasions, be easily obtained from the magistracy. I did not expect to find any limitation upon dancing in a catholic canton ; for, throughout catholic Europe, dancing forms the chief recreation of the inhabitants.

There is one well-known object of curiosity in the neighbourhood of Lucerne—the monument erected to the memory of the Swiss guards who fell in defending the Tuileries on the 10th of August, 1792. Will some patriotic Swiss erect another monument to their countrymen, who fell in the second revolution of 1830 ? The revolution of 1792 was as necessary as the revolution of 1830 ; and although Louis was a better king than Charles, the Swiss are perhaps as deserving of a monument in the one case as in the other. But it is of the monument itself, not of the cause of its erection, that I must speak. The monument is to be found in the garden of general Pfyffer, a name well known throughout Switzerland ; it is hewn out of a solid rock, and represents a lion dying, wounded by an arrow, and seeming, even in the agonies of death, to protect the *fleur-de-lis*. The lion is twenty-eight feet in length, and is eighteen feet high ; and the execution is deserving of every commendation. The idea was proposed to Thorwaldsen by a person sent to Rome for the purpose by general Pfyffer, and with some little variations Thorwaldsen adopted the original design, and executed a model accordingly, which was brought to Switzerland, and intrusted to M. Ahorn, a sculptor of Constance, by whom the work was completed. He laboured at it eighteen months, and received 50,000 francs (2000*l.* sterling). Many objections have been made to this monument. I pass over those offered by such as condemn the cause of its erection, and who so admire the principle of the French revolution, that they cannot perceive any beauty in a work intended to commemorate resistance to it. Others say, the idea of the monument is not sufficiently national ; but the principal objections are those which deny the originality of the design. They say, that two monuments of a similar design are to be found elsewhere ; one at Strasbourg, the monument of marshal Saxe ; and the other at Vienna, in both of which, the union of strength and death is represented by a lion ; but whatever may be said of the design, I believe no one objects to the execution. The old soldier who showed me the monument, was himself one of the

survivors of the Swiss guard, and of course related to me, as I suppose he does to every one else, the history of his dangers and escape. He is a fine old man, and certainly adds to the interest of the *lion* he shows.

The same morning I made a more complete tour of the city, passing along all the four bridges, and looking into the churches and the shop-windows. One of the bridges is of extraordinary length ; it crosses the river near its outlet from the lake, and is no less than 1370 feet long. Upon this bridge are a vast number of paintings from Scripture history ; and I noticed that a greater number of persons were attracted by these, than by the representations of Swiss history on the other bridge. There are still two more bridges ; one uncovered, and very ancient, and the other adorned with pictures from Holbein's Dance of Death. I omitted to say, when speaking of the bridge consecrated to Swiss history, that near the centre is an ancient tower called the Water-tower, probably used as a prison in former times, though some say it was used as a watch-tower.

If one should happen to be in the neighbourhood of the churches in Lucerne, it may be worth while to walk in. In the cathedral there is a picture by Lanfranc ; and I was particularly struck with the size of the organ. It contains nearly 3000 pipes, some of them thirty-seven feet high, and cannot, I think, be much inferior in magnitude to the celebrated organ of Haerlem. While I stood admiring the organ, an old man accosted me, asking if I would like to see the relics ; “ *nous avons la plus belle collection du monde,*” said he, and I willingly acceded to the proposal. The richest parts of the collection are the bones of saints ; but if my little anatomical knowledge does not greatly deceive me, I took up some fragments which would prove that there have been martyrs and saints among the brute creation. My conductor, to whom I expressed this opinion in as delicate terms as possible, only grinned at me a smile of suspicion of my orthodoxy, and passed on to a fragment of the true cross.

There are some delightful promenades in the neighbourhood of Lucerne, to which accident conducted me in the evening. One of them, a garden, at a short distance from a gentleman's house, which is situated upon a little eminence. I was particularly pleased here with a trifling act of uncalled-for civility. At a short distance from the house, there is a jet of very clear water which falls into a small marble basin. The evening was warm, and I lifted a little water in my hand to my lips. A minute or two afterwards, a girl came running from the house, and presented me with a glass upon a silver salver. In the course of my walk I passed two convents, both of the Capuchin order ; one for men, the other for women. The latter is as rich as the other is poor ; and to the sisters, accordingly, the poor friars are indebted for whatever little comforts the rules of their order permit them to enjoy.

Lucerne is one of the most important of the Swiss cantons, not only as being one of the largest and the most fertile, but as sharing the presidency of the diet with Berne and Zurich, and as being the chief of the catholic cantons. Spain had formerly an ambassador at Lucerne, and the pope's nuncio is still resident in the city. The canton produces a little more than it consumes, but how much more would it produce, were industry as

active within it as in the Cantons of Berne and Zurich? A great part of Lucerne is covered with the finest soil; and I have never any where seen more abundant crops than are produced in those parts, where time and industry are bestowed upon the land. In no part of Switzerland might the inhabitants be more at their ease than in this canton; and yet there is not a *commune* in which paupers are not to be found. There are no direct taxes in the canton; but every inhabitant of the city pays six francs per annum, without distinction of fortune; and there is also a small tax levied for the maintenance of a police.

The canton is not so purely a republic as some of the other cantons. The city has the right of returning one-half of the members of the supreme council; and these members enjoy their dignity for life. The clergy in this canton are numerous. There are no fewer than 111 resident in the capital, which is nearly two to every hundred inhabitants.

Whilst I remained in Lucerne, the weather was unfavourable for the ascent of the mountains. Mists were constantly hovering over them, and often obscuring their summits; but I resolved to make an attempt. My choice was divided between Mount Pilate and the Rigi; but as the weather cleared up considerably the second day of my stay in Lucerne, I resolved to attempt the ascent of Mount Pilate, because the Rigi being greatly lower, I might more probably find another opportunity of ascending it. I may be allowed to say a few words of my attempt, although it proved unsuccessful.

I left Lucerne about three in the afternoon, with an active and very intelligent guide, and passed through a very charming country between Lucerne and the base of the mountain. The lower part of the mountain is finely wooded, and the ascent to the pasturages is not at all fatiguing. These stretch to a very considerable elevation, and I found them covered with cattle. After about an hour and a half easy walking, I gained a ridge, from which the path descended rapidly into an alpine valley called Eigenthal. Traversing this, it mounts again, still passing through continued pasturage, and getting constantly steeper; and about half-past seven, or a little later, I gained the Bründlenalpe, where I purposed sleeping. At this time, the different summits of the mountain were entirely free from clouds; and I could not but regret that the evening was too far advanced to justify me in attempting the ascent. I slept in a chalet in the Bründlenalpe, and slept well; but it was a sad disappointment, when, upon looking out early next morning, I saw nothing beyond the elevation where I stood; especially as my guide had been quite confident in his anticipations of a serene morning. I waited two or three hours, in hopes that the sunshine might break through, and disperse the mists; but the expectation was vain; the clouds became more dense, rolling down the valleys; and below, as well as above me, the mountain was soon entirely shrouded. I turned towards Lucerne very reluctantly, and reached the hotel about mid-day.

Mount Pilate is, on many accounts, an interesting mountain. Its very appearance creates an interest; for the form of its three highest peaks is singularly striking; and, rising immediately from the lake to the height of more than 7000 feet, it presents a grand, and seemingly a very elevated

front. It was upon this mountain that, many years ago, a great and useful work was constructed, for the purpose of facilitating the descent of timber. It was a kind of groove, no less than 40,000 feet (nearly eight miles) in length;—a most gigantic work, and worthy of a more enduring fate. A trunk of a tree, ninety feet long, and two feet in diameter, committed to this groove, accomplished its journey in the inconceivably short space of two minutes and a half. Compared with this, what are the movements of the locomotive steam-engines? This work was destroyed in 1819.*

There is a tradition connected with this mountain, which I must not omit noticing. There is a small lake, very high up in the mountain, into which Pontius Pilate, stung with remorse, is said to have plunged; and this event, in the popular belief of bygone days, was of course looked upon as the cause of all the storms that assailed the mountain, and of every misfortune that befel those who lived within its precincts. The superstition, I believe, has passed away; but that it did exist to a surprising extent is certain. There are two caverns or grottos near the Bründlenalpe, said to be of vast extent; but, for my part, I always refuse to visit grottos, which I have never found to repay the traveller for his trouble; and the entrance to those on Mount Pilate being dangerous as well as troublesome, I declined listening to the importunities of my guide.

CHAPTER XIII.

BERNE.

Journey from Lucerne to Berne—The Zempeacher-Zee—Appearance of Berne—Preparations for Opening the Diet—Arrival of the Deputies—The Platform of the Cathedral, and view of the Oberland Bernois—The Markets and Prices of Provisions—Berne as a Residence—Sunday in Berne—St. Christophe—The Tirage Fédéral—Crime and Punishment—Anecdote—The Opening of the Diet—Honours rendered to Ladies—Details respecting the Opening Ceremonies—Public Opinion and Political Party in Switzerland.

THE Rigi continued enveloped in clouds; and I did not remain at Lucerne till they were dissipated. I therefore missed the panorama of the Rigi, which all the world agrees is worth seeing, and left Lucerne *en voiture* for Berne. Pedestrianism is agreeable in mountainous countries only; and as this is not the character of the country from Lucerne to Berne, I changed for a while my travelling character.

Nothing can be more beautiful than the environs of Lucerne, on the side of Berne. The Reuss flows in a fine broad rapid stream, close to the road; while, on the other side, the most inviting slopes redeem the country from the character of tameness. Gardens and orchards lie along the other side of the river, and neat country-houses give animation to the landscape. This part of Switzerland strongly reminded me of some parts of the county of Worcester. The lake of Sempach, or the Zempeacher-Zee, is not much heard of; and yet, if one arrived upon its banks without having previously seen any of those other lakes which are surrounded by more majestic scenery, the lake of Sempach would be called beautiful. I journeyed along its banks just before sun-

* See Appendix.

set, and was greatly delighted with the gentle scenes that lay near it. The hills surrounding it do not rise more than a thousand feet above its level, and are covered with meadows and woods ; and not fewer than six or eight villages are scattered along the margin of the water. A change in scenery, as in almost any thing else, is pleasing ; and, glorious as is the scenery of the mountains, the mind experiences an agreeable emotion, when, after a long journey amid the sublime objects, they disclose, we descend into the fertile plain. Excitement may be too intense to be long sustained without pain ; and this is the secret of the pleasurable emotion we experience. The quieter and tamer beauties of the plain are felt to be a relief, and bring repose to the over-wrought feelings.

After leaving the Zempacher-Zee, I continued to pass through much the same kind of country, and stopped at a place I think called Casteln, for the night. In this neighbourhood I remarked the most luxuriant crops, and the most neglected land, side by side. The cause was worth inquiring into ; and the explanation was such as I expected, but much regretted to learn. This part of the canton borders upon that of Bernc. The proprietors are some of them catholics, some protestants. So far the enigma is unexplained. But, unfortunately, there is no part of Switzerland where the consciences of the inhabitants are so tender as here, nor any part where this tenderness is so much encouraged. In the village I allude to the bell rings for prayers at five. The church is not close to the village, so that dressing, going to church, the observances when there, returning, undressing, and breakfasting, occupy the entire morning ; and the same observances at two in the afternoon, occupy other two hours. If we allow, as an average, twelve hours for labour, and say that four hours are occupied in the manner I have mentioned—and this is the very least that can be allowed—one-third more labour is bestowed upon the land belonging to the protestants, than that belonging to the catholics ; and if to these hours we add twenty-two holidays, we have a still more satisfactory explanation of the enigma I have mentioned.

That part of the Canton of Berne which lies between its metropolis and Lucerne, is a rich and well-enclosed country, fertile in every kind of grain, and abounding in luxuriant meadows ; and in approaching the city, well-built, and sometimes prettily-ornamented houses show themselves every few hundred yards. The first view of Berne is striking. A fine irregular line of lofty houses is seen stretching along the top of the height that overhangs the river. Gardens slope down to its brink ; and at the end of the line, on a still greater elevation, stands the cathedral, surrounded by the dark shade of some sombre trees. There are three principal hotels in Berne, La Faucon, La Couronne, and Les Gentilhommes. I had been recommended to the latter, and found great reason to be pleased with it. The Falcon is the house chiefly frequented by the English ; and I have been told, that it happens frequently, at the table d'hôte, there is not a native of any other country than England. I believe it is an excellent hotel, though somewhat expensive.

Berne has much the air of a metropolis, and several of its streets are well worthy of the rank it holds ; for although Zurich be larger, and more populous, and the Canton of Zurich the first in the

confederation, Berne is the reputed capital of all Switzerland, and is, in consequence, the residence of the ministers of the different foreign powers. But although there is much permanent magnificence about Berne, the bustle which, upon entering the town, struck me as being so different from any of the other Swiss towns, I found was owing to a specific cause : the diet was about to assemble, and this of course created a great influx of company. Scarcely ten minutes elapsed without an arrival : but the most amusing of these was the arrival of the deputies themselves. The carriage in which sat each deputy, generally in solitary state, was preceded by an official person on horseback, himself and the hinder part of his horse covered with an enormous mantle, one half of it of one colour, and the other half of another. Nothing can be more fantastic than the appearance of these men. One side of their mantles of flaming red perhaps, the other bright yellow, or white, or any other colour in perfect contrast with it ; and each had a great cocked hat on his head, and an enormous sword by his side. These are the colours of the canton ; but why two colours should be necessary, I could learn no farther, than that such is the will of the council. It was amusing enough to observe the contrast in the *entrée* of the different deputies. You hear the quick pace of a horse, and mounted upon it is the official in his mantle ; but the mantle is new, the colours bright, the feather in the cocked hat full and unsullied, and the horse that has the honour to carry all this, handsome and handsomely caparisoned ; then is heard an extraordinary cracking of whips, and four or five well-conditioned horses, guided by a smart postilion, are seen trotting quickly along, and a handsome, new-painted, and somewhat gaudy carriage behind, in which sits the deputy. This is doubtless the deputy of Zurich, or Basle, or St. Gall. Now for the contrast. You hear the stumbling pace of a hack, and mounted upon it is also the official in his mantle ; but the mantle is old, the colours faded, the feather in the cocked hat meagre and tarnished ; and the horse below bears its honours meekly, its head looks earthward, and its trappings are evidently recommended by long service. Then one or two feeble cracks are heard, just loud enough to acquit the conscience of the postilion from the charge of entering the metropolis without one sign of a deputy ; and two or three rough horses are seen at something between a trot and a walk, dragging along a heavy rolling machine, though certainly of the coach species, in which sits the honourable deputy. This you may set down as the deputy of Unterwalden, Uri, or Tessin ; so great is the difference between the wealth and importance of one canton and another, and the means of their several representatives. It is not the etiquette for a deputy to make his *entrée* accompanied by any part of his family, so that a separate carriage generally followed at a little distance, carrying the wife and part of the family of the representative. Almost all the deputies bring their wives ; this is no doubt the result of a very natural vanity on the part of the ladies, who, for one year at least in their lives, are elevated above the station of their neighbours, and enjoy certain high privileges and honours while they mix in the society of Berne—precedence, for example. This is strictly observed, not only in general society, but among each other. The wife of a deputy not only takes precedence of all ladies

who are not deputies' wives, but each takes precedence according to the rank which the canton represented by her husband holds in the confederation. The consequence of this is, that the small have precedence over the great—a thing that I do not believe occurs in any other part of the world. The wives of the representatives of Uri, Unterwalden, and Schwytz, must take precedence of their rivals from the greater and richer cantons of Basil, St. Gall, Argovie, Geneva, &c.

The first time I left the hotel, I directed my steps towards the platform of the cathedral, so celebrated for the magnificent view enjoyed from it of the Alps *Bernois*. This platform stands about 100 feet above the river. It is not very large; but the fine shade above, and the charming prospect around, sufficiently justify the preference of the inhabitants. The Aar sweeps in a noble stream below. Gardens in terraces hang upon the bank, which, for a mile in length, presents a beautiful declivity, covered with fruit-trees, and ever-greens, and weeping-willows, and enamelled with the dyes of a thousand flowers. Beyond the river, the eye ranges over a country rich in every kind of verdure, sprinkled with villages, and thickly studded with white houses and cottages; and beyond stretches the vast line of mountains, their summits distinguishable from the clouds only by their greater purity. I frequently returned to this spot while I remained in Berne, and contemplated this magnificent amphitheatre in all the varieties lent to it by the different lights and hues of morning, noon, and evening; and so vivid and pleasing are my recollections of the hours I spent there, that were I asked to enumerate the advantages of different spots as places of residence, I should certainly bear this platform in mind. Many other cities have fine promenades, and *pointes des vues*, as the French call them; but then an hour or two is perhaps required to get to them; whereas one may walk from any part of Berne to the platform in ten minutes. There, too, other senses besides that of sight may be gratified; for while nature has spread out a feast for the most intellectual of the senses, man has provided for the wants of another—the least refined of them all. A commodious *café* flanks the corner of the promenade, where you may one moment contemplate the glories of Jungfrau, and the next, the more rosy and scarcely less frigid charms of an ice-cream. The union of pleasures can no farther go. I had almost forgotten to mention the cathedral, which stands upon the platform. I did not find much to admire in it. It is of the Gothic architecture of the end of the fifteenth century, and is not very remarkable any way. I mounted the steeple, which is almost 200 feet high, but found myself scarcely rewarded for the fatigue. The view from the summit is somewhat more extensive, but not more beautiful than that enjoyed from the platform below.

The next place I visited was the market; and, in going towards it, I could not but again remark the spacious streets and excellent houses of the Swiss metropolis. I do not recollect many streets in England superior to the *Grande Rue* of Berne. The houses are lofty, handsome, and built of stone; the street wide, long, and adorned with many fountains; and an arcade runs along each side, offering shelter from the rain, and shade from the sun. I never saw any where (excepting at Thoulouse) a more

abundant vegetable-market than I saw at Berne. It entirely filled the street for a space little short of half a mile, and every kind of vegetable is good and cheap. The season was not sufficiently advanced to afford a great variety of fruits; but the cherries were abundant and fine, and remarkably cheap. In the butcher-market, I saw excellent meat of every kind, and also in great abundance. Beef, in Berne, averages about 2½d. per lb., mutton 2d., veal 3d. Butter may generally be purchased at about 6d.; fowls 1s. 3d. a pair; eggs at 1½d. per dozen. Bread sells at 1½d. per lb. Berne, therefore, is a cheap place of residence, and would certainly be in many respects an agreeable one. Houses, however, are difficult to be had, and are consequently rather dear; but I noticed a considerable number of new half-built houses in the neighbourhood of the town, from which we may infer, that although dear at present, they are likely to be cheaper. I omitted to mention, while speaking of the price of provisions, that there are no dues of entry into the town of Berne, which satisfactorily explains the reason of their low prices. In Berne, the wages of servants are nearly the same as in England; but in the country they are not above one-half. Horses may be kept for very little; and I need scarcely say, that there is no tax either upon horses or carriages. There is a tax of another kind, which exclusively affects strangers: it is a direct tax of thirty francs per annum upon the head of every foreigner resident within either the city or any part of the *Préfecture* of Berne. I see nothing unjust in this tax. If a foreigner selects, for his place of residence, any other country than his own, he receives the protection of the laws of the country in which he resides, and may justly be asked to contribute towards the expense of those establishments by which he directly benefits; and it were perhaps to be wished that other countries would follow the example of Berne, and thus diminish those temptations which lure so many of the English abroad. This would be better than a tax upon absentees. If sufficient in its amount, it would answer the same purpose, and would prevent the necessity (for to a necessity it very nearly amounts) of laying on a tax which might be so justly objected to, as being a direct tax upon personal liberty.

The day after I arrived in Berne I chanced to be Sunday—the best of all days for seeing and judging of the condition, and even the character, of the inhabitants—at least of the lower classes. During the forenoon, the general aspect of things was somewhat *triste*; but the evening brought with it the gaiety of a catholic city; and I do not recollect to have any where seen a better dressed, better behaved, or seemingly a more happy, population.

The members of the diet assembled in the afternoon to elect a president, and for other matters of form, previous to the public ceremonial of the following day. There was no procession; they went singly, each on foot, in full black dress, with sword and cocked hat, and preceded by his official in his mantle. A small guard of soldiers was drawn up before the *Hotel de Ville*; and, as each deputy passed by, he was received with the roll of a drum, and with presented arms. A good many people were assembled to see their representatives pass by. Every one took off his hat, but indeed it would have been positive rudeness to have done otherwise, as the deputies themselves walked uncovered. They

were in general respectable-looking men; and were all dressed alike, excepting two, who wore boots. I should think shoes and silk stockings are unknown in some of the cantons.

In the evening I walked into the environs. Passing through one of the gates, I remarked an old tower and a colossal statue placed in a niche. This statue is commonly called Goliath, but in former times had the honour of being a saint, and even earned the reputation of performing miracles. He was then called St. Christophe, and had a niche in the church of St. Vincent; but since he has been placed upon the tower, his character has been changed from a saint to that of a warrior. He has now an axe over his shoulder, and a sword in his hand. I had almost forgotten to say, that when St. Christophe occupied his original place in the church, his situation was most convenient for those who desired to profit by his miracle-working power. It was only necessary to pass between his legs. I noticed also, in passing along the streets, several fountains constructed upon strange and inexplicable designs. Upon one of them is a statue of a gigantic person, whose face expresses any thing but cannibalism, busily employed in devouring a child. I observed in the fosse, near the Port d'Arberg, some enormously large bears—one weighing, as I was told, 560 lbs. Bears are more *à propos* here than any where else, because the bear is the arms of the city, and is impressed upon the coin of the canton.

The principal object of my walk was to see the preparations for the *Tirage Fédéral*. The *Tirage Fédéral* may be called a national institution. Its object is to keep alive a martial spirit among the people, and at the same time to teach expertness in the use of fire-arms. This assembly is held yearly, and takes place alternately at Berne, Geneva, Aarau, Basil, and Fribourg. No one can enter the lists who has not resided ten years in Switzerland; and with this single restriction, all are permitted to try their skill. The prizes distributed vary from 100 to 1000 francs. These are partly paid by grants from the different cantons, and partly from the fees which every candidate pays upon entering his name. The fee is but trifling—five or ten francs; but I forget which.

I confess I did not expect to find the preparations for this *fête*, as it may be called, so extensive, or so much importance attached to it. I found a wooden building erected of very large dimensions, rather more than five hundred yards long, a hundred and fifty yards wide, and the roof immensely lofty. This building is divided into compartments, from the front of which the candidates fire; and in the middle is an elevated place for the judges. Opposite to this building, at two hundred yards distance, are placed the targets, which extend in line the same length as the building; and behind the first-mentioned building is another, of precisely similar dimensions, where innumerable tables are laid out, and benches placed, for the refreshment of the company. I found the field covered with people, all contemplating, with the greatest interest, the preparations for this favourite national trial; and, in a meadow at a little distance by the river-side, many of the young men of Berne were practising for the approaching *Tirage Fédéral*. One of the highest prizes in this tirage is looked upon by the young men of Switzerland as an object of the

greatest and most laudable ambition. The best marksmen are greatly honoured in their neighbourhood; and as all those who gain the highest prizes are allowed to carry away the targets that prove their prowess, it is not unusual to see these fixed upon the peasants' houses, in various parts of Switzerland.

I returned to the city by a very delightful road, which I found crowded with the *Bernois* and *Bernoise*, enjoying their Sunday evening's relaxation from labour. I remarked among them a more equal mixture of the male and female population, than I had seen in the other Swiss cities. In most of the Swiss towns, that separation which exists between the sexes among the upper ranks, extends also to the lower orders. The women are seen walking in groups, and so are the men; but in Berne they order things better. I observed, as in England, lads and lasses walking together, and talking, laughing, jesting, and frolicking with each other. I even saw here and there a pair of sweet-hearts in the more retired walks. All this is as it ought to be.

In entering the town, I passed by the prison, and took the opportunity of making one or two inquiries of the person who happened to be standing at the door of the *concierge*. The result was not very favourable to the state of morals. There were then almost 400 persons confined, by far the greater number for theft. There was one person awaiting his trial for wilful fire-raising, a crime which is punished upon the principle of strict retributive justice. They who are proved to have been wilful incendiaries are burnt. About four months before I visited Switzerland, an incendiary had suffered this punishment at Bienne. The prison is new, remarkably handsome, and very large; but I fear not too large for the demands upon it. I did not visit the interior, but I understand its regulations are of the best possible kind.

A circumstance occurred at supper, at the *table d'hôte*, worth relating. Before supper, several gentlemen stepped into the room, among others one Englishman. The book in which strangers enter their names lay open upon a table, and the Englishman entered his name. Several persons looked into the book in passing, among others, a Russian gentleman and myself; and I found the Englishman had put in the column marked *Caractère*, "*Homme de Lettres*." We placed ourselves at table, and it so happened that the Russian and the man of letters were placed opposite to each other. The Russian was scarcely seated before he addressed the Englishman in German; but it being evident that he was not understood, he next tried Italian. The man of letters knew enough of Italian to distinguish the language in which he was addressed; and he replied, in indifferent French, that he did not speak Italian. The Russian now concluded that he had at last found out the medium of communication, and he immediately addressed the man of letters in French, but was still unsuccessful. He replied, indeed; but after a few more attempts, the Russian found that, even in French, he had all the conversation to himself; and, as if determined upon following up his triumph, he then addressed the gentleman in tolerably good English, saying, he was always glad to meet with foreigners, that by talking to them in their own language, he might improve his knowledge of it. I could not but feel for my countryman

all this while, though his egregious folly in taking a title of so much pretension, almost removed him beyond the pale of compassion. He might possibly be entitled to the designation of "*Homme de Lettres*," though he could *speak* no language but his own; but it was extremely unwise to designate himself so, unless he possessed the power of proving his pretensions. The Russians are distinguished, beyond the natives of all other countries, for the facility with which they acquire languages; and it was certainly a remarkable piece of ill-fortune, that the man of letters should have fallen so inopportunistically into the hands of a Russian.

Next morning, I was awoke at an early hour by the commotion in the street. Bells were ringing, drums were beating, and carriages rolling, at the early hour of six o'clock. The first part of the ceremony of opening the diet, consists in the deputies assembling at church, to attend divine worship. They repaired to it one by one, the same as the evening before; and although they entered the house of God, honour was paid, in entering, to the representatives of the people. A guard was drawn up on each side of the porch, and colours were lowered, and arms presented, as each deputy passed by. The church was extremely crowded; but I contrived to get near the preacher, who delivered a very well-arranged, very long, and rather energetic sermon, upon the duties of representatives and lawgivers. I left the cathedral before the ceremony was concluded, that I might obtain a place in the other church, where the remainder of the ceremonies was to take place. I found the streets lined with a very motley description of soldiers—some in one dress, some in another, and some without any distinguishing dress at all, and at least one-half of the whole number boys of from twelve to sixteen years old. The interior of the church was very well arranged. All the pews were removed. A large table was placed at one end; and four rows of green velvet chairs occupied all the centre, excepting where a passage was left opposite to the table; and at the other end were arranged thirty or forty rows of benches, one above another, as in the pit of a theatre. When I reached the church, these were entirely filled with ladies in handsome morning dresses; but three benches in front were vacant, reserved for the families of the deputies, and perhaps some of the privileged aristocracy of Berne. Until the arrival of the deputies, I had nothing to do but scan the company; and after having run my eye over the thirty or forty benches, I was constrained to say, that not one fine countenance was to be seen.

After several general officers, dressed in splendid uniforms and covered with orders, had been ushered in by the officer in waiting, a roll of a drum was heard at the door, and every one thought the deputies were coming; but, behold! three ladies entered—a deputy's wife and two daughters—who took their seats, with an air of extraordinary importance, upon the chairs reserved for the privileged; and so they well might; for to be received with military honours, is a distinction that I dare to say is not rendered to ladies in any other part of the world. A man and his wife in Berne are truly *one*. I noticed that the most strict regard was paid to precedence; so much so, that two ladies, who had been improperly placed, were obliged to leave their seats, to make way for others who possessed a

superior right. The clergy and the magistracy arrived next: for the former, two rows of chairs had been prepared; and the protestant clergy were placed in the front row, the catholic behind. It so happened, that the catholic clergy had arrived first, and had been directed to occupy the seats reserved for the protestant clergy; and when the latter arrived, the catholic clergy were politely requested to occupy the place of less honour. But they have their days of honour also. The rule is, that precedence follows the religion of the canton in which the diet is held; so that, when the supreme council holds its sittings at Lucerne, which it does every fifth and sixth year, the catholic clergy occupy "the chief seats in the synagogue." This is quite fair. At length, a louder roll of the drum than usual announced the approach of the deputies, who entered at a slow and senatorial pace, preceded by the twenty-two officials in their mantles; and until the president had taken his place, and the deputies were seated, every one stood, and a solemn anthem was played by a full and very effective band, which was placed in the gallery. The deputies were all dressed as I had seen them before; and the two who wore boots, were in boots still. They walked the six and sixteenth, and were therefore the deputies of Unterwalden and Tessin. Among the wives of the deputies, I noticed no distinguishing peculiarity in dress. The ladies from Unterwalden and Tessin were quite as much *à la mode* as those from Zurich or Geneva.

Almost immediately after the president had taken his seat, he rose, and addressed the assembly. He spoke of the greatness of the occasion upon which they were met; he enlarged upon the excellence of the constitution; and dwelt upon the importance of the oath which the members were about to take; and, after a well-delivered speech, which occupied nearly three-quarters of an hour, he took his seat amid a flourish of trumpets and drums. The heads of the constitution were then read, and the members took the oath to maintain it. Another anthem finished the ceremonies, and so the diet was opened. I omitted to say, that the church was hung with tapestry, representing the deeds of arms by which Helvetia had distinguished herself in history.

The Swiss diet, like the legislative bodies of other states, has its friends and its enemies, its panegyrists and its calumniators; and, even in Switzerland, there is such a thing as political party. Several questions of very great importance were expected to come under the consideration of the legislature; one, a project for a single code of laws for the whole federal republic; another, a proposal to assimilate the coins of the different cantons. I am confident, from what I have observed of the state of public opinion in the different states, that neither of these projects will ever be carried into effect. If the different jurisdictions in the country of the Grisons were so much opposed to one code of laws, even for their own canton, how is it to be expected that the twenty-two cantons—differing from each other in intelligence, in religion, in political constitution—should accept a project, the object of which is to narrow the distinction that now exists among them? It is only a feeling of political expediency that holds the republic together. Each canton looks upon itself as a distinct state, and is proud of all that distinguishes it from its neighbours. I fear, therefore, that the Swiss republic will continue to feel

those disadvantages which are inseparable from a union of states (however inconsiderable), whose interests are, in some respects, opposed to each other, and in which knowledge and civilization have not made equal progress.

I intended to have gone, the day after the diet opened, to visit the lake of Biemme, but the badness of the morning prevented me; and the weather continued so unsettled during the greater part of a week, that I still continued to make Berne my head-quarters.

CHAPTER XIV.

BERNE—ST. PETER'S ISLE—HOFWYL.

Reasons for preferring Berne as a Residence—Society of Berne—Public Establishments—Excursion to the Lake of Biemme and Rousseau's Isle—Aarberg—The Lake—Character of St. Peter's Isle—Reflections—Return to Berne—Excursion to Hofwyl—Details respecting the Establishment—Canton of Berne.

If I were to make choice of a Swiss city for a residence, it should certainly be Berne; chiefly because I prefer the character of the inhabitants, and the usages of the city, to the character and usages of other towns, and partly because I like its situation better. In the latter ground of preference, I may probably not find many to agree with me. It is true, that Berne will not vie with Zurich in the variety of scenery that surrounds it. It cannot be compared with Lucerne, in proximity to the Alps, and in the charm of lake prospects; nor can it boast so fertile a country, or so noble a river, as Basil. But upon the principle, that the human mind delights in variety, and that the scenery which we see constantly around us must lose, in time, a part of its charm, nothing is, perhaps, lost to enjoyment, by being a little removed from those scenes which are capable of bestowing it. But although the neighbourhood of Berne has not, like Lucerne and Zurich, its lake and mountains, nor another Rhine, like Basil, it has attractions of a different kind. Mountains have their mists and their rains, and lakes have their exhalations. Berne has a pure dry air, and a more equable temperature, than the other Swiss cities; and the lover of nature and of mankind will find around Berne, that pleasing union of animated with inanimate nature—that mixture of busy life and inert matter, and even that variety of natural scenery—which are altogether a more permanent source of enjoyment than more sublime and less animated pictures.

As a city, Berne is greatly superior to Basil, Lucerne, or Geneva. It is a pleasant thing to walk in wide airy streets, and, at the same time, to have the advantage of shade and shelter, if required. Where there are arcades, one may always choose between bustle and quiet—bustle under the arcades—quiet in the centre of the street; and in the *agrémens* of a city, Berne has decidedly the advantage of its rivals. And this leads me to say a few words respecting the character of the inhabitants, and the *modes* of life. These are far less *triste* than in Zurich or Basil. In Berne, there is a more unrestrained intercourse among the inhabitants; and we do not find there, as in most parts of Switzerland, separate *réunions* of men and women. There is much of French gaiety, but little of the licen-

tiousness which sometimes attends it; and this gaiety is at the same time finely tempered by a portion of that sentiment and enthusiasm which belong to the German character. It is true, that the principle of exclusiveness is not forgotten in the society of Berne. The aristocracy is proud to a certain extent, and guarded in its intercourse; but the rights of the aristocracy are so well defined, that, to enforce them, produces none of those heart-burnings and envyings that so often result, in other countries, from distinction in *grade*. The assumption of certain privileges, and the exclusiveness to which these give rise, may seem excessively absurd—above all, in a republic; but it does not at all interfere with the amicable intercourse of the inhabitants; nor can the exclusiveness of the patrician society of Berne diminish in any degree the comfort of strangers. A stranger has his *grade* in his own country; and he has no right to expect, that, in visiting a foreign country, he will step out of it. If his rank at home be such as entitles him to enter the patrician society of Berne, he will find no difficulty in being admitted into it. On the other hand, if he belong to the middle ranks of his own country, he must be contented with the same rank in Berne.

Berne, too, possesses all those public establishments which render a place agreeable as a residence. It has excellent libraries—excellent academies—delightful promenades—convenient and well-ordered baths; a theatre, concerts and balls, during winter; clever lectures upon most of the sciences; eloquent and pious clergymen of almost every denomination; and to this list may be added, abundance of shops where all that contributes either to comfort or luxury may be found. The French language is generally understood among the well-educated. The higher the class in which you mix, the more you will find it spoken. At the same time, a knowledge of German will be highly advantageous to a resident in Berne, because it is almost exclusively the language of the people.

During my residence in Berne, I repeated my visits to the different places which I had before glanced at. I never passed through the market without receiving new gratification, though mingled with some painful reflections. The healthy and robust appearance of the country-people, well clothed and evidently well fed—busy, and seemingly contented—could not but recall to my mind the half-starved population of the great manufacturing cities of England and France, and almost begot a doubt in my mind whether England be in reality the happiest country in the world.

I also visited every part of the environs, particularly one promenade, called *l'Enque*, whose only fault is, that it lies about a mile from the city. It is a most charming walk, beautiful on every side, and commanding a vast amphitheatre, the sublime spectacle of the highest range of alps. The Schreckhorn, the Monk, the Silver-horn, the Wetterhorn, the Jungfrau, and Mount Eiger, occupy the centre of the range—names that one has heard a hundred times, and that are associated in the mind with all that is sublime in the natural world. I always found that promenade crowded, especially in the evening. It is the favourite rendezvous of the Bernois, and, like the platform of the cathedral, it affords a union of pleasures.

A second visit to the cathedral showed me the

Last Judgment, carved in wood above the gate—a work reflecting credit upon the age in which it was executed. A model of the tower, not as it is, but as it was once intended to be, was shown to me. The reason why it was not completed according to the original model, is said to have been owing to the insecurity of the foundation.

Having entirely satisfied my curiosity at Berne, and the weather having cleared up, I left it at day-break in a cabriolet, to visit the Lake of Bienné, and the Isle of St. Peter, commonly called Rousseau's Isle. In every direction around Berne, proofs are abundant of the great industry of the Bernoise peasantry, and of the easy and comfortable condition in which they live. I every where saw a fertile soil about to repay well the toil of the labourer. Every cottage appeared substantial; and the little garden attached to it, carefully dressed and neatly arranged. But one has not the satisfaction of knowing, in passing through this canton, that the labourer is lord of the soil he works, and that every seed he throws into the earth will return its produce into his own granary. Much of the land in the central parts of this canton, and especially in the neighbourhood of the capital, belongs to large proprietors—so large at least, that the land is laboured by hired servants; but the condition of every order of society in most parts of Switzerland, leaves little for the philanthropist to desire. As one proof that not a foot of ground is lost, I may mention, that I passed several dunghills, upon which there grew a luxuriant crop of salad and cabbages. It may also be worth while to say, that these dunghills are formed with as much nicety as hay-stacks in other countries. They are square, level on the top, thatched round with straw, and, unless where they are put to the use of gardens, covered at the top.

I breakfasted at Aarberg, a clean little town built upon the banks of the Aar, which almost surrounds it. Soon after leaving Aarberg, I reached a spot where formerly stood a village of twenty-eight houses, which were all destroyed a few years ago in a conflagration raised by an incendiary. The reason of this act is said to have been ill-will, conceived against the different shopkeepers and other persons, who refused to give him credit. The common law of Switzerland against incendiaries was disappointed in this instance. The incendiary, being pursued, crept into a drain, where he was suffocated. A small monument is erected upon the spot where his house stood, setting forth the crime of its owner, and forbidding that any other dwelling shall be erected upon the same spot. Three hours more brought me to the height above the Lake of Bienné; and from this spot the view also embraces the Lake of Neufchâtel, and the whole range of the Jura mountains. The view of the Lake of Bienné is not striking—scarcely beautiful or picturesque. It is merely pleasing;—mountains of the fourth or fifth order, covered with wood, and vines, and meadows, surround it, and several villages are scattered at their feet. The chief attraction of the spot lies in the Isle of St. Pierre, and the recollections it recalls of Jean Jacques Rousseau.

I hired a boat at the little village nearest to the island, and soon approached its bank; but, before landing, I made the circuit of it—a voyage of only a mile and a half; and, although in first looking down upon the Lake of Bienné, I had thought that

Rousseau might have chosen a more select retreat, I was no longer of this opinion in sailing round the island of his choice. Nothing can be more varied, or of a sweeter or gentler character, than the scenery of this little spot. Steep rocks, sloping meadows, vines, and groves and thickets, are passed by in succession; and the water being absolutely without a ripple, the boat glided all the way above the grass and groves reflected beneath. I landed close to the house which Rousseau had once inhabited, and where he vainly fancied he had at last found repose from the real and imagined persecutions of mankind. The house is now used as an inn, and the room is of course shown, where the “self-torturing sophist” was wont to muse on the ingratitude of his species, and to congratulate himself upon having escaped from the toils of his enemies, and the intrusions of the impertinent.

I walked over every foot of the island; and I trust it will not be called misplaced enthusiasm, if I confess, that the recollections to which the scene gave birth were mingled with some tenderness for the memory of the man who had there dreamed away half a lifetime. Rousseau was in reality a greater, and perhaps a better man than his more fortunate rival; and although he has left behind him less voluminous records of his labours than Voltaire, this perhaps is only one proof of his greater genius. The errors of Rousseau are the errors of an excited imagination. He believed that he promulgated truths; but Voltaire, when he deluged the world with his sophistry, smiled all the while at the credulity of mankind. I cannot help thinking, that the philosophical works of Rousseau are less esteemed than they deserve; for although the *Emilius* is founded upon a dubious principle, yet it teaches many important truths, and even contains within it some beautiful and highly moral lessons.

In wandering over the narrow limits of St. Peter's Isle, one cannot but compassionate the condition of the man, whose morbid state of mind drove him into exile; and yet it would perhaps be wiser to give credence to his own assertion, that the years which he spent in this secluded spot were the happiest of his life. Here he felt himself separated from that world, which he believed to be united in a league against him; and here doubtless he revelled in those day-dreams, which, to a mind constituted like Rousseau's, were happiness. I returned to the house to dinner, which consisted entirely of country fare, with neither kid nor fish added to it; and in the evening I passed over to the village, and from thence to Bienné, where I spent the night in a very excellent inn, called *La Couronne*. There is nothing very remarkable about Bienné. It is a pretty clean little town, lying near the lake, and at the foot of the Jura mountains; and would not perhaps be much visited by the traveller, if it did not lie so near to the scenes which are consecrated to the memory of Rousseau. Next day I returned to Berne by the same road.

One other spot remained to be visited; and to this I dedicated the day before I left Berne for the Oberland—I mean the well-known establishment of M. de Fellenberg, at Hofwyl.

Before saying a word respecting the system of education pursued at Hofwyl, or recording my own personal observations, I think it best to state what were the views and objects of M. de Fellenberg in founding this institution; and I cannot do this more

satisfactorily than in the words of a report presented by the comte de Capo-d'Istria to the emperor Alexander. It runs thus:—"M de Fellenberg a acquis sa première réputation comme agronome; mais son agriculture, et tout le matériel de ses établissements qui s'y rapportent, appartiennent au grand objet de ses travaux et de ses espérances, savoir l'éducation, dans le sens le plus étendu qu'on puisse donner à ce mot.

"Doué d'une âme active, et d'un esprit réfléchi, M. de Fellenberg partageait l'inquiétude de tous les penseurs sur les circonstances générales, qui, au commencement de ce siècle, menaçaient les peuples du continent. Père de deux fils en bas âge, ami de l'humanité, citoyen dévoué à son pays, il considérait avec effroi la situation morale et politique de l'Europe, et l'avenir qui se préparait pour ses enfans et sa patrie. En réfléchissant sur l'état de la société, il la voyait menacée de la dissolution de ses élémens, par l'oubli de la religion et le mépris de la morale; par l'influence du despotisme sur les caractères; par l'égoïsme et la sensualité des riches; par l'ignorance et les vices grossiers des pauvres; par un effet naturel des longues agitations politiques, et de longues souffrances qui lorsqu'elles ont abouti à la tyrannie ne laissent que découragement et lassitude, et persuadent aux faibles, que la vertu n'est qu'une chimère, comme le furent leurs espérances.

"Le vœu d'une réforme fondamentale dans les principes et les mœurs, était certes, bien naturel dans de telles circonstances; mais comment le former avec quelque espoir de succès? Comment un individu faible, isolé, pouvait-il songer à préparer, encore moins à réaliser, une telle révolution, même dans l'enceinte reserrée d'un canton de l'Helvétie? M. de Fellenberg n'en désespéra pas. Il pensa que les adoucissements, et les remèdes aux maux de l'état social, devaient se trouver dans une éducation appropriée aux besoins du temps, et à la destination générale de chacune des classes de la société. Il résolut d'essayer, dans l'échelle de ses moyens, de créer un établissement qui pût servir d'exemple, d'acheminement, et de noyau à d'autres établissements du même genre, dans lesquels on pourrait profiter de son expérience, éviter ses erreurs, perfectionner ses moyens de succès, étendre enfin, de proche en proche, sur son canton, sur toute la Suisse peut-être, le bienfait d'une éducation régénératrice des mœurs et des caractères.

"Telle fut son idée fondamentale—tels furent ses vœux et ses espérances. Il fit de l'agriculture la base de son entreprise. Dans tous les pays celle occupe la grande pluralité de la population; partout elle est en objet d'intérêt, d'amusement, ou de spéculation; partout il importe de la perfectionner, et de l'ennoblir. Mais M. de Fellenberg considéra surtout l'agriculture sous un point de vue philosophique et nouveau, c'est-à-dire comme fournissant, dans son étude et sa pratique, de grands moyens de développement des facultés humaines."

The natural inquiry is, has M. de Fellenberg's project been successful? If the traveller visit the establishment at Hofwyl, as he would any other curious object, he will be delighted—he will in all probability say, that he has never seen any thing more interesting; and at every step, while he finds new claims upon his admiration, he will see new cause to commend the excellent design of the founder, and to laud his kind-heartedness. But if Hofwyl be visited with different views—if it be re-

garded as a great moral experiment, capable, by its result, of influencing the happiness of mankind, a more guarded approbation will probably be the result. But I will proceed to detail shortly all that came under my own observation.

Hofwyl seems like a beautiful little town as you approach it; and yet it consists entirely of the buildings belonging to the establishment, and which have been constructed, one after another, as the views of M. de Fellenberg extended, or as public aid enabled him to carry them into effect. I found an intelligent young man to carry me over every part of the establishment; and I will readily admit that I was delighted with every thing, because I looked upon the whole as the pastime of an amiable philosopher. At Hofwyl, there are three classes of students:—the *pensionnaires* of the first class, who are all gentlemen's sons, and who pay a handsome sum for board and instruction; the second, or middle class, composed of persons who pay less, but whose education is in no respect different from the other class; and the third class, whose education is gratuitous, and whose labour is considered an equivalent for their board. When I visited Hofwyl, there were about 100 pensionnaires of the first class, thirty of the second class, and ninety of the third class. The last class was composed of Swiss exclusively; the middle class almost entirely of Swiss; and the first class of Germans, English, Russians, French, and Swiss. In this class there was one Spaniard. The instruments of education employed by M. de Fellenberg are various, and at first sight seem somewhat heterogeneous. There is, 1. A farm, destined to serve as a model of agriculture; 2. An experimental farm, or land upon which agricultural experiments are tried; 3. A manufactory or workshop for the construction and perfection of agricultural implements; 4. A workshop for the manufacture of all instruments used in husbandry. These two latter may appear to be the same, but this is not the case; the last is intended for the construction of all necessary agricultural implements, and comprises the workshop of the cartwright, the joiner, the turner, the blacksmith, the harness-maker, &c. The former is destined for attempts at improvement in agricultural implements; and there are seen various kinds of ploughs; new machines for chopping hay and peas-straw; and three or four different kinds of machines—(all of late invention, and improvements upon each other)—for sowing grain and seed of every kind, an operation never performed at Hofwyl by hand-labour; 5, and 6. A species of college, in one division of which all the branches of knowledge and polite education are taught, and in another all that bears directly upon agriculture.

The education of the poor comprises all that M. de Fellenberg considers useful. It includes reading, writing, arithmetic, a little grammar, a little geometry; a few facts in natural history; the history of their own country; drawing, singing, and moral lessons. M. de Fellenberg considers music to be an important auxiliary in education. To use his own words—"precious, as softening the character, and calming the passions; fortifying the love of order and of the beautiful; strengthening the bonds that attach man to his country, and raising his imagination and his wishes towards Heaven." But all these branches of education are made subservient to agricultural education. The manual labour upon

the farms is performed by this class chiefly. It is thus they gain their bread and their knowledge in labouring for them ; and besides agricultural education, every one belonging to this class is taught some trade—either those directly connected with agriculture, as wheelwrights, blacksmiths, &c.—or any other handicraft ; for the establishment comprehends the work-room of the shoemaker, the tailor, &c., who all labour for the establishment.

The education of the higher classes is of a different description. The theory and practice of agriculture form a part of their education also ; but in the school, there are teachers of every description of knowledge, comprising natural philosophy, mathematics, chemistry, the languages, ancient and modern history, geography, natural history, botany, and a course upon religion and morals. As relaxations from this, there are music, painting, the gymnastic exercises, gardening, and the more elegant parts of mechanics ; and to assist in these relaxations, the establishment comprises music-rooms, containing every kind of musical instruments ; models for painting ; fire-arms, bows and arrows ; small gardens appropriated to individuals ; and work-rooms with implements for turning, &c.

As the formation of the moral character is one important object in the view of M. de Fellenberg, this has led to a departure from the ordinary system pursued in schools ; for, wisely judging, that emulation, pushed too far, engenders unamiable feelings, all the usual means of encouragement are rejected. There is neither first nor last—no prizes—no medals—no humiliating punishments. A well-timed and gentle reproof, or an acknowledgment of duties fulfilled, supply the places of premiums and disgrace.

The establishment of Hofwyl is complete in all its parts. All that is consumed is produced upon the farms. In the byres I found thirty oxen and sixty cows, all in the most excellent condition. There were also twenty horses of the Mecklenburg breed, for the use of the farms. M. de Fellenberg makes much use of peas-straw for horses' food, and of potato-parings for cows. These I saw the cows eat very greedily ; and, judging from the quality of the milk, which I tasted, as well as from its quantity, which was very great, I could not avoid the conclusion, that cows thrive upon this aliment. I could easily fill several pages with a description of the various dependencies of the establishment—the bake-house, the butchery, the dairy, &c. &c. ; but it is enough to say, that all these are faultless, and that there seems nothing wanting to render the establishment complete.

M. de Fellenberg has been as successful as any reasonable person believed to be possible. His establishment affords a beautiful example of how much may be accomplished by the union of perseverance with enthusiasm, when these are directed towards an object not too extensive for the *surveillance* of one mind ; but even if this example were thought sufficient to warrant any plan for the extension of the principle, and for the formation of similar establishments, the proposal must be at once met by the question, "Have you other twenty M. de Fellenbergs ?" The whole success of an experiment of this kind depends upon the presiding genius. Establishments, such as those of Hofwyl, or New Lanark, called into existence by the union of philanthropy and enthusiasm, depend for their

continuance upon the life of the architect. It is probable that there are not other twenty M. de Fellenbergs in the whole world ; and if so, it is idle to speak of the establishment as a thing which can at all influence the general and permanent happiness of mankind.

It is perhaps scarcely fair to consider the opinion of M. de Fellenberg's neighbours, the Bernois, as any evidence against his system ; but it is right to state the fact, that scarcely any of the pensionaries at Hofwyl are from the neighbouring city of Berne, and that the opinion of the inhabitants is decidedly unfavourable to the establishment. They say the education is superficial ; that too much is attempted ; that no one who has been instructed at Hofwyl has risen to eminence in any department ; and that M. de Fellenberg is so much of a despot within his own establishment, that professors and teachers will not remain ; and that the frequent change in instructors operates injuriously upon the progress of the pupils. Of the truth of these charges I have no way of judging. I state simply what I heard many times in Berne.

Berne is the largest and the most populous of the Swiss cantons, and perhaps also the richest, though Zurich might possibly dispute this claim. The greatest land-owners of Switzerland reside in this canton ; and for this reason it contains the greatest number of poor. The number receiving public relief is stated at upwards of 20,000, being one in every seventeen, if the population be reckoned at 340,000. The constitution of Berne is oligarchical—certainly the worst of all the forms of government ; and from all that I could learn, the oligarchy of Berne does not deserve to form an exception.

CHAPTER XV.

THE OBERLAND BERNOIS.

Journey from Berne to Interlaken—Thun and its Lake—Unterseen, and the Plain of Interlaken—Inns and Boarding Houses—Interlaken as a Residence—Scenery—Mutability of Fashion—Journey by the Wengern Alp and the Scheideck—Lauterbrunnen and its Valley—The Stubbach—Cheese-making—Mountain Scenery—The Jungfrau—The Silver Horns—The Wetterhorn—Mount Eiger—Details respecting the Ascent of the Jungfrau—Night Views—Mountain Legend—Effects of a Glacier—Descent towards Grindelwald.

HAVING satisfied my curiosity in Berne, I left that interesting capital for Thun, and the Oberland Bernois.

Nothing can be more charming than the country between Berne and Thun. It is a constant succession of meadow and orchard, beautifully diversified with neat cottages and gardens, and presenting all the fertility of a plain, without its monotony ; for the surface is broken into hillocks, and every where offers to the eye the most delightful variety that cultivated nature is capable of affording. I noticed, that to every third or fourth house was attached a small manufactory of earthenware. There is a particular kind of earth especially suited for the purpose, found about three leagues from Thun, which costs only the expense of carriage. The pots made in these parts are held in high estimation, and are bought not only for the use of the neighbouring towns, but also by French hawkers,

who make an errand there twice at least every year.

Every one must be pleased with the situation of Thun. Placed in the vestibule of the mountains, it unites the sublimity of mountain-scenery with the softer graces of the fertile country that stretches towards Berne: the fine rapid Aar sweeps through the town, and the castle and the church crown the wooded hill that commands it. I reached Thun about six hours after leaving Berne; and, after visiting the church-yard, famous on account of the prospect enjoyed from it, and having obtained satisfactory evidence of the truth of what I had often heard, that the principal inn is one of the dearest in Switzerland, I hired a boat to carry me up the lake. The price of boats upon all the Swiss lakes depends upon the number of boatmen; and a traveller who has no opinion of his own, as to the wind and weather, will certainly be subjected to high charges. Boatmen always complain of the bad weather. With them, it is always either much wind, contrary wind, or the appearance of wind. It was as serene a sky as was ever reflected in the bosom of a lake when I arrived at Thun; but the boatmen assured me that I could not attempt the passage of the lake with fewer than three rowers. They admitted that it was not much wind just then, but the wind was rising; and besides, it blew exactly down the lake. Now, I knew perfectly that the wind was precisely in the other quarter; and that, if it did increase, our voyage would be only so much the shorter; and so the event proved. I took two rowers. The wind rose, and carried us up the lake without the aid of their oars at all. The voyage was rapid and agreeable. The banks of the lake are extremely varied, changing gradually from the picturesque to the sublime; and a boat full of peasants, returning home from market, contributed greatly to heighten the pleasure. They sang some pretty national airs, and sung them well; and, long after we had passed them, the chorus, swelling and dying away as the breeze fell and rose, came in wild and undulating melody over the water.

Our voyage terminated about six in the afternoon, and I immediately walked forward to Unterseen, a little village situated about half-way between the lakes of Thun and Brienz, and which is certainly one of the most charmingly situated in Switzerland. The village itself is old and rather ugly; but it is so small, that three minutes' walk is sufficient to carry one beyond its precincts. About three-quarters of a mile from Unterseen, is Interlaken, the well-known resort of the English. Next morning I walked through it; and, at every step from Unterseen, I found new reason to be delighted with the scenery of this most enchanting valley. Interlaken consists of fifteen or sixteen boarding-houses, lying at little intervals from each other, upon either side of a broad avenue which reaches from lake to lake. The terms of these boarding-houses are reasonable enough. The two or three enjoying the highest reputation, charge 5 francs per day, wine included; and for this, a well-served table and a comfortable apartment are provided. The next of the boarding-houses charge 4½ francs. The inns both at Interlaken and at Unterseen, are the property of government; which has, in consequence, made a most unjust decree, by which no stranger can be received in any of the boarding-

houses for a less time than nine days. In consequence of this regulation, travellers meaning to reside at Interlaken for a less time than nine days, are obliged to go to the hotel, where they pay a direct tax to the government, in the shape of most enormous charges made by the two inn-keepers. This seems to me to be a most odious monopoly, alike unjust towards travellers, and oppressive towards the keepers of boarding-houses. The boarding-house speculation at Interlaken has been overdone. I saw two magnificent new houses almost ready for the reception of company, while the fifteen old ones were not half-full. When I visited Interlaken, there were only between seventy and eighty strangers there; and last year, at the same season, there were no fewer than seven hundred, of whom nearly five hundred were English. There were reasons why fewer English than usual should be found upon the continent in the summer of 1830; but there is a fashion also in these things; and it is more than probable, that Interlaken has already seen its most prosperous days. But it is impossible that it can ever cease to be a rendezvous; for it is without doubt the most central point in Switzerland, for those who wish to find an agreeable spot, situated at a moderate distance from many of the most remarkable objects; and, besides, the beauty of the place must always have power to arrest the steps of many travellers. An English gentleman has lately built a house about two miles from Interlaken, and resides there permanently with his family. The house cost about 50*l.* building; and the expense of his housekeeping, four in family, does not exceed four francs per day. The Canton of Berne has lately passed a law, by which strangers are forbidden to become proprietors of land or houses within the canton. This law the English gentleman has avoided, by the title being made out in the name of a peasant with whom he was accustomed to board before the house was built; but it is difficult to perceive, how, upon the death of the owner, his heirs will be able to prove their title to the inheritance. To one who is fond of chamois hunting, and who has no ties at home (and yet, who are they? for has not every man the tie of country?), Interlaken is as choice a spot as can anywhere be found; and, if a house can be built for 50*l.*, and a family maintained upon four francs a day, small means are required for the luxury of such a residence. I can easily believe that the expenditure of a small family does not exceed this sum; for all kinds of provisions are extremely cheap. Veal is 3*d.* per lb.; mutton 3½*d.*; beef the same; butter 5*d.* or 6*d.*; vegetables and fruit for almost nothing; and many kinds of game and fish may be had for the trouble of killing or catching them.

I have spoken of the beauty and attractions of Interlaken; but I have not yet said in what these consist. The valley, or little plain, in which Interlaken is situated, is about four miles long, and from one to three broad. I need scarcely say, that it derives its name from its situation, lying between the two lakes of Thun and Brienz, which are connected by the river Aar. The beauty and fertility of this little valley are extraordinary. The greenest and most luxuriant meadows—the richest and most variegated foliage—orchards pendent with their beauteous burden—gardens enamelled with flowers, and stored with every vegetable production—form altogether a carpet of rare beauty. And although

I have called this spot the plain of Interlaken, and it may well be called a plain in comparison with the surrounding country, yet it is not literally a plain—it is strewn with picturesque eminences, rocky, and overspread with fine old wood; and, along the right side of the river, the bank rises gradually up to the mountains that shut in the valley. I do not believe a more charming spot than Interlaken is to be found in Europe. I know of nothing that it wants. It combines the beautiful, the picturesque, and the sublime. The little plain is redolent in beauty and fertility. The immediate environs present the picturesque in its multiform aspects; and the glorious peaks of the Silver Horn, the Monk, Mount Eiger, and the Jungfrau, are the boundary of its horizon. Add to all this, that the climate of Interlaken is mild; that in the hottest sun, the fine avenues of magnificent walnut-trees offer an effectual shade; that within the limits of a stroll are the shores of two charming lakes; that, in one's morning-gown and slippers, a dish of trout may be taken from the Aar for breakfast; and that comfortable accommodation, and a choice of good society, are at command. And I think I may safely say, that if fashion should desert Interlaken, she will run counter to good taste.

While I remained in this valley, I resided in the hotel at Unterseen, which, I am told, is not quite so good as the hotel at Interlaken; but, being rather more central for the different excursions, I preferred it. This hotel used to boast for its hostess, the *Belle Batelière* of Brienz; but it seems that the incivility of the landlord outweighed the beauty of the landlady in the eyes of travellers; for custom falling off, the Bernese government, to which the hotel belongs, displaced the tenant, and found another, the brother of the hotel-keeper at Interlaken, under whose *surveillance* it has recovered its reputation. The *Belle Batelière* now keeps a little shop in Unterseen; and there, I understand, her reputation secures her a comfortable livelihood; for scarcely does any stranger leave the valley, without purchasing some little ornament, the price of which, not being proportioned to its intrinsic value, is understood to include also the value of a glance at the fair vender. She is now thirty-four, and is not what she has been.

Without much riches, the villagers of Unterseen seemed contented and cheerful. It was pleasant to see them assemble in whole families every fine evening before their cottage-doors, watching the return of their goats. No family is without a few goats; and about dusk, or a little earlier, the whole squadron, the united property of the villagers, arrives at the market-place, and there, like a battalion to which the word "dismiss" has been given, they break up the order of march, and run to their respective homes, in groups of twos and threes, while some one of every family rises to receive and tend the wanderers.

After having passed two or three days at Interlaken, I left it on an excursion to Grindelwald, across the Wengern Alp, and Scheideck. I walked out of Unterseen about five o'clock, and was not a little pleased to see the summits of all the mountains disrobed, their snowy peaks backed by a serene sky. After crossing the little plain of Interlaken, the road winds up the narrow valley by the side of the river Leutchen, to the point where the two branches of the stream unite; one, the White

Leutchen, coming from the valley of Lauterbrunnen; the other, the Black Leutchen, from the valley of Grindelwald. United here, they are called *Zweyhutchinen*, and flow towards the Lake of Brienz. From this point a carriage-road leads to Grindelwald, up the bank of the Black Leutchen; but no traveller who can walk, or ride on horseback, ought to go by that road to Grindelwald, but by Lauterbrunnen and the Wengern Alp. I accordingly turned to the right towards Lauterbrunnen, and followed up its narrow valley, often a mere gorge, to the *auberge*, which lies about 2500 feet above the sea.

Lauterbrunnen is an interesting valley, and in many places a beautiful one. It is nearly fifteen miles long, and scarcely ever exceeds half a mile in breadth, and, like all the Swiss valleys of a similar character, it is subject to the visitation of the avalanche, and to the fall of rocks. The name *Lauterbrunnen*, signifies "clear fountains;" and it is well named; for on each side innumerable rivulets are seen tumbling down the mountains, in long threads of silvery foam. The village of Lauterbrunnen only contains about 200 persons. The rest of the inhabitants, about 1000, are scattered in cottages and chalets up and down the valley. They are poor; a consequence here, as in some other parts of Switzerland, of the influx of strangers, whose chance benefices are too often preferred to the regular returns of industry. The valley might well maintain its inhabitants in comfort. Few of the Swiss valleys produce a more delicious cheese, or one more esteemed; and in the lower parts of the valley, oats, barley, and even some wheat, might be successfully cultivated. On entering the village of Lauterbrunnen, I was accosted by at least half-a-dozen persons requesting employment as guides to the different objects of curiosity, and by one or two beggars besides. Thus it is, that good and evil spring up together, and that that which scatters riches on one side, sows poverty on the other.

I had heard much of the cataract of the Stubbach, but was miserably disappointed by it. The name—meaning fall of powder—is well applied. The cascade is said to be nearly 800 feet high; but it descends entirely in spray, and is wanting in that greatest attraction of a cataract—sublimity.

I met two parties at the inn preparing to pass the Wengern Alp to Grindelwald;—one, a party of German pedestrians; the other, a party of English, two ladies and a gentleman. The character of the English ladies for enterprise, courage, and perseverance, ranks very high in Switzerland. I have heard some old guides speak in rapturous terms of my countrywomen, on account of their contempt of difficulty, and even of danger; while, on the other hand, the reputation of Frenchwomen for these same qualities stands as low as possible in their estimation.

The ascent begins immediately when leaving the village, and for the first two hours it is sufficiently laborious. The labour is repaid, however, by the charming view which may at any time be enjoyed by turning round. The long, deep valley of Lauterbrunnen, with its hundred rills stretched at your feet; opposite, the cascade of the Stubbach is seen issuing from a mass of snow which crowns the height; and to the left, the eye follows the valley up to its majestic barrier, the Groshorn, and the limbs of the other giant mountains that stretch be-

hind the Wengern Alp. You look down also upon the Schamadribach, a vast snowy plain, where, at break of day, troops of chamois may generally be seen, and where also the finest eagles in Switzerland have their eyrie. One was killed about a fortnight before I visited this place, measuring fourteen feet and a half from wing to wing.

After an ascent of about an hour and a half, I found myself descending, and in another half-hour I entered upon the Wengern Alp. In this little hollow I saw several pretty cottages; and even at so great an elevation, the gardens attached to them were full of peas in fine blossom. A little farther, just on leaving the belt of wood that girds the lower part of the Wengern Alp, I reached an open rocky space, where seven or eight small houses were perched. These I found to be receptacles for cheese. The temperature of this altitude is thought to be more suitable for the ripening of cheese, than either a lower or a higher elevation; and every day, the cheese that is made higher up the mountain is brought down and deposited here. One of the mountaineers having just brought some cheese, I took the opportunity of looking into the depository. I counted sixty cheeses, and he told me that before September there would be 200. These belonged to four persons, each of whom have therefore fifty cheeses. The cheese sells at nine sous to the merchant, and by him to the public at twelve; and is called *fromage de Wengern-Alp*. There is still a more delicious and more delicate cheese made at *Sevènon*, a village on the other side of the valley, situated upon a mountain of the same name. It is made in very small quantities, and is all sent to Berne, where it sells at sixteen to eighteen sous.

At every step I found the path become more interesting. New mountain-peaks successively came into view, till at length the stupendous range of the Oberland Bernois rose before me—the Jungfrau in the centre, the two Silver Horns on either side, the Crispalt, and the shoulders of the Wetterhorn and Mount Eiger, stretching behind the Scheideck. From the path across the Wengern Alp, the precipices of the Jungfrau seem scarcely distant a gunshot; but a deep valley lies between, probably a league across. The highest point of the Jungfrau presents a reddish rock in front, too *escarpé* to permit the snow to lodge upon it; but the Silver Horns and the Monk exhibit smooth surfaces of dazzling whiteness. The former especially, though less elevated than the neighbouring mountains, are peculiarly striking, from the pointed forms of their summits, and the unbroken mantle of snow that envelopes them. But the Jungfrau is the chief object of attraction, not entirely owing to its great elevation, though that approaches nearly to 13,000 feet, but also because of its tremendous precipices, frightful ravines, and vast accumulations of snow. The Jungfrau was long believed to be inaccessible; but this idea has been proved to be erroneous. Two persons, named Meyers, enjoyed for some years the reputation of having reached the summit of the Jungfrau. The attempt was made by them in 1812; but there afterwards appeared reason to doubt if the attempt had really proved successful. No other endeavour was made till the year 1828. In the early part of that year, an English gentleman engaged some peasants of Grindelwald to attempt the ascent; but the weather proving unfavourable during some weeks, the person who had engaged

their services left that neighbourhood for Berne; but the weather soon after clearing up, they set out by themselves on the 10th of August. They were six in number; and their names are Pierre Bowmann, Christian Bowmann, Pierre Roth, Hiltbrand Burgunnen, Ulrich Vitver, and Pierre Mosser. They commenced the ascent from Grindelwald, entering between the Mettenberg and Mount Eiger, and passing by the *Glacier Inférieur* of Grindelwald, and the *Mer de Glace* behind Mount Eiger. The first night they slept in a natural grotto; and at one in the morning they recommenced their journey, leaving the Monk on the right, and proceeding along the southern declivity of the Jungfrau. The journey was attended with much difficulty and danger; but at length they reached the summit, and fixed an iron pole upon the highest point, by screwing it into the ice, where it may now be seen by the help of a telescope. The area of the summit is from thirty to forty feet in diameter. Towards the south a vast field of ice extends toward the *Vallais*; and towards the north descends that range of precipices seen from the Wengern Alp.

Notwithstanding the accomplishment of this attempt, it has never been successfully repeated. In the summer of 1829, two English gentlemen, accompanied by guides, attempted the enterprise; but a storm compelled them to return, and the guides have subsequently refused to repeat the experiment. The guides of Grindelwald are probably less adventurous than those of Chamouni; and I was informed that storms are more frequent and sudden in this part of the Oberland Bernois than in the neighbourhood of Mont Blanc. Of such honourable notoriety is the name of an Englishman, that an impostor occasionally screens himself under it to commit iniquity. An instance of this occurred last summer, and with reference to the ascent of the Jungfrau. A person calling himself English, and at all events master of the language, gave out that he meant to ascend the Jungfrau. He hired guides, laid in provisions on credit, and lived for a month at the *Hôtel des Gentilhommes* at Berne, upon the reputation of having formed so great a project.

It is the usual practice to cross the Wengern Alp and the Scheideck to Grindelwald in one day; but I preferred passing the day and the evening upon the mountain, and sleeping at the chalet, where every traveller stops to rest and refresh himself. I descended as far into the deep valley that separates the Wengern Alp from the Jungfrau as the precipices permitted, and spent the remainder of the day among the steep declivities that lie opposite to the majestic scenes which the bosom of the Jungfrau discloses; and when the sun went down, and the shadows crept up the mountains, I returned to the chalet, where I had some hours of comfortable sleep upon a skin spread upon a table. When I awoke, it was past midnight; and feeling rather chilly, I walked out. The light of a waning moon fell dimly upon the mountains. It was the reign of solitude and silence. Even the avalanche was at rest. The stars alone watched above the mountain-tops. At daybreak I commenced my journey towards Grindelwald. The path, after traversing the Wengern Alp, enters upon the Scheideck, and other mountains come into view successively—Mount Eiger, the Wetterhorn, the Shreckhorn, and the Finsteraarhorn. These are all very elevated mountains, and striking from their forms and posi-

tion, as well as from their elevation. These, with the Jungfrau, are indeed the highest mountains of Switzerland, excepting Mount Rosa and Mount Cervin. Mount Blanc is not a Swiss mountain. Of all the mountains I have seen, Mount Eiger is the most imposing. Most mountains have several peaks, or summits, as they are improperly called; and the highest of these generally recedes, and is only visible at a distance. But the highest peak of Mount Eiger overhangs the valley of Grindelwald; and the eye is able to scan, at one glance, the whole range of precipices, embracing an elevation of not less than 8000 or 9000 feet.

After passing the shoulder of the Scheideck, which is somewhat less than 5000 feet high, the path begins to descend towards Grindelwald. Here the Wetterhorn becomes the most conspicuous object, and a view opens into the heart of the mountain. It has long been supposed that this mountain contains gold, and about thirty years ago an attempt was made to open a mine; but the superstitions of the miners were so strong, that the design was abandoned. It was said, that whenever the hammer of the miner struck the rock, the stroke was repeated by some invisible being. Thus far the story may easily be credited; but it goes farther. Sometimes the miners were assailed by showers of stones;—frequently the excavations of one day were filled up next morning; and at length, one morning the whole mine was found to be occupied by the rightful inhabitants of the mountain-caves, and upon the miners endeavouring to make their escape, the roof fell in and buried them all. There might probably be superstitions to contend with from the first; and some accident having happened to the miners, truth has helped out the legend. It is certain, however, that the attempt was made, and has not been repeated.

In descending towards Grindelwald, one remarks with astonishment the extraordinary effects of a glacier that fell some years ago. It is entirely a mistake to suppose that woods offer an effectual barrier to the progress of a great glacier. In this place the ground is entirely cleared; the trees have been swept away like reeds; and an area of at least a mile and a half square is strewn with stones and roots of trees. On each side of this area, where the glacier has not touched, there is a fine forest. The descent from Scheideck is tolerably rapid, but neither difficult nor long. The level of the valley of Grindelwald is greatly higher than that of Lauterbrunnen; so that the ascent from Lauterbrunnen is much greater than the descent upon Grindelwald. In about two hours and a half I reached the *Glacier Inférieur*.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE OBERLAND BERNOIS—THE CANTONS OF FRIBOURG AND VAUD.

The Glaciers of Grindelwald—Excursion on the Mer de Glace, and Details respecting the Death of M. Mouron—State of the Inhabitants of the Valley of Grindelwald, and strange Laws and Usages peculiar to it—Return to Inter-laken—Escape of a Schoolmaster—Valley of the Black Leuchten—Visit to the Lake of Brienz—The Griesbach—The Evils of Imagination—Brientz—A Moonlight Sail, and Return to Inter-laken—Journey from Inter-laken to Vevey, by the Semmenthal—Spiez—Wimmiss—Character of the Semmenthal—Saanenland, Gruyère, and Gruyère Cheese—Descent to the Lake of Geneva—Vevey.

The glaciers of Grindelwald are always one prin-

cipal object of the traveller's curiosity, and are well deserving of a visit, even by one who has been at Chamouni. The lowest part of the *Glacier Inférieur*, which I first visited, reaches into the valley. The finest verdure is seen within a few yards of it; and, for at least a mile on either side, it is fringed with furze. One branch of the river Leuchten issues from beneath it, of course at the lowest point; and here an arch is formed about seventy feet high, and thirty wide; the ice, forming the roof of this arch, is like greenish crystal, and is extremely loose. A part had lately fallen in, and other large fragments seemed ready to detach themselves. The glacier extends up the mountain about two miles, and certainly presents a very singular appearance viewed from below. It is covered with pinnacles, some of them thirty or forty feet high, varied and picturesque in their forms, and is intersected by immense cracks, which render it difficult and dangerous to traverse. Beyond this glacier lies the *Mer de Glace*, which extends between Mount Eiger and the Merühorn. I also visited the *Glacier Supérieur*, which differs from the other only in having no pinnacles; but the cracks and crevices that traverse it are still more numerous and formidable than those of the *Glacier Inférieur*.

There are two inns at Grindelwald, the lower and the upper. The former has the character of being the best; but I preferred the situation of the other, and found nothing in it to complain of. From the *Salle à Manger*, which, upon one side, is entirely glass, there is a magnificent view of both the glaciers; and of Mount Eiger, the Wetterhorn, Finsteraarhorn, &c. I found the inn crowded with travellers, chiefly pedestrians, many of them Germans. The other inn is more run upon by the great, especially by *Messieurs les Anglais*.

Next morning very early, I left the inn with a guide, to visit the *Mer de Glace*, which lies beyond the glaciers, and which is chiefly remarkable for its connexion with the melancholy occurrence which, a few years ago, deprived the world of a good man, and the church of a pious minister. I ascended by the side of the *Glacier Inférieur*, and then turned to the left upon the *Mer de Glace*, which extends about two leagues in that direction. From the commencement of the *Mer de Glace*, it is little more than an hour's walk to the spot where the catastrophe took place. A small stream runs from the upper part of the *Mer de Glace*, into a little bed three or four feet deep, and here precipitates itself into a hole, which I found to be about six feet in diameter, the orifice forming an irregular square, and somewhat inclining inward. The unfortunate individual whose life was here suddenly and awfully terminated, was a protestant clergyman named Mouron. He had made an excursion from the Pays de Vaud, where he lived, to pass a few days in the Oberland Bernois; and the day after his arrival in Grindelwald, he went with a guide to walk over the *Mer de Glace*. M. Mouron, in passing near this hole, was naturally attracted by it, and approached near its brink; and that he might with safety look down, he struck his spike into the ice, and leant upon its head. The spike penetrated the ice, or slid forward; and M. Mouron, losing his prop, necessarily lost his balance, and fell forward. This is the true version of the story. It is a mistake to suppose that he lost his balance in throwing

a stone into the hole. The spike was found stuck in the opposite side, about a foot below the orifice, which could not have happened, unless the accident had occurred in the manner I have described. Three attempts were made to recover the body, and the last of these succeeded. The head was found much bruised, and one thigh and an arm were broken. In all probability, the unfortunate M. Mouron did not survive the descent, which was ascertained to be 778 feet, and was therefore spared the dreadful consciousness of his condition. But who can imagine the horror of that moment, when he found the prop give way, and when he sunk beneath the light of day! The recollections and the hopes of a lifetime were probably crowded into that moment of agony. Some suspicions of the guide were at first entertained; but when the purse of the unfortunate M. Mouron was found upon his person, they were of course at an end. His body was interred in the church-yard of Grindelwald; and upon a plain marble slab, is the following inscription:

Aimé Mouron, Mîn. du S. Ev.;
Cher à l'Eglise par ses talens et sa piété.
Né à Chardonne, dans le Canton de Vaud,
le iii. Octobre 1790.
Admirant, dans ces Montagnes,
Les ouvrages magnifiques de Dieu,
Tomba dans un gouffre
De la Mer de Glace,
le xxxi. Aout 1821.

—
Ici repose son corps,
Retire de l'abyme après 12 jours,
Par Ch. Burgenen de Grindelwald.
Ses parens et ses amis,
Pleurant sa mort prémature,
Lui ont élevé ce monument.

The inscription, I think, is faultless, unless perhaps that the word *magnifique* might have been omitted.

The *Mer de Glace* of Grindelwald was formerly occasionally crossed by the peasantry before any better communication was opened into the *Val-lais*, and a rude chapel stood half-way. But an avalanche destroyed it; and it is said that the bell belonging to it was found in the bed of the Leutchen.

The valley of Grindelwald is, upon many accounts, one of the most remarkable in Switzerland, not more owing to its natural position, than to the state of the inhabitants, and to the peculiarity of some of the customs and laws which obtain in it. In no valley throughout all Switzerland, are the inhabitants so generally placed above poverty. Their numbers amount to between two and three thousand; and there is not one among them dependent upon public or private charity. One reason may partly explain this phenomenon. There is a law peculiar to this valley, which forbids the transference of small parcels of property. A man must sell all, or none; he cannot sell his meadow-land without his mountain-grazings also, nor these without his wood; so that the multiplication of very small proprietors, and the division of land is checked. There are several other curious laws and usages peculiar to Grindelwald—one, among others, that a man cannot bequeath his property to his children by testament, or according to his own wishes. He must divide it into parts, and his children draw lots

for their separate inheritances. There is yet another usage still more extraordinary—so extraordinary, indeed, that I took great pains to inform myself upon the subject, as I could with difficulty bring myself to give credit to it; yet, however incredible it may seem, I feel that I am entitled, from the inquiries I made, to assert the existence of the usage. When persons are married, in whatever rank they may be, the bride passes the twenty-four hours previous to the celebration of the ceremony, with her intended husband *as his wife*; and I could not learn that a refusal to celebrate the marriage had ever followed this uncommon license. Unlike many other parts of Switzerland, marriages in this valley are generally marriages of inclination.

The inhabitants of Grindelwald are remarkable for their unwearied industry. The elevation of the valley above the sea is between three and four thousand feet. The cherry is the only fruit-tree that ripens; and wheat is scarcely a profitable crop. But the inhabitants lose nothing that industry can accomplish. They cultivate excellent barley and rye; and every house has its garden, bearing abundant crops of vegetables, and such fruit as the climate will ripen. When I left the valley to return to Interlaken at the early hour of four, the peasants were already in the fields busy with their hay-harvest. There is no concentrated village in Grindelwald; the houses are scattered over its whole extent; and nowhere in Switzerland have I found any more contented with their lot, than the peasants of this alpine valley—none more sincere in giving to their abode the name of “the happy valley.”

The morning following my visit to the *Mer de Glace*, I left Grindelwald on my return to Interlaken, taking, of course, the short road by the bank of the Black Leutchen. The valley of the Leutchen is extremely narrow, and is remarkable for the dreadful visitations to which it has been subject. Fifteen years ago, in the month of January, an avalanche swept away part of a forest, destroyed an inn which stood by the road-side, and, choking up the river, caused a most destructive inundation throughout the valley. Upon this occasion, the schoolmaster of Grindelwald had a wonderful escape. The affairs of the *aubergiste* having got into disorder, he applied to the schoolmaster to look into them, and make up his accounts; and accordingly, during the whole of the day upon which the event took place, the schoolmaster had been in the inn, engaged with the affairs of the *aubergiste*. When night came, a severe storm of snow set in; and the investigation not being concluded, the *aubergiste* pressed his friend to remain till morning, setting forth the dangers of a walk home during so violent a storm; but the schoolmaster answered, that he had family-worship always at eight o'clock, and that he must not neglect his duty. He accordingly left the inn, and had proceeded only a few hundred yards, when he heard behind him the thunder of the avalanche, which swept away the house he had just quitted.

Lower down the valley, there are traces of a still more dreadful visitation. A mountain must there have fallen; but the history of the catastrophe has not come down to our times. The ground, for the space of half a league, is strewn with enormous fragments of rock; some overgrown

with grass, some with trees growing out of their crevices, and some broken up and converted into dikes and chalets. The view into the mountains, looking back from the valley of the Black-Leutchen, is magnificent. The whole range of the highest mountains is visible from several points in this valley—the Finsteraarhorn, the Shreckhorn, the Wetterhorn, the Monck, and Mount Eigor. None of these have ever been ascended, and it is believed that all of them are inaccessible; but this cannot be ascertained until the attempt be made, which there is no temptation to do; because the Jungfrau, which lies in the same range, and which is higher than any of the others, has been already ascended; and the triumph—at all times and in all circumstances foolish—would upon that account be the less. The sun was just rising when I looked back upon these mountains; and the peak of the Finsteraarhorn alone was touched by its rays. If peaks do not intercept each other, sunrise or sunset offers a very simple mode of determining their relative altitudes.

The day after I returned from Grindelwald, I visited the lake of Brienz. In navigating this lake, the strong current of the Aar renders an additional boatman necessary; and, for some time, the progress is even then extremely slow. Just where the river flows out of the lake, I noticed another handsome building (I believe a boarding-house), erected upon a beautiful tongue of land, which has the river on one side and the lake on the other. I found much to admire in the lake of Brienz. The mountains that environ it are not of the greatest altitude, but they are fine in their forms, and beautifully green upon their lower declivities; and one side of the lake is spotted with houses and hamlets. The colour of the lake is whitish, arising, as is said, from the complexion of the Aar as it flows from the glacier. If so, it deposits its impurities in the lake of Brienz, because it flows a limpid stream through the plain of Interlaken; and the lake of Thun, which it subsequently enters, is dark-coloured. I passed a beautiful peninsula—almost an island—about half-way up the lake. A pretty country-house stands upon it; and the whole is the property of a Milanese general, who made the purchase before the enactment of the law forbidding the acquisition of property by strangers. I noticed a handsome boat coasting the island, with the Bourbon flag flying at the stern. It probably now carries a different ensign.

After a charming sail, the boat was moored in the little cove, close under the well-known cascade of the Giesbach. I had heard much of this fall; and although I never expect much from the fall of a small river, yet I did expect something from a cascade, of which everybody spoke in terms of rapture. “Have you seen the Giesbach?” is almost as common a question in this neighbourhood as “Have you been on the Rigi?” is in the neighbourhood of Lucerne. I was much disappointed in the Giesbach. It is merely pleasing, somewhat picturesque, but not at all striking. The water is by no means abundant; and if I found the stream scanty in the month of June, when the snows were fast dissolving, and in a rainy season, how insignificant must it be during the autumnal droughts! Everything has been done to recommend the spot to the notice of strangers. Here, there is a rustic bridge; there, a little gallery; winding paths lead

to different *pointes de vue*; and a house has recently been erected close by, where the organist of Brienz and his family live, and where parties take their pic-nic, and are serenaded by the organist and his family. This part of the entertainment, however, is pleasing enough. None of the voices are remarkably fine, but they harmonize well; and the character of the music which they sing is interesting, because it is national and local. There is an air of simplicity and rusticity about the family rather attractive. This may possibly be affectation, or it may not. I should be sorry to judge harshly. The lake of Brienz is dear to the gourmand, from its being the habitation of the Brienzling—a fish that is said even to exceed in flavour the far-famed Sardina.

Imagination, without which the traveller cannot feel the charm of the natural world, acts also as a check upon his pleasure. It is owing to the activity of this faculty that our expectations are never realised; because imagination has already pictured something beyond reality. Nay, even while contemplating a great object, we are apt to imagine something greater. For my own part, I confess that nothing has ever come up to my expectations. I can conceive something more charming than even the most charming of the Swiss lakes—something more majestic than the greatest of its mountains. There is no scene which imagination may not heighten—no beauty to which it cannot lend another grace—no sublimity which it dare not attempt to elevate. When I have stood below the “Monarch of Mountains,” I have imagined a mightier than he. The ocean in storm leaves least for the imagination. All this is simply the power of multiplication. Where multiplication can add nothing to the charm, imagination rests. In the external world, imagination only multiplies what exists—strews the bank of the lake with more flowers and finer trees—and places Mount Rosa upon the shoulders of Mont Blanc; and so does it act in some of the works of art. We can imagine a vaster building than the Escurial—a higher than the dome of St. Peter’s—a greater than the aqueduct of Segovia; but we cannot add, in imagination, to the charm of perfect harmony—nor imagine a finer than the Apollo; because, in these, multiplication would introduce discord, or change a god into a monster.

The lake of Brienz is said to be more subject to storms than any other of the Swiss lakes. The wind which had carried me so agreeably to the Giesbach, rose into a storm while I remained there, and it was necessary to wait until it subsided. The organist produced his choicest bottle of kirshwaser, and another round of songs helped away another hour. In the Swiss inns on the high roads, the traveller will seldom meet with kirshwaser. Unless he knows that immense quantities of it are made in almost every peasant’s family, he will be at a loss to account for the consumption of so great a quantity of cherries as are produced in Switzerland. There are various qualities of kirshwaser; but the genuine liquor is made without the assistance of the kernel of the cherry. That in which the kernel is used, is not so wholesome, and is always considered of inferior quality. The storm having somewhat abated, I left the Giesbach with the intention of dining at Brienz. Indeed, had my intention been to return to Interlaken, I could not then have

accomplished it, for the wind was still too high to permit the navigation of a small boat against it.

Brientz is a pleasant little town, and the inn is admirable ; but owing to the accomplishments of the landlord, who adds to a knowledge of cookery some acquaintance with the French and English languages, the charges are not remarkably moderate. All sorts of culinary implements, and little vases of various forms, are made in the neighbourhood of Brientz, from the maple-wood, and are extremely beautiful ; but they are made chiefly for English travellers, and are therefore dear. It was past nine before the storm had altogether subsided ; and about half-past ten I left Brientz for Interlaken, with a serene sky, a full moon, and a calm lake, gently heaving from the effects of the storm, but smooth as crystal. Rowing up the bank of the lake, I could not help thinking how unsuccessful are the efforts of painters in their representations of moonlight. The moon itself they paint well, but the light of the moon I have never seen represented with truth. Long before our voyage terminated, morning had dawned upon the mountains ; and before I reached land, the highest peaks were ready to receive the golden tints. A scene like this is inexpressibly beautiful at the dawn of day. The morning air was waking the sleeping lake into life ; mountains were unveiling themselves ; the beautiful carpet of the little plain was gemmed with pearls, and the refreshing rains of the last evening had given a brighter hue to the meadows, and a deeper tint to the woods. I had never seen Interlaken look so lovely.

My route was now to Vevey, to which there are two roads from Interlaken ; one returning to Berne, and from thence to Vevey, which is the road almost invariably taken ; the other direct to Vevey by the Semmenthall. The first part of this latter road is extremely bad, and the inns upon it are very different from those found on the more frequented Swiss roads ; but if this road were more frequented, the Swiss would soon find it to be for their own interest to erect better inns, and to make a smoother highway. After leaving Interlaken, I passed through a continued orchard of cherry and apple-trees, which cover the slopes that stretch upward from the bank of the lake of Thun. Many charming vistas of the two lakes, and of the plain of Interlaken, are discovered from these slopes, and many pleasant pictures of country life lay around ; for the hay-harvest had not yet ended, and the ingathering of fruit had begun.

Between Interlaken and the head of the valley of Semmen, I saw two most charming spots—Spiez and Wimmis. Spiez is the last village which the road touches, before it leaves the lake of Thun. Here the lake forms a little bay. Upon a small eminence stand the church and the minister's house, with a charming garden stretching into the lake. All the houses of the village are white, and each is detached with its garden. Round the village are woods and meadows, and the quiet bay reflects them all.

Wimmis is, perhaps, still more beautiful. It lies on one side of an undulating plain—if the expression be allowable—rich in every kind of fertility, and bounded by lofty mountains on three sides, and behind, and on either side of the village, mounts, covered to the highest pinnacle with wood, rise in the most picturesque forms to the height of 600 or 800 feet ;

and near the summit of one of these, are the ruins of a chateau. The river Semmen runs close to the village, the houses of which are white and detached, like those of Spiez. In the garden of the inn at Wimmis, I gathered some red currant berries as large as small cherries, and some raspberries twice as large as they are generally found in England.

At Wimmis begins the Semmenthall, which stretches to the foot of the mountains that form the northern boundary of the lake of Geneva. I have seen few parts of Switzerland more beautiful than the upper part of this valley—no part of it so *riante*. I should think it must be impossible to travel through this valley without being conscious of an inward cheerfulness ; it is fruitful, smiling, abundant, beautiful. There is no sublimity to be seen, scarcely even any thing of the picturesque. The hills, which slope gracefully back, are covered to the summit with a varied carpet of meadow, wood, and corn. Houses, hamlets, and villages, lie thickly along the banks of the river, which flows through a succession of orchards and gardens. Here, as in other parts of Switzerland, the hay-harvest was not completed ; and I noticed a curious mode of leading hay from a steep slope. A man collected a large load, attached it to his body with a rope, and seating himself upon the ground, slid down the steep, with his hay-stack behind him. In this valley the number of cherries is really incredible ; but I saw no other kind of fruit, not even gooseberries, in the gardens. It seems strange, at first sight, that in Switzerland no use should be made of the great quantity of fruit, especially cherries and apples, as a common article of diet. An apple or a cherry-pie is never seen in Switzerland. The reason of this may probably be the expense of sugar, or at least the habit of considering all foreign commodities articles of luxury, which cannot fail to be the case in a country where every peasant lives upon the produce of his own property.

I passed the first night after leaving Interlaken, at Oberwyl, and next day I walked to Chateau D'Ex. During this day's journey, the valley became more contracted, but scarcely less beautiful. Here, as in many other parts of Switzerland, the country appears more populous than it really is, owing to the great number of houses that are scattered over the valleys ; but these are in many places only chalets, inhabited during a few months by the person who tends the cattle, or only by the cattle themselves. During the forenoon, I passed from the valley of the Simmen into that part of Switzerland called Saanenland, and dined at the little town of Saanen. This is the beginning of the most famous cheese country in Switzerland, perhaps on the continent ; for it is here that the celebrated Gruyère is made. There is a curious law in this valley respecting the support of the poor. Whatever money is given to parents for the support of their children, the latter must repay afterwards. This seems to be an unjust law, because it visits the sins of the fathers upon the children ; it may have the good effect, however, of rendering the former prudent and frugal. The wages of labour in this valley are about 7½d. ; but every thing is not upon so low a scale. The rent of the little inn where I dined, was no less than 32l. All along this line of road I found the inns remarkably cheap. The luxuries which are always to be found in the inns on the

great Swiss roads were not indeed to be met with in the Semmenthall, or in Saanenland; but comfortable accommodation and a tolerable dinner are always provided at a very moderate price. At Saanen, I was charged one franc for a good dinner and a bottle of wine; and the landlord made the demand with the air of a man who thinks it very questionable if his demand will be complied with.

Chateau D'Ex, where I arrived late in the evening, is charmingly situated. I arrived thoroughly wet, having walked during the last three hours under a torrent of rain; but a whole family of old ladies who keep the inn, took me under their especial care—lighted a blazing fire, made me a comfortable cup of tea, and bore me company during the evening. Next morning I left Chateau D'Ex for Vevey.

The road lies through the valley of the Saane, and passes near, but not through, the town of Gruyère. No cheese is made in Gruyère, but in the different villages and hamlets in the valley of the Saane, though all the cheese made, in the canton is called Gruyère. The best cheese is made at Albeuve, between Chateau D'Ex and Gruyère. All the cheese of Switzerland is of the same kind as that known by the name of Gruyère, excepting Chapsieger, of which I have already spoken, and Neufchâtel, which is somewhat different; and all the cheese made in every part of Switzerland, is sent into France under the name of Gruyère, provided it is not too delicate to bear carriage. But the finest of the Swiss cheeses are consumed in Switzerland, because they are too delicate for exportation. At Andermatt, at Saanen, and at other places, I have tasted cheese far superior to any that can be bought in Paris. In the year 1829, the Canton of Fribourg exported 24,000 quintals, or 2,400,000 lbs. Generally, throughout these valleys, and in the commune of Gruyère, the inhabitants are above poverty. During a part of the year, there are not so many hands in the cheese-country as are required, and these are of course borrowed from other and poorer communes. Wages are there very high, in comparison, at least, with most other parts of Switzerland: they are about 2s. 6d., exclusive of living.

The finest cattle in Switzerland are reared in this neighbourhood; and in these, and the export of cheese, consists the prosperity of the Canton of Fribourg. At the fair of Bulle, as many as 2000 head of cattle are often shown. Fribourg ought to be richer than any other canton in Switzerland of the same size. It grows sufficient grain for its consumption, its meadows rear a choice breed of cattle, and its mountains produce cheese renowned all over the world. The canton is rich, but it might be richer; the people are comfortable, but they might be affluent. The same reasons that affect the prosperity of the Canton of Lucerne, operate prejudicially upon the condition of Fribourg.

Gruyère is a striking object from the road; and I walked up the mount upon which it stands. The extent of the ancient castle is great, and in other days its strength must have defied the attempts of a legion of bowmen. It is said to be more than 1200 years old. As I continued my journey from Gruyère, I arrived at a scene of singular desolation; it was the ruins of a village which had been burnt on the sixth of the preceding March. It consisted of thirty-eight houses, and they were all

consumed. The church and the minister's house alone escaped, which I need scarcely say was looked upon as a miracle. The peasants were all busy rebuilding their houses, and seemed as cheerful as if their labour were voluntary.

The descent down the little river Vevey, to the town of Vevey, is rapid; and a small part of the lake of Geneva is seen below, deeply imbedded in the mountains. I was now in the Pays de Vaud, and in a land of vines, which every where covered the slopes; and before reaching Vevey, I passed many pleasant country-houses, with gardens and orchards, whose produce bespoke a milder climate than that of the Oberland Bernois.

There is nothing in the town of Vevey particularly attractive. Its situation is its charm, and that is truly delightful. The waters of Lake Lemane come close up to the houses, and a fine shady promenade extends from the little harbour along the bank of the lake. There are some good streets and houses, and one well-built square, open towards the water, in which the *Hotel de Londres* is situated; but I selected *Les trois Couronnes*, which is in every respect an excellent hotel. Here, and at all other places upon the lake of Geneva, the Swiss character, appearance, customs, and dress, are lost in those of France. It was Sunday when I arrived, and the promenade was crowded all the afternoon and evening. No characteristic dresses were to be seen here, as at Berne, Zurich, or Lucerne: all was French. In place of the coarse petticoats of home-manufacture, the knit stockings, the picturesque hats, or grotesque head-dresses, were seen French prints, shawls, *ceintures*, and *chapeaux*. I should think Vevey a delightful place of residence for the autumnal months; for it is in autumn, not in summer, that the weather is to be depended upon in Switzerland. There is more than one boarding-house at Vevey; and lodgings can easily be had at a very reasonable rate. Meat of the best quality does not cost above 3d. per lb.; butter is about 8d.; fish, fruit, vegetables, and wine, all very low in price. The bread, too, I found excellent; and this is not a matter of minor importance. Vevey is not a dull residence. The coasting trade occasions a little bustle at all times in the harbour; and the arrival of steam-boats, two or three times a week, from Geneva and Lausanne, creates a little variety. The market-day, too, is always an interruption to the monotony of a country-town. As for the environs of Vevey, they are enchanting; and a boat on the lake could leave nothing to desire. Vevey was the refuge of Ludlow, one of the judges of Charles I., and of Broughton, who read the sentence of death. Their tombs are in the old church of St. Martin; and that of Ludlow bears this inscription: *Acerrimos impugnator arbitrarie potestatis.*

CHAPTER XVII.

THE LAKE, CITY, AND CANTON OF GENEVA.

Lake Lemane and Its Phenomena—Visit to Chillon—Clarens—Rousseau—Byron—Enchanting Scenery—Lausanne—Lausanne as a Residence—John Kemble—Gibbon's Library—Geneva—Manners and Morals of the Genevese—the City and Canton—Voltaire.

THE great charm of all this country is the Lake of Geneva, more commonly known in the *Pays de*

Vaud as Lake Leman. The lake is eighteen leagues in length, and varies in breadth from one to three leagues. Its greatest depth is 900 feet, and its height above the Mediterranean is 1150 feet. As a whole, I do not greatly admire the lake of Geneva; but there are parts of it at least equal in beauty and grandeur to any thing that is to be found elsewhere. The charms of the lake of Geneva are not seen in sailing from Villeneuve to Geneva. There are innumerable charming little bays, which must be individually explored; but all the upper part of the lake is eminently fine. Draw a line from Vevay across to the Savoy side, including Vevay on one side and Meillerie on the other, and the part which you thus cut off—a fifth part, perhaps, of the whole—cannot be rivalled by any thing that I have ever seen.

Every lake has its wonders, and Lake Leman is not without them. In summer, it rises from five to six feet above its winter level. It experiences sudden oscillations of several feet. It never freezes; and the Rhone traverses it without mingling with its waters. The first of these phenomena is attempted to be explained, by ascribing the rise to the melting of the snows; but I incline to agree with an intelligent writer, in doubting whether so extraordinary a rise, over a surface of twenty-six square leagues, can be entirely attributed to the cause assigned. With respect to the second phenomenon, other lakes as well as Lake Leman are subject to sudden rises and falls; and these have generally been considered to be the result of electricity, acting in one or other of its many forms. As to its never freezing, I am bound to give credit to the testimony of those who reside upon its banks; but it is not difficult to believe that deep water should retain a higher temperature than the incumbent atmosphere. And as to the last of the phenomena named—that the Rhone traverses the lake without mingling with its waters—it is too absurd to need refutation. This could not be, unless the impetus of the Rhone were able to conquer the resistance of the waters of the lake—which is a ridiculous supposition.

The day after I arrived at Vevay I dedicated to Clarens and Chillon. I left Vevay about four o'clock, taking a carriage as far as Chillon, where I sent it back, that I might enjoy alone, and at leisure, the interesting and delightful scenery of these beautiful and almost classic spots. I was particularly fortunate in the choice of an evening. The weather had been unsettled for a week previous to my arrival at Vevay; but the same evening it cleared up; and as I passed along the shore of the lake towards Chillon, all was beauty—beauty, serenity, and repose. About a mile from Vevay, turning a headland, the head of the lake opens to view, with Chillon's gray walls rising out of the water, and reposing against the dark woods that lie behind.

"Clarens! sweet Clarens! birth-place of deep love,"

who could pass thee by? Here it was that Rousseau dreamed the dream that has made him immortal. These scenes are peopled with the creations of his fancy; and scarcely can we forbear inquiring, where is the dwelling of Julie? Clarens was doubtless Rousseau's *beau idéal* of natural beauty; and who is there that will quarrel with his choice? It lies in a bay within a bay, and climbs up a gentle

acclivity—gentle at first, but afterwards steeper, and crowned with the old walls and towers of Chateau Chatelard. It is more a concentration of hamlets than a village; and the walnut and fruit-trees, and weeping-willows that surround and mingle with it, form a perfect *vallambrosa*. All the way to Chillon the country continues charming; and every moment the massive walls of the castle become a more prominent object in the magnificent picture that stretches around.

Independently of the historic interest of Chillon, it is interesting from the beauty of its situation, from its forming one of the most conspicuous objects in one of the most enchanting scenes in the world. The castle is built upon a rock, which, in former times, must have fallen from the neighbouring mountain; and both the strength of its position, and the strength of its walls, have more than once enabled it to make a stout resistance in times of trouble. A drawbridge leads into the castle; and I was, of course, conducted into the dungeons. The history of these dungeons is known to every one. The principal dungeon is large, cold, but not dark. Several stone columns run along the middle of it; and to three of these are still attached the rings to which prisoners were chained. It has often been repeated, that these dungeons are below the level of the lake; but this is an error. The floor of the dungeon is about the average level of the lake. In spring and autumn, their level is the same. In summer, the level of the lake is sometimes from two to three feet above the floor of the dungeon, and in winter as much below it. But although these dungeons are not quite so dark and damp as they have been represented to be, they are bad enough to have served as a fitting receptacle for the victims of tyranny.

The chief historic interest attaching to the castle of Chillon, is its connexion with the name of Bonnivard, who inhabited its dungeon during six years. Although every one knows the history of Bonnivard, I cannot entirely pass it over.

François Bonnivard, lord of Lume, was born in 1496, and, in his very early youth, he fell heir to the rich priory of St. Victor, which lay close to Geneva. When the duke of Savoy made war upon the republic, Bonnivard zealously opposed his encroachments, and thus incurred his resentment. In the year 1516, when Bonnivard was twenty-three years old, the duke of Savoy entered Geneva, and Bonnivard fled in the direction of Fribourg; but he was overtaken and seized by command of the duke, and was made to taste captivity first in the Grolée, where he was a prisoner two years. When his imprisonment ended, he returned to the priory; and, in 1528, he was in arms against the possessors of his ecclesiastical revenues. Upon this occasion, the city of Geneva supplied him with the means of combating for his rights; and he, in return, sold his birthright to the city. Subsequently to this, Bonnivard employed his talents in the secret service of the republic; and, in the year 1530, when travelling between Moudon and Lausanne, he was attacked, probably by emissaries of the duke of Savoy, and was made prisoner, and delivered up to the duke, who sent him to the castle of Chillon, where he remained six years. Bonnivard was then thirty-three years old. It is impossible to know whether he was chained to any of the pillars to which rings are attached; but, in such a dungeon,

one would be apt to think chains superfluous. Tyranny, however, is inventive in cruelty, and it may have been so exercised.

In March, 1536, the Bernese took the castle of Chillon, and Bonnavard was liberated from captivity. But his troubles did not end here. In consequence of the Genevese refusing to pay his debts, he quarrelled with them, and claimed restitution of his priory of St. Victor. The dispute was referred to the pope, who decreed to him 800 crowns, besides a pension for life of 140 crowns; and after a succession of quarrels and difficulties, he died in 1571, at the age of seventy-five. Twenty years before his death, he presented all his books to the Genevese republic; and these are still seen in the public library of the city, where also some of his unpublished manuscripts remain—among others, a History of Geneva.

But the associations of Chillon with the name of Bonnavard are, after all, but of very remote and very partial interest; and his sufferings in the cause of liberty carry us back to so distant a time, that our sympathies are but feebly excited; besides, the object of his exertions seems to have had more reference to the preservation of his own possessions, than to any higher purpose. But how, in those days, could this be otherwise? The poetry of Byron has given to Chillon a warmer, and perhaps a more abiding interest: as the captivity of Bonnavard, as the blaze of Rousseau's eloquence, and the fervour of his imagination, have surrounded Clarens with a halo of almost supernatural beauty—so has the poetry of our bard thrown around the prison of Chillon a glory that cannot die.

The person who accompanies strangers through the castle of Chillon, seems to take pleasure in repeating the particulars of lord Byron's visit to the castle. He arrived in the afternoon in a châloupe. He visited every nook in the castle, and spoke very little to his conductress, who stoutly asserts, that the name Byron, seen upon one of the pillars, was carved by himself. This *may* be true, but it is certainly improbable. No one who has visited Chillon on such an evening as that by which I was favoured, can ever forget the scene. I lingered long near it, and carried away a remembrance from one of the fig-trees that shoot out of its walls. Returning to Vevay, I ascended to the church-yard of Montreux, and enjoyed from it the most enchanting prospect that I ever recollect to have seen. The lake, dappled with the thousand hues of evening, lay stretched below; all its wooded bays and creeks, and little promontories, standing out in fine relief, touched by the golden light of evening. The great mountains of the *Vallais*, towering into the serene sky, had covered themselves with their brightest vestment; for the gorgeous west streamed upon their pinnacles and fields of snow, veiling its purity in a robe of pale carnation. Around was the deep foliage of summer—below lay Clarens, mingled with the waters of the lake—and opposite were the rocks of Meillerie, already forsaken by the sunbeams, and throwing their shadows forward into the glassy mirror. Chillon, dark and stern, reposed in shade in its deep tranquil bay. All was very still. One blackbird now and then sent up, from a low dell beneath, its unanswered note. One or two lizards appeared and disappeared upon the gray wall that bounds the church-yard. The old church, too, and its sacred precincts, gave a som-

brencess to the scene; and the jasmine that covered its walls, sent around as sweet a fragrance as ever mingled with the summer air. In leaving the church-yard, I noticed the following inscription placed above a *boîte aux pauvres*: "*Toi, qui viens admirer nos riens paysages, en passant, jete ici ta pitié aux malheureux, et le Dieu dont la main desina ces rivages, te bénira des cieux!*"

Long before I reached Clarens, the sun had set; and the reader will excuse me, when I acknowledge that I lingered a while by the margin of the lake, and strolled up one of the little winding roads that lead round the houses and orchards, scrutinizing them as keenly as if I might have chanced to see through Julie's parlour window; or Julie, her cousin, and *St. Preux*, seated in the *bosquet*. It was quite dark when I reached Vevay. The supper-table was laid out, and I sat down with a large party of English, just arrived in the steam-boat from Geneva, and taking this road to the Simplon and classic Italy. One of them, hearing me speak of Chillon, asked if I had been there, and if it were true that lord Byron had one of the dungeons fitted up as a bed-room!

Next morning, I left Vevay for Lausanne, in a small boat, with two boatmen. Between Vevay and Lausanne, the banks of the lake present a continuous vineyard. This seemed to me far from beautiful, after having been accustomed to the verdure of the mountains of Brientz and the Semmenthal.

There is scarcely any city in Europe better known to travellers than Lausanne. Every one visits Lausanne; and there are many who select it as a summer residence. For my own part, I would greatly prefer Lausanne, were it situated close to the lake; for its great elevation, as well as its distance from the water, are unpleasant drawbacks upon the enjoyment of an evening stroll along the banks of Lake Leman. But, with this single inconvenience, it must be admitted that Lausanne is a delightful place of residence. There is no doubt, too, that it is greatly more healthy than Geneva. This is proved by the bills of mortality, and is certainly to be attributed to its greater elevation above the water.

Lausanne is at present a flourishing city. I noticed many new houses erecting, and very few old houses to let. Several public buildings were also newly finished; among others, the *Maison de Force*. The inhabitants, too, are steadily on the increase; and the number of resident strangers is also greater every year. When I visited Lausanne, there were about 200 resident English, forming a society altogether independent of the natives. There are some cheaper places of residence than Lausanne; but no one, I believe, where education is cheaper or better. It does not cost above one-fourth of its price in England; and I have good reason to know, that most of the English resident at Lausanne have been attracted to it in consequence. It is pleasant to think, that there exists any plausible reason for absenteeism. There can be little doubt, that the intention of those who banish themselves from their native country, that they may educate their children, is good; but whether the determination be wise, is a different question. For it may admit of a doubt, whether it be wisdom to go abroad in quest of an education, which the means of the absentee do not permit him to give to his family in

England. House-rent is decidedly lower in the neighbourhood of most of the English provincial towns, than it is in Lausanne, and the necessities of life are not greatly dearer; and for a family in the middle ranks of life, an education quite as suitable may perhaps be procured in Exeter, Chester, Norfolk, or Derby. The following are the prices of different articles at Lausanne:—Meat the same as at Vevay; butter 8d. or 9d. per lb.; bread 1½d. or 2d. per lb.; eggs from 4d. to 6d. a dozen, according to the season; fowls 16d. to 18d. a pair; a duck 1s. 4d.; a turkey 3s.; wine of a tolerable quality 5d.; fish are generally plentiful, and reasonable in price; and vegetables and fruit abundant.

A week may be very pleasantly spent at Lausanne. The inns are extremely good, and not excessively expensive; and at the principal *tables d'hôte*, the traveller will find an excellent and even elegant repast. There are, besides, several good coffee-rooms, where the best French and Swiss newspapers are regularly received. The promenades on every side are beautiful, and the excursions various; and let me not forget one spot where a day may be delightfully spent by the lover of flowers—the garden of Barraud, who possesses no fewer than 400 varieties of the carnation.

Lausanne may boast of some objects of interest, independent of its situation, or of the *agréments* which it offers. There may be some who would scarcely reckon among these the monument erected in the *cimetière* to the memory of John Philip Kemble; and yet, who has not been accustomed to associate with the productions of Shakspeare their best interpreter? This monument cannot be devoid of interest to him who remembers the godlike Roman, or the lover of the gentle Ophelia.

But the name of Gibbon is associated with Lausanne; and his library still remains in the condition in which he left it. I, of course, visited it. It is tolerably large; but more remarkable for the selection of the best works and best editions, than for its extent. I noticed on the shelves, four copies of his own great work, *three of them translations into foreign languages, French, German, and Italian, completed during his own lifetime*. With how proud a feeling must he have deposited upon their shelves these best rewards of his labour! The fourth copy I have mentioned is the Basil edition in English, which is even now the favourite edition of the work throughout Germany. I also noticed upon the shelves several editions of the Bible.

Lausanne, after Berne, Zurich, and Geneva, is the largest city of Switzerland. It contains upwards of 10,000 inhabitants, and is the capital of the Canton de Vaud. The whole canton, one of the largest in Switzerland, contains 150,000 persons, almost all professing the protestant religion. This canton enjoys the finest climate in Switzerland, and is the only one in which wine is the staple produce. The constitution is democratic. The inhabitants are, upon the whole, little depressed by poverty. Education is very generally spread; and, altogether, the *Pays de Vaud* perhaps merits the name that has been given to it—*Le Paradis de la Suisse*.

I left Lausanne for Geneva by the steam-boat, which, although extremely convenient, harmonizes but indifferently with the picturesque and beautiful; and the banks of the lake are somewhat tame after leaving Lausanne; and, if one navigated Lake Lemman no higher than Lausanne, its claims to beauty

might probably be questioned. As a whole, it is undoubtedly much inferior to the lake of Zurich. As we passed down, the house of the De Stael family was pointed out to me; and also the house formerly occupied by Joseph Buonaparte. It is said to be his property still. I reached Geneva about four o'clock, and was fortunate enough to find a vacancy in the *Écu de Genève*, a hotel which, with a thousand recommendations, possesses one fault. It is, at all times, ten to one against finding a spare corner in it.

Geneva is, from its history, one of the most remarkable and most interesting cities of Europe. Long the metropolis of the reformed church, its connexion with the name of Calvin is alone sufficient to invest it with interest. Calvin was elected to the chair of theology in the year 1536, and died in 1564, after having founded the college, the academy, and the library. Well may Geneva be proud of a name to which millions owe the light of rational religion.

The stranger will find it difficult to discover in Geneva any trace of the puritanism and severity of manners for which that city was so renowned in earlier times. I was never among a livelier or gayer population. Amusement seemed to be the reigning passion, and religion little less a matter of form than it is in France on Sunday. After listening to a favourite preacher, the Genevese flock to the theatre. The shops of Geneva also are open on Sunday, the same as on other days, and every man plies his trade as usual. The gaiety of the Genevese is chiefly seen on Sunday; for the citizens of Geneva are most of them engaged in trades that require application and close confinement—no fewer than 3000 of the 23,000 inhabitants being engaged in watch-making and gold-working. The number of watches made in a year is said to be somewhat beyond 70,000; and of these, at least 60,000 are of gold. In these, and in the jewellery trade, between 70,000 and 80,000 ounces of gold are employed, and about 50,000 ounces of silver. A considerable quantity of precious stones, particularly pearls, are employed in jewellery, and in the embellishment of watches, amounting in value, as I was informed, to 20,000*l.* sterling yearly.

There are many bad, and some good streets in Geneva; and both within and in the immediate neighbourhood of the town, are many pleasant promenades, among others the botanic garden; but I remarked that the Genevese preferred the streets, and left the shady walks nearly deserted. The Rhone divides the city into two unequal parts, and is spanned by several wooden bridges. It is beautifully blue, but is certainly not so rapid as the Reuss.

The Canton of Geneva is extremely small—the least in the confederation. It is composed of the territory of the ancient republic, and of certain parts of Savoy added to it by the congress of Vienna, and secured by the treaty of Paris. At the same time, the constitution of the republic was remodelled. Its government is now representative. The executive part of it is composed of a council of twenty-eight members and four syndics, or chief magistrates, all of whom are elected by the council of representatives, amounting to 278 members—formerly called the council of two hundred. These representatives are elected by the citizens, who, in order to enjoy the right of voting, must be twenty-five years old,

and pay, in direct taxes, about fifteen francs per annum.

Geneva, previous to the French revolution, had long been the scene of violent political dissensions. The form of government was democratic ; but certain families were constantly seeking to establish a permanent aristocracy. In 1783, in consequence of certain disputes between the citizens and the council of state, the latter, in order to preserve their power, invited foreign troops to enter their territory, and Geneva was taken possession of by the troops of France, Sardinia, and Berne. This was the first example of interference on the part of foreign states with the internal governments of other territories—an example that was afterwards quoted by the empress Catherine, when she interfered with the affairs of Poland, and which was followed upon a greater scale, and with more fatal results, by the allied sovereigns, when they forced a Bourbon upon the French nation.

Before leaving Geneva, I visited Ferney ; but with the writings of Voltaire I have no sympathies ; and when I recollected the comforts and luxuries with which he was surrounded, and the adulation that every where waited upon him, my mind reverted to the lake of Bienné, and the solitary dreamer of St. Peter's Isle.

CHAPTER XVIII.

FROM GENEVA TO LYONS—LYONS.

Change of Scenery in passing from Switzerland into France—The Perte de la Rhone—Lyons—The Quay of the Rhone—The Inhabitants—Paris Influence—The Quay of the Soane—Fourviers.

To the traveller who journeys from Switzerland, the route between Geneva and Lyons scarcely possesses the interest which it deserves ; because, with the bolder and more captivating scenery of Switzerland fresh in his memory, the comparatively milder scenery that lies between Geneva and Lyons seems tame and unattractive. But, under any other circumstances, it would be considered highly interesting. The course of the Rhone is marked by many picturesque views, preserving much of the character of Swiss scenery ; and gradually, as it flows eastward, the scene changes. The bed of the river becomes shallower ; the rocks less precipitous ; the wild abruptness of the Swiss landscape is lost in the soft undulations of the *Lyonnois* ; and the river, no more an impetuous torrent, battling with huge rocks that jut from its bank, or half choke its bed, flows through the fertile fields of France with gentle flow and graceful bendings.

I was particularly struck with a view which opened upon us, just as dusk was fading into darkness. It was a long narrow lake, of a peculiarly dreary character, along which the road winds its whole way, and which possesses, in the eye of the traveller who has taken farewell of Switzerland, a kind of adventitious interest, by bringing with it a renewal of the scenes which he thought he had left for ever. It is, in fact, like the face of a friend returned, from whom we had sorrowfully parted. A little farther than this lake, there is a descent of extraordinary length and rapidity, marking the natural boundary between France and Switzerland, though the conventional boundary has long been

passed. This descent made me sensible of the marked difference in temperature between the plains of France and the high lands of Switzerland. In the early part of the evening I had felt the cold inconvenient ; but when I had descended into the plains, although it was then midnight, I threw aside my cloak, and yet felt the heat oppressive.

The *Perte de la Rhone*, which cuts so great a figure on the page of the traveller, might almost be denominated a take-in. I followed the example of all other travellers, and scrambled down a rugged bank, steep and slippery from rain, to see this famous marvel ; but I saw nothing. The guide said the *Perte* was to be seen only when the river was low ; but that, at that time, there was too much water to be lost. As I approached Lyons, the views expanded ; the eye ranged over a wide and fertile country ; and soon the irregular masses of building below, and the villas that crown the heights above the river, announced the vicinity of Lyons. A gradual descent, and a long suburb, led to the Quay of the Rhone ; and I established myself in the Hotel de L'Europe, the only unexceptionable hotel in the city.

It is at Lyons that we first perceive our approach to the regions of the south. People seem to live more in the open air. Trades even are carried on without the drawback of rent. The lower orders appear to look upon covering, even for the body, as not at all indispensable ; and ices and iced water supply the place of *ponche à la Romaine*. In the houses, too, the confines of a southern climate are visible ; the rooms are generally nearly dark, the art in warm countries being to keep out the sun, and even the hot air ; and the floors begin to be covered with brick. All this seems comfortless and gloomy to a traveller who arrives from Switzerland, with the many charms of the Swiss inns fresh in his recollection.

The evening of my arrival in Lyons, I began to perambulate the city ; and chance first conducted me to the Quay of the Rhone, in every way worthy of a great city, whether from its great extent and breadth, or from the buildings that line it. A great part of the quay, close to the river, is occupied by a bazaar, a long row of low shops, open in front, displaying all kinds of commodities of inferior order ; and there is every where visible that throng and bustle that indicate a populous, busy, and commercial city. But I do not recollect to have ever seen, in any of the great manufacturing towns of England, so much to remind one of the fatal vicissitudes of trade, in the spectacles of poverty and wretchedness that every moment presented themselves ; and it struck me, that, among the lower orders of the city, there seemed to exist, in a remarkable degree, the elements of turbulence and civil commotion.—The look, air, and expression of the unemployed workman of Lyons, has nothing in it of uncomplaining sufferance. He carries an air of defiance in his countenance ; and solicits alms in the manner of one who thinks he has a right to partake the purse of another, who wears a better coat than himself. Three years before I visited Lyons, 28,000 persons were employed in the silk manufactures ; and three years later, in the year 1829, when I again visited it, not more than one-fourth part of this number was required.

I continued my walk beyond the city, to the spot where the Soane merges its tranquil waters in the

impetuous current of the "arrowy Rhone." Here, at the confluence of these great rivers, Napoleon began the erection of a palace; and no site could have been better chosen; but his purpose was frustrated by the events that destroyed alike the prospects of his ambition and his caprice.

In returning to the hotel, I passed through the great square, *La Place Bellecour*; which indeed lies in its immediate neighbourhood. It was now almost dusk; and the square was crowded with the middle and upper classes, who now enjoyed the mild coolness of a delicious evening, after the oppressive heat that had confined them all day to their twilight apartments. There is scarcely any difference perceptible between the upper and middle classes in Lyons and in Paris. *La mode* in Paris is *la mode* all over France. The important air and display of fine linen among the men, and the tripping step, and charming bonnets and frills among the women, are equally characteristic in the *Place Bellecour* of Lyons, as in the Tuilleries of Paris—of that nation which contains the vainest men, and the best dressed women in the world. "*Vive la gaieté!*"—"*Vive la bagatelle!*" seemed to be as well understood there as in the metropolis; but, here and there, I remarked one of those countenances I had seen on the quay, eyeing the triflers who sat eating ice; and receiving, at the doors of the *cafés*, frequent alms from the light-hearted Frenchmen, who, with all their faults and absurdities, are good-natured; and, notwithstanding their parsimony, are generally ready with a *sous* for an *miserable*.

The *Place Bellecour* of Lyons is a much finer square than the only square in Paris, the *Place Vendôme*; and the greater part of it has been erected since the revolution of 1793. At that period, it was the scene of dreadful outrage. The destruction of this square was made a republican *fête*. The infamous barbarian *Couthon*, who was too infirm to walk, was carried round the *Place* on a palanquin, and gave the signal of destruction by striking the condemned house with a small hammer, saying at the same time, "*Maison, je te frappe de mort!*"

"You must by no means omit going to the top of the hill of *Fourvières*," is the injunction of every one you speak with at Lyons. This reminded me of the universal question at Lucerne, "Have you been up the Rigi?" But there is always something in these injunctions; and as the distance was only a pleasant walk, I resolved not to omit profiting by the advice. On the road I passed, for the first time, across the Quay of the *Soane*, which I thought still finer than the Quay of the Rhone. The Rhone skirts the city; the *Soane* traverses it. The bank of the Rhone, opposite to the quay, is flat; the banks of the *Soane* are lofty, especially the north bank, which is indeed beautiful, viewed from the bridge—presenting, as it does, so charming a variety of town and country: for gardens mingle with the houses that stand upon its acclivities; and, above these, a fine range of wooded heights stretch down the river, sprinkled with the country-houses of the inhabitants. In contemplating this agreeable prospect, it is better not to turn the eye below, towards the river; because its muddy waters refuse to reflect in their bosom the scenes that lie along the banks, and rather impair than improve the effect of the view.

From the Quay of the *Soane*, I ascended to

Fourvier by a steep winding path, from which, at every turn, new and agreeable glimpses were caught of the city below and the country beyond. I should prefer, if this were possible, to reach the summit of an elevation blindfolded, because, before we arrive at the *véritable pointe de vue*, it has lost much of its novelty, by the many snatches we have already taken in ascending. The view from the summit is imposing, standing upon the spot from which pope Pius VII. blessed the city. To the east, the snowy summits of the Alps tower into the sky, but scarcely to be distinguished from the clouds or vapour that mingle with them; while the mountains of Dauphny, lower and more distinct, stretch towards the south. Looking towards the south-west, the eye follows the course of the wide and glittering Rhone, flowing between the wine-clad acclivities that skirt the Lyonnais; while below, the city, environed by its two rivers, stands surrounded by fertility.

My object now was, to reach Avignon; and, having learnt that a steam-boat left Lyons twice a week, and descended the Rhone to Avignon in one day, I could not resist the temptation of so easy and expeditious a mode of being carried to the south of France; and I anticipated, besides, great enjoyment from the scenery upon the banks of this celebrated river, which, although in Switzerland, and at Geneva, familiar to every tourist, has few travellers, and fewer chroniclers, between Lyons and the Mediterranean. With Dauphny, Provence, and Languedoc, who is there that has not pleasing associations? and although my expectations were doomed to be afterwards bitterly disappointed, I stepped into the boat full of pleasant fancies, and with very excited anticipations of a delightful voyage and much enjoyment.

CHAPTER XIX.

DESCENT OF THE RHONE.

Scenery of the Rhone between Lyons and Vienne—The Côte Roti Vineyard—Commerce on the Rhone—Indications of Heat, and Discomforts—Dauphny and Languedoc—The "Hermitage" Vineyard—Valence—St. Peray Vineyards—Sufferings from Heat—Accidents—Dangerous Navigation of the Rhone—The Rapid of the Pont de St. Esprit—Scenery—Approach to Avignon, and Arrival—More Accidents.

At five in the morning, the boat left the river-side at Lyons, and it was promised by the master, that, in thirteen hours, we should be in Avignon—a distance, by water, of not less than a hundred and fifty miles. It was a singularly beautiful morning. The sun had but newly arisen, and was, as yet, ineffectual; only the balmy mildness of a summer morning was felt; and a slight air from the south, scarcely cool in itself, was wood into sufficient strength, by the rapid motion of the boat, to lift the streamer from the mast-head, and to be refreshing to the ungloved hand or uncovered brow. On such a delicious morning, how could the voyage be otherwise than charming? But the captain's prediction at parting, "*Nous aurons de la chaleur aujourd'hui,*" proved too well-founded.

Between Lyons and Vienne—the first town of any consequence lying on the bank of the river—we shot through a succession of the most charming

scenery. Sometimes the Rhone swept past fertile meadows or corn-fields—sometimes between thick and laden orchards—sometimes under high banks, picturesque, and clothed with wood; and frequent villages stood close to the water, or nestled at the foot of the heights that lay back from the river, leaving narrow plains or stripes between them and the stream.

Vienne, situated under a high cliff, and the castle upon its summit, is a striking and beautiful object in descending the river; but it is after passing Vienne that the scenery becomes most attractive; for there is now a perfect union of the beautiful and the picturesque. Naked rocks, crowned by ruined castles, rise from the midst of gardens and orchards; and the bold and precipitous banks advancing into the river, contract its impetuous current, and force it into frequent, though not dangerous rapids. These are to be encountered lower down. It is here also, about a league and a half after passing Vienne, where the vineyards lie, so celebrated for their produce of *Côte Roti*. A little plain lies by the side of the river, covered with corn, and sprinkled with fruit-trees; and about half a mile back from the stream are the heights or *côtes* that produce the Rhone wines. The hill upon which the *Côte Roti* is grown, stands somewhat isolated from the other ranges. It is about half a league in length, and about a mile in breadth, from the foot of the hill to the summit, where the vineyard terminates. The hill is rock, covered with a very scanty soil. This is the only vineyard producing the true *Côte Roti*; but, like all other esteemed wines, its reputation enriches all who are fortunate enough to possess vineyards in its vicinity; and accordingly, the produce of all the adjoining *côtes*, although distinguishable by the connoisseur from *la première qualité de Côte Roti* (which is in fact the true *Côte Roti*), finds its way into the French and foreign markets, and passes as the genuine produce of that esteemed vineyard. It is at the cost of much toil, and many anxieties, that we drink the produce of any celebrated vineyard. The labours of the husbandman are incessant, and often abortive. The management of a delicate vine allows no intermission of toil. Digging, watering, weeding, smoothing, pruning, staking, tying, and gathering, fill up the entire year; and all this labour may be frustrated by a storm of hail or a swarm of insects!

Between Vienne and Valence we met several boats ascending the river, dragged by horses. I noticed two boats, with twenty-seven horses attached to them; some of which were obliged to swim. The navigation of the Rhone must be both tedious and expensive. Every boat that descends the river with merchandise, must have another boat attached, carrying horses to drag it up again. The transit from Avignon to Lyons occupies a fortnight.

So far our voyage had been pleasant. The rapid motion of the boat had carried us a long way before the sun had acquired great power; and, up to this time, the light air from the south had continued; but a breathless calm had now succeeded; and the sun every moment acquiring new power, the heat began to be felt—passing through all the gradations of small to great inconvenience, and at length becoming insupportable. This day at Avignon the thermometer rose in the shade at one p.m. to 93° of Fahrenheit. Our boat had no awning;

there was no shelter; and there was not even a possibility of sitting down. It chanced next day to be a fair at *Beaucaire*, the largest fair in the south of France; and the manufacturers of Lyons had naturally taken advantage of the steam-boat, to carry themselves and their goods thither. There were no fewer than three hundred and forty passengers! I need scarcely say, therefore, that, with so enormous a quantity of goods on board, and the boat being by no means large, one dense mass of persons crowded the deck. There was not a vacant spot. To sit down even upon deck, I have already said was impossible; and as for the cabin, it was not only crowded as much as the deck, but, from its small dimensions and confined air, reminded me, when I attempted to enter it, of what I had read of the Black Hole at Calcutta. And let it be recollected, that there was not a cloud in the sky; that the rays of the sun shot fiercely down upon the unprotected heads; and that the air occasioned by the motion of the vessel, could only reach the fortunate few who had succeeded in stationing themselves in front. I need say nothing more of the really pitiable condition in which we found ourselves. Heat such as this, I had never before experienced, and God forbid I should ever experience it again. Many persons were seriously unwell. One young Englishman, in particular, who seemed at times to lose the perfect command of his intellect, turned to me, with an inflamed countenance, and said he could bear it no longer, and that he was resolved to throw himself into the river; and it was not without difficulty that I succeeded in tranquillising him.

Between Vienne and Valence, we passed some ruined arches of a Roman bridge in the centre of the river; and we also passed under two suspension-bridges, one near Vienne, the other before reaching Valence. We had now left the Lyonnais, and had Dauphiny on one side, and Languedoc on the other; two provinces whose names cannot fail to awaken romantic associations in the minds of all who, in the season of youth, have fed the imagination upon the writings of Anne Radcliffe. Reality is, however, a sad enemy of romance. Nothing could be less allied with romance than a crowded steam-boat, and the groanings of human infirmity; and although the banks of the river were always agreeable, and sometimes charming, they possessed nothing of the character of romance. There were neither forests nor gloomy chateaux. The country on both sides was fertile, and for the most part flat, till, at *Tournon*, about a league before reaching *Valence*, the bank rose into the hill which produces the celebrated wine called *Hermitage*. The extent of the Hermitage vineyard is about three-quarters of a league long, and half a league broad. The *côte* upon which it is cultivated is upon the left bank of the river, and it is therefore a Dauphiny wine; but *Hermitage*, *Côte Roti*, *St. Peray* and *St. George*, are all known in France under the general name of wines of the Rhone. I need scarcely say, that the limited vineyard of Hermitage is totally inadequate to supply the demand, and that neighbouring vineyards supply the *deuxième* and *troisième* qualities of this esteemed wine.

Valence lies pleasantly on the left bank of the river, surrounded by a fertile country, abounding in mulberry-trees, almond, and many kinds of fruit-trees—among them a few figs. Opposite to the

town, a conical hill rises close to the Rhone ; and at the distance of about a mile beyond Valence, a long range of vine-covered hills runs parallel with the river. Part of these produce the different species of *St. Peray*, a wine comparatively little known in England, but which will no doubt find its way into the English market, along with many other delicate and unknown wines, now that the enlightened policy of the British government has equalized the duties. The *Mousseux St. Peray* is, to my mind, greatly superior, as a dessert wine, to the best Champagne.

After passing Valence, the heat became more and more insupportable ; and an accident which happened to the machinery, in place of being regarded as a misfortune, was welcomed as a blessing, for it purchased a slight respite from the real sufferings which the heat inflicted. It was found necessary to run the boat ashore, and we received the agreeable permission to leave the vessel till the machinery could be put to rights. There was fortunately a clump of mulberry and other trees at but a short distance from the bank ; and their welcome shade was soon occupied by all who had the courage to walk along the narrow plank from the boat to the shore. The luxury of this half-hour was complete. Divesting myself of part of my clothing, I lay among the long grass, cooling my mouth with oranges, which I had providently brought with me from Lyons. Much amusement was excited by the timidity of a priest, who, after he got on shore, could not find courage to return on board the vessel. One of the passengers, seizing the priest's arms behind, pushed him along the plank. The priest screamed, the passengers laughed ; but the priest, suddenly freeing himself from his tormentor, and running forward, the other lost his balance, and fell into the river. It was with some difficulty he scrambled out ; but I believe there was nobody that did not envy him the dip.

We had not descended another league, when the machinery was again found to be out of order ; and at the spot where the vessel was again obliged to be put ashore, the distance between it and the bank was too great to allow the plank to be laid. And here we were obliged to remain, exposed to the burning sun, and tantalised with the view of a delightful shaded slope not forty yards distant. Two or three of the passengers, however, found the temptation irresistible ; and, plunging into the river, which was about four feet deep, reached the shore and the shade, and were brought back to the boat with the assistance of ropes. The machinery being again put in order, we once more got into the stream.

The navigation of the Rhone has always been accounted dangerous, owing to the rapids ; and in descending some of these, many accidents have occurred. In the month of June, 1828, a party of pleasure consisting of seven persons, descending from Lyons in a small boat, all perished, the boat having turned in a whirlpool, and struck the arch in passing beneath the *Pont de St. Esprit*. We were now approaching this bridge, and the dangerous rapid beneath it. The chimney of the boat was entirely lowered, and every one was ordered to sit down, or lie upon deck ; an order which could not be obeyed, owing to the crowd, and for which, therefore, an injunction to stoop as low as every one saw to be necessary, was substituted. The prospect in approaching the *Pont de St. Esprit* is

sufficiently alarming ; the arches seem scarcely wide enough to admit the vessel, and so low as to threaten every one upon deck with being swept into the river. The alarming appearances of course somewhat diminish in approaching nearer, though they still retain enough of the same character to create the strongest excitement ; and the rapidity of the river, too, seems as if hurrying one to destruction. One sheet of foam covers its surface several hundred yards before reaching the bridge : excepting in the middle of the stream, where a narrow smooth current, with numerous eddies, glides in a surf, and falls towards one of the centre arches, underneath which, the rapid increases almost to a cataract. The boat was of course kept in the centre of the stream ; and when we had safely passed the bridge and the rapid, the general silence broke out into a loud huzza.

After passing the *Pont de St. Esprit*, the intensity of the heat began in some degree to subside ; but it was not until sunset that it was felt to be no longer oppressive. This was a joyful event. We watched, with the utmost interest, the great globe of fire descend and approach the horizon : and when it was no longer visible, a shout of joy burst from the deck. It has often been said, that at a certain latitude, the sky assumes a new aspect, most obvious at sunset ; and the latitude of Avignon has been named as the line at which this change is perceptible. Some English gentlemen, who were passengers, found no difficulty in discovering a sunset different from any thing they had ever seen before ; but, for my own part, heavenly as the evening was, and glorious as was the sunset, I thought I could remember many as beautiful in my native country. It is in the latitude of Naples or Valencia that glorious sunsets are to be seen.

As we approached Avignon, the country became less interesting, less fertile, less wooded ; and at length the fading light, only sufficient to show the more gigantic objects, discovered but the dim outline of high rocks and irregular ruins against the deep blue sky. The dark mass of buildings on the left, now showed that we had reached Avignon ; and although we arrived three hours later than the time promised when we started from Lyons, yet we were all satisfied that we had escaped the perils of faulty machinery and dangerous rapids ; and we had certainly no great cause to complain of delay in completing a voyage of a hundred and fifty miles in one day.

But the disasters and discomforts of the day were not yet entirely terminated. The engine had not been stopped in time ; and the steam and the current together, carrying us rapidly past the quay, and towards the bridge, where certain destruction awaited us, the vessel was turned towards the mole, in the hope that, by throwing out cables from the stern, her progress might be arrested. But this could not be accomplished without the boat striking the wall, which she did with such force as to stave in the railing that encircled the deck, and to throw the whole of the passengers prostrate ; some upon each other, some among the bales of goods, but, fortunately, none into the river ; for, when the collision seemed inevitable, every one pressed back, and left sufficient room to be thrown upon their faces, without falling overboard.

It may easily be supposed, that the arrival of between three and four hundred persons, and landing

all the baggage, would probably occasion much confusion, and many mistakes—some of them perhaps intentional. So thought the captain of the boat; for he issued his command, that not one article should be removed from the vessel that night. The passengers, however, exhausted from heat and fatigue, crowded eagerly on shore to seek accommodation and refreshment; and, as every one seemed to be aware that the former could not easily be obtained for three or four hundred persons, there was a general race from the boat to the town. For my own part, I had never been in Avignon before, and I accordingly suffered by my ignorance. One hotel after another I found crowded, and beds were let to the highest bidder. At the hotel du Midi, I was told I might have a bed for twelve francs; but, rather than pay so much for what would in all probability prove little luxury in a filthy house, and at so hot a season, I resolved to return to the vessel and sleep on deck. This was no hardship on such a night, and indeed appeared rather enviable, after the excessive heats of the day. So, after swallowing ten or twelve cups of tea in the hotel de l'Europe, to the excessive amusement of a company of Frenchmen, who could not understand the wisdom of swallowing hot tea after suffering, and while still suffering so much from heat, I made my way to the quay and the vessel, where I found about forty of my fellow-passengers, who had, either like myself, searched for accommodation in vain, or were too much fatigued to search at all.

The night was so sultry, that even a cloak in the open air was oppressive; but the tea had allayed my fever, and the discomforts of the day were repaid by a sound sleep. Next morning, at six o'clock, the boat proceeded to Beaucaire with almost all its cargo of merchants and bales; and I found room in the hotel at something less than twelve francs for a bed.

CHAPTER XX.

AVIGNON.

The Charms of Narrow Streets—The Influence of Climate upon the Usages of Countries—The Palace of the Popes—Filthiness of Avignon—Observations upon the Scenery of France, and upon the Misrepresentations of Travellers and Romancers—The duty of exposing Error—the Environs of Avignon—The State of the City.

It is not at all uncommon to find, in the page of the traveller, some such observation as this—"The city presents a magnificent and almost magical effect when viewed at a distance. As you approach, it seems a city of palaces; but no sooner do you enter it, than the delusion is at an end; the streets are narrow and gloomy; you are at once shut in among high walls, and shut out from the light of day." So talks many an intelligent traveller; and, indeed, I scarcely know any book of travels in southern countries, in which narrow streets are not spoken of as a blot upon many a fine city. Now, so far from agreeing with these travellers, I bless narrow streets, and almost feel inclined to doubt, whether those who speak so much in disparagement of them, have in reality visited the places where their blessings are felt. The peculiarities of every country are chiefly referrible to their climate; and there is equal wisdom in the brick floors, dark apartments,

and narrow streets of the southern cities, as in the thickly-matted rooms and heated stoves of the north. Peculiarities in the usages of the people, also, arise from the climate in which they live; and customs that would justly excite astonishment in one country, ought not to create even a smile in another. Without a due consideration of the influences and results of climate upon the habits of the people in different countries, a traveller is apt to draw many false conclusions. He might conclude, that in Naples, or in Seville, there is more distress among the lower orders than in London; because, in these cities, he sees hundreds lying asleep during the night in the streets; but the same persons who are houseless in Seville, would not be houseless in London. Some miserable hovel would receive them. It is merely that the climate measures the scale of necessities.

I never had more reason to be pleased with narrow streets, than in walking from the hotel towards the palace of the ancient popes at Avignon, for the weather was but little cooler than during our descent of the river; and so wisely narrow are the streets of Avignon, that one may walk from one end of the city to the other, without once stepping out of the shade. There is no particularly pleasing association with Avignon, arising from its former greatness, because that greatness was not of a kind that could ennoble it. Avignon was but the residence of popes and cardinals; and the history of this city, during the period of its magnificence, presents only reminiscences of knavery and cunning; of ambition without grandeur, and vicissitude without romance.

But the ancient palace of the popes scarcely requires the aid of association to render it an object of curiosity. Its vastness is of itself sufficient to create a strong impression upon the spectator; and its ruined condition—scarcely warranted by its antiquity—seems to interpret the destiny of that empire of which it was once the seat. Every thing is colossal about this edifice. The height of the walls is no less enormous than their extent; and their extraordinary thickness and solidity lead us to wonder the more at their premature decay. The total want of uniformity in the building, certainly adds to its effect as a ruin. Built at various epochs, no fewer than nine popes had a hand in its construction; and from the diversity of style in which it has been completed, it would appear that the views of the sovereign pontiffs on architecture differed as widely as did their lives and characters.

I saw no other building excepting the metropolitan church that deserved attention. This church was built by Charlemagne, upon the site of a pagan temple. There are many tombs of cardinals, and even popes, in this church, and some monuments possessing attractions from the excellence of the sculpture that adorns them.

I have never seen any town that I would not prefer to Avignon as a residence; its filthiness is disgusting—absolutely inconceivable—to be found in a civilized country. It is quite impossible that I should illustrate this assertion by a relation of facts; the facts would not be credited; and I should sully the purity of this narrative. But this is not the only objection that lies against Avignon. The environs are detestable; and if a city were a city of palaces—fit for gods to dwell in, and possessed not the charm of pleasing environs—it

should be no city of mine. The cities of France, indeed, are remarkably deficient in this charm; for the best of all reasons, because France is an ugly and uninteresting country. All panegyric upon the loveliness and laughing fertility of France is rhodomontade. There is more of the beautiful and the picturesque in many a single county of England, or even of Scotland, than in all the scattered beauties of France, were they concentrated within a ring-fence; excepting always the Pyrenees, which I cannot help looking upon as a kind of separate territory—the mere boundary between France and Spain; but, at all events, the Pyrenees must be excepted. I have travelled through almost every part of France; and truly, I have found its beauties thinly sown. If the banks of some of its rivers be excepted—the Seine, the Loire, the Rhone, and the Garonne—some parts of Normandy, and the departments of the Pyrenees (and all these comprise not one hundredth part of the country), France is an unromantic, uninteresting, unlovely land. And even in these favoured parts, such as the vaunted Orleannois, where shall we find the green meadows that lie along the banks of our Thames, or Avon, or Severn; or upon which of them shall we pause to admire those romantic views—that charming variety of rock, wood, and mountain—that characterise the banks of the Tamar, the Wye, the Derwent, the Swale, the Wharff, or the Dove? These are nowhere to be found. Beautiful, doubtless, are the banks of the Loire; soft and swelling are its vine-covered hills; and graceful are the bendings of its broad and glassy stream. But vines are a wretched substitute, in the dominion of beauty, for the tender grass of an English meadow; and the uniform flow of a wide and silvery stream, palls more upon the sense, than the capricious reveller that one moment rejoices in its deep, dimpling, glassy pools, and the next riots on its course, mid impeding rocks, lost in the defile of wooded cliffs that close above. I pity the man who crosses France in any direction. Thousands know how *ennuyant* is the journey from Calais to Paris; but they who never travel farther, suppose that lovely France—panegyrised by so many—lies beyond. No such thing. Let them continue their journey by whichever road they please, and they will find but little improvement;—let it be from Paris to Strasbourg, from Paris to Thoulouse, from Paris to Lyons—it is all the same. There is scarcely, in these thousand miles, one spot at which a man would draw his bridle, and say to himself, “This is beautiful.”

But this barrenness of beauty would be nothing, were it not that France has been cried up as a land of beauty, and been made the scene of romance. Delightful France! land of loveliness and laughing fertility! have been by-words ever since the days of Mary queen of Scots; and more than this, *romanciers* have laid there the scenes of their fictions. Dauphiny, Provence, and Languedoc, have been associated in our minds from infancy, with romantic story; and we have been taught by Anne Radcliffe, to suppose these provinces a terrestrial paradise. The disappointment to the traveller who goes there with the expectations in which he is well entitled to indulge, from the representations of others, is truly painful. Woods, chateaux, romantic glades, rocks, and rushing streams, where are ye? Woods of olives are indeed seen, scattered over a valley, or skirting a river; but who that knows the

olive of France finds beauty in such a picture? I do not wish to underrate the olive of France, or rather the French olive; but it must submit to the humble praise of adding zest to a glass of *Lafitte*, or lending its oil to the delicacies of lobster and mackerel. The fruit is one thing, and the tree another; and the dingy pale green of the olive leaf, its puny trunk and unmajestic branches—such as the olive-tree is found in France—can never adorn a landscape. Chateaux also we have in these provinces; but, oh! how different from the chateaux of which we read in the romance-writers, and which never existed but in their imaginations! The chateaux are for the most part *boxes* upon a large scale; staring houses with wings, and a parapet wall in front, covered with vases of flowers. In short, we find the whole a delusion; and our minds revert to the green acclivities of our own hills, our oak-forests, our lakes and rivers, and the beauty and fertility that, along with the picturesque, mingle in an English landscape.

I am perfectly aware, that in denying to the country through which I am travelling the charm of romance, I deprive my page of an attraction which it would be very easy to transfer to it. It would be easy to foster the delusion, to talk as those have talked before me, of lovely and *riante* France; and to increase the discontent of fire-side travellers, by making them believe that the country beyond seas is all a paradise; but I will be authentic at the risk of being uninteresting. If the traveller wishes to give to his page the charm of romance, let him go where it may be legitimately gathered; but if he visit a country where it does not exist, it is his duty to disrobe the representations of others of their false colouring, and to tell the truth. The world beyond seas is not all an Eden. Every land is not “a land of the rose and the myrtle.” There are cloudy skies elsewhere than in England; bogs in other countries than Ireland; and barren mountains in more lands than Scotland.

I am sick of the misrepresentations of travellers, especially respecting natural scenery. The scenery of countries which have even less pretensions to beauty than France, has found admirers, commentators, and even illustrators. No one travels without thinking it necessary to pause now and then, and rhapsodise upon the delightful and romantic, or sublime scenery that lies around. This gives interest to the journey, allows the display of descriptive powers, and fills the book besides. I have read of charming spots discovered among the Steppes of Russia; and we read in the expeditions to the North Poles, of attractive scenery in the country of the Esquimaux: but this is scarcely surprising; for, after sailing the salt seas, the scanty verdure of a hill-side, or the margin of a brook, or even less than this—the very earth itself, scattered with a few stunted pines, will appear to furnish the materials of a captivating sketch.

These observations have all been occasioned by my cicerone at Avignon leading me to an elevated rock not far from the palace of the popes, from which a view of the country round Avignon is laid open. Somehow, I had always thought of Avignon as a place of perfect beauty—of verdure, and deep shades, and cool waters; and so strongly had this persuasion been fixed in my mind, that I had half determined to make Avignon a retreat for two or

three months. But the view from this terrace dissipated these illusions; for a more sterile and unlovely prospect my eye never rested upon. Ranges of light gray rocks, olive plantations and vines, were alone to be seen. Shades there were none, verdure as little; and I was glad to seek the shade of the narrow streets, and to hope for verdure at Vaucluse.

Avignon is one of the most decayed of the French towns; I do not mean in comparison with its papal grandeur, but within the last fifty years. Its manufactures have been transferred to Lyons. The annual fair at Beaucaire has usurped its market; and it lives only by its olives, its vines, and by the transit of goods upon the Rhone. I saw many beggars in Avignon, and was informed that there were many *miserables* in the city. Wages of labour in Avignon average about two francs per day; which is not much, considering that provisions are scarcely cheaper than in country-towns in England. Beef is 6d. per lb., mutton 6½; eggs are 9d. a dozen; a fowl costs two francs. Wine is about threepence per bottle.

I did not prolong my stay in Avignon. The filth and heat of the town, and the sterility of the country, made me anxious to leave both; and two days after I arrived in it, I set out for Vaucluse.

CHAPTER XXI.

VAUCLUSE.

Claims of Petrarch upon the Gratitude of Posterity—Journey to l'Isle and Vaucluse—The Valley of Vaucluse—The Fountain—Grandeur of the Scenery—Petrarch's Gardens—His way of Life—His House—Monument at the Village—Trait of the Duchess d'Angoulême—The Bise Wind of Provence the Circius of the Ancients—Return to Avignon.

It was not because of any extraordinary veneration for the memory of Petrarch, still less from any romantic ideas of the loves of the poet, that I visited Vaucluse. But a traveller who should pass from Avignon, on his way, without turning a few leagues out of it, to see the fountain of Vaucluse, might be justly taxed with being an incurious traveller; and, besides, I had, like everybody else, heard so much of Vaucluse, without having ever read any description of it, that I had some curiosity to see it; especially as I had long formed an idea of it in my own mind, and wished to ascertain if the guesses of fancy were ever correct. Although I have disclaimed any extraordinary veneration for the name of Petrarch, I am not insensible to his claims upon the respect and gratitude of succeeding times. The world is under great obligations to him, not only on account of that legacy of his genius of which we are all the inheritors, but also, because it is to him that we owe many of the treasures of ancient learning which have descended to us. He was not only the greatest poet, but the most learned man of his day; and his own exertions, as well as the industry of others employed by him, were the means of rescuing from oblivion many valuable remains of Roman genius.

We must not blame Petrarch because he preferred his "Africa" to his Sonnets. The former is indeed forgotten, and the latter live; but in the

days of Petrarch, few works had been written in the vulgar tongues; and Petrarch, whatever his own opinion might have been of the intrinsic merit of his sonnets, probably thought them less likely to live, because they were not written in the language of the learned. It is probable, therefore, that had Petrarch never seen Laura, he might never have been known as the most polished and elegant of lyric poets; but only as the author of a Latin poem called *Africa*, for which he was crowned in the capitol, but which has long been forgotten. But Petrarch is deserving of our gratitude, not only for the legacy of learned lore, which his zeal in the cause of letters has bequeathed to us, but also for the inheritance of his love-poems: for although it may be admitted, that in these we cannot discover that nature, and tenderness, and deep pathos, for which much of the poetry of our own time is so remarkable—they will ever deserve the character of being the most graceful and polished productions of the lyric muse that have adorned the literature of any people; and Petrarch is entitled, besides, to the singular praise of having perfected, in his own lifetime, the language of his country. The sameness of Petrarch's sonnets has often been objected to them; but how was it possible to avoid this fault in the composition of three hundred sonnets in praise of the same woman? We see them all collected together, which Laura did not; and I have somewhere read, that had his mistress been presented with them all bound up together, even she would have been fatigued with the repetition of her own praises.

It was in those days that genius found its reward. In life, it was courted and honoured; in death, it was celebrated and mourned. The most splendid appointments, the highest offices of the state, waited upon literary merit. Crowns were placed upon the brows of the victor poet in the Roman capital—embassies were sent to congratulate poets on the success of their works—princes were their companions; and we read that Mahomet, a king, a conqueror, and an accounted prophet, stript himself of his royal cloak, to throw it upon the shoulders of an author. But all this has passed away, and there is now little left to incite to high endeavour, the mind of him who, with the loftiest genius, needs an incitement more powerful than the love of gain, or even than the prospect of general celebrity.

The distance to Vaucluse from Avignon is about six leagues. I hired a cabriolet for the journey, and left Avignon about nine o'clock. The road between Avignon and l'Isle, a small town about a league and a quarter from Vaucluse, is any thing but interesting. The soil is covered with stones and vines, which generally flourish best in such company; and the only trees are olives, and some few mulberries. But let me do justice to the skies of this latitude, which were cloudless and beautiful; and, had it not been that the sun was somewhat too powerful, any country must have looked well under so serene a heaven. The heat was indeed oppressive; field-labour seemed to be suspended: I saw the labourers lying almost naked under every tuft of trees; and I found it necessary more than once to draw up at any spot where the friendly shade of a rather larger tree than usual flung itself across the road. As I approached l'Isle, the country swelled into undulations, but without any improve-

ment in beauty. The two hills were yet stony, and covered with vines ; and the trees, excepting some almond-trees, were still olives ; yet how delusive even this might appear in description ! “ An undulating country spread on every side—knolls, clothed to the summit with fresh and luxurious vines, laden with their rich burden, rose by the way-side, while copses of almond-trees, olives, and mulberry, filled the hollows, and dotted the neighbouring acclivities.” This is by far the most interesting style of composition, and in fact the easiest ; but even on my way to Vaucluse, I will not vamp up a country that has nothing to recommend it.

The heat was so intense, and I travelled so slowly, that I did not arrive at l'Isle until nearly two o'clock. Here I found an improvement—I found water and shade. L'Isle is indeed surrounded and intersected by different streams of the Sorgue, which issues from the fountain of Vaucluse ; and a fine row of elms lines the avenues that lead in and out of the town. The adjacent country, too, is tolerably well covered with poplars, willows, and olives—none of them indeed beautiful trees—but better a thousand times than dwarfish vines. L'Isle is quite celebrated for the excellence of its auberge ; and as I preferred visiting Vaucluse in the evening, because every pleasing scene is viewed to greater advantage at such an hour, I ordered dinner at l'Isle, and sought the shelter of a dark cool room, where, reversing the order of things, I indulged in a siesta before, in place of after dinner ; and so *recherché* a dinner as the aubergiste at l'Isle produced, and so choice a bottle of St. George, were admirable preparatives for a visit to the love-seat of an unimpassioned poet. I was in no haste to leave these delicacies, for the sun yet shone fiercely down ; and it sometimes happens that a man, seated as I was, falls into the most agreeable train of thought in the world. I left l'Isle about six o'clock, and passing through a tolerably agreeable country, in less than an hour turned into the valley of Vaucluse—which is rather a defile than a valley. On the left, it is bounded by a steep rocky acclivity ; and below the road on the right, flows the limpid and rapid Sorgue, skirted by a stripe of the finest verdure, about two or three hundred yards broad. Beyond this, another range of rocky hills bounds the right side of the defile. After following the stream upward about half a mile—the defile continuing to be of the same breadth, but exhibiting features of more rudeness and grandeur—I reached the little village of Vaucluse, which is only a few houses and an inn.

From this little village to the fountain, a narrow path leads up the ravine by the margin of the stream, which is a rapid the whole way from the fountain to the village. The defile grows gradually narrower, and the scenery becomes at every step wilder and grander and more sterile. There is now no green stripe by the margin of the Sorgue. Huge blocks of rock lie in its channel, and are strewn on every hand ; and the sides of the defile approach nearer to each other. After about twenty minutes' walk, the defile is seen to terminate in a huge perpendicular rock, from four to five hundred feet high ; and this rock is the sublime portal of the fountain of Vaucluse. As we approach nearer, the scene becomes more striking and majestic. The rocks stand around like pillars and pyramids—behind them the walls of the defile rise

inaccessible—the stream is now almost a cataract—and a few cypress-trees lean over it ; and high among the rocks are seen the almost vanished ruins of the castle, said to have been in other days the stronghold of the lords of Vaucluse. It must indeed have been a stronghold, for the rocks beneath are totally inaccessible. Let me say, that I scarcely recollect any scene I have ever looked upon, with the exception of the pass of Mount Albula in the Grisons, that presented features of wilder or more desolate sublimity.

Scrambling among the rocks, I now stood before the celebrated fountain of Vaucluse. At the distance of a few yards, rose above me the huge bald rock I have mentioned, its front inclining a little forward from the perpendicular ; and about half-way up, springing from two fissures, hung two fig-trees, green and flourishing. In front, the under part of this rock showed a wide arch, the entrance to a cavern ; and beneath the arch slept, dark and deep, the fountain of Vaucluse. I made my way down the rock that inclines upwards from the water, that I might look into the cavern. The rocky chamber of the fountain appeared to me, as far as the gloom permitted me to ascertain its size, to be about thirty yards in diameter ; and the roof, in most places, from ten to fifteen feet above the surface of the fountain. The water is perfectly tranquil ; there is no boiling up, or swelling out as from a spring—this, as well as the apparent blackness of the water, being owing to its great depth. The fountain has often been sounded, but ineffectually—not because it is bottomless, but probably because the force of the spring bursting upwards, added to the inefficiency of the instrument used, has prevented the lead from reaching the bottom. That it is of great depth, is, however, indisputable. I remarked, in descending to the brink of the fountain, a slight violet odour, which I at first imagined arose from the water ; but upon looking more narrowly at the rocks, I found it proceeded from a deep-red vegetable substance which grew upon them—I think the *byssus jolithus* of Linneæus.

The fountain of Vaucluse presents a totally different aspect at the season when I saw it, and when it is seen after a continuance of heavy rain. In dry weather it is, as I have described it, a smooth, deep fountain, confined to its rocky chamber ; and when in this state, it escapes by subterranean passages into the bed of the Sorgue. When the fountain is high, those passages are insufficient ; the cavern is no longer visible, for the water reaches the roof, and pours into the bed of the river in the form of a cascade. In this state, however, it must lose that character which to me is its chief attraction—that charm of stillness, placidity, and depth, which hangs over its rocky basin. The cascade may be fine, but I am sure I should have felt disappointment had I seen it thus.

Nothing that I have ever seen, has so much exceeded my expectations as Vaucluse. These are rarely equalled by realities, but exceeded scarcely ever ; yet such is the fact in this one instance. I was not deceived by the misrepresentations of travellers ; for I had never read any account of Vaucluse. I had imagined to myself a cool, clear fountain, with a grassy, or perhaps a rocky margin ; but I was not prepared to find it surrounded by such scenery as I had rarely looked upon even in Switzerland. The words applied by Rousseau to Meillerie, might,

even with greater truth, be spoken of Vaucluse : "Ce lieu solitaire forme un réduit sauvage et désert, mais plein de ces sortes de beautés qui ne plaisent qu'aux âmes sensibles, et paraissent horribles aux autres . . . En comparant un si doux séjour aux objets qui l'environnent, il semblait que ce lieu dût être l'asile de deux amans échappés seuls au bouleversement de la nature."

The mean temperature of the fountain of Vaucluse is 10·30° of Reaumur. Its greatest annual variation is not more than 0·90°; its greatest coldness being in the month of April, and the least in September. The fountain, when at its lowest, ejects a cubic fathom of water every second, three when at its highest elevation, and two in its mean state. This, by simple multiplication, gives upwards of 63,000,000 of cubic fathoms in the year, or 13,627,872,000 cubic feet.

As I returned from the fountain to the village, I noticed innumerable wild flowers by the way-side; but a catalogue of them would scarcely be interesting. The defile of Vaucluse is known, however, to be a fertile field for the botanist; and I was informed, from good authority, that, between the village and the fountain, no fewer than 700 varieties of plants are to be found.

I did not return to l'Isle that night, but sauntered and lingered in the defile till dark, and then took up my abode for that night, and part of next day, at the auberge at Vaucluse, not so celebrated as its rival at l'Isle, but quite good enough for any one who has just returned from a visit to the fountain of Vaucluse.

By the side of the river, there is a little garden and a meadow, which are called, by the inhabitants, the Garden of Petrarch. A high rock rises above it, on the southern side; and there is a natural grotto in the rock, about thirty feet long and fifteen wide, which is also called the Grotto of Petrarch; and probably both the garden and the rock are justly named; for their features agree with the description given by Petrarch himself of his retreat. He says, in one of his Latin epistles, "On one side, my garden is bounded by a deep river; on another, by a rugged mountain, a barrier against the noon-day heats, and which never refuses, not even at mid-day, to lend me its friendly shade; but the sweet air reaches me through all obstacles. In the distance, a surly wall makes me inaccessible to both man and beast."

I cannot resist the temptation of adding a few extracts from the Latin Epistles of Petrarch—less generally known than his Sonnets—descriptive of his manner of life in the solitude which he had chosen. "You have heard me speak," said he to the friend to whom he indites the first epistle of the third book, "of my warfare with the Nymphs, who reign at the foot of the rocks that lose themselves in the clouds. It is from these that the Sorgue, transparent as crystal, rolls over its emerald bed; and by its bank, I cultivate a little sterile and stony spot, which I have destined to the Muses; but the jealous Nymphs dispute the possession of it with me; they destroy in the spring the labours of my summer. I had conquered from them a little meadow, and had not enjoyed it long, when, upon my return from a journey into Italy, I found that they had robbed me of all my possession. But I was not to be discouraged; I collected the labourers, the fishermen, and the shepherds,

and raised a rampart against the Nymphs; and there we raised an altar to the Muses; but, alas! experience has proved, that it is vain to battle with the elements. I no longer dispute with the Sorgue a part of its bed; the Nymphs have gained the victory. There is, however, at the foot of the rock, a little angle, where I have re-established the Muses; and this asylum is sufficient: it is well guarded; for if the Nymphs would chase them from this retreat, they must carry away the mountain also."

In another place, he says:—"Here I please myself with my little gardens and my narrow dwelling. I want nothing, and look for no favours from fortune. If you come to me, you will see a solitary, who wanders in the meadows, the fields, the forests, and the mountains, resting in the mossy grottoes, or beneath the shady trees. Your friend detests the intrigues of court, the tumult of cities, and flies from the abodes of pageantry and pride. Equally removed from joy or sadness, he passes his days in the most profound calm, happy to have the Muses for his companions, and the song of birds and the murmur of the stream for his serenade . . . I have but few servants, but many books. Sometimes you will find me seated upon the bank of the river; sometimes stretched upon the yielding grass; and, enviable power! I have all my hours at my own disposal, for it is rarely that I see any one. Above all things, I delight to taste the sweets of leisure; sometimes fixing my eyes upon one object, and then allowing them to wander over all."

One more extract from one of his manuscripts will suffice:—"The only woman whom I ever see is a black servant, dry and withered like the deserts of Lybia. Here, neither the harmony of human voices nor of instruments reaches my ear. I hear only the lowing of cattle, the bleating of sheep, the warbling of birds, and the murmuring of waters. I am silent from morning until night, for I have no one to speak to. The people, who are occupied in cultivating their vines, or mending their nets, understand not the charms of conversation, nor the sympathies of life. I often content myself with sharing black bread with my valet, and I enjoy it. This man reproaches me with the severity of the life which I lead; but as for me, I find it easier to accustom myself to the simple food of the poor, than to a more artificial way of life. Figs, grapes, walnuts, almonds—these are my delights. My table is also graced with the fish that abound in my river; and it is one of my greatest pleasures to watch the fishermen draw their nets, and to draw them myself. All about me is changed. I used once to dress myself with care; now, you would believe me a labourer or a shepherd. My house resembles that of Fabius or of Cato. I have but a valet and a dog. The house of my servant adjoins my own. I call him when I want him; and when I have no more need of him, he returns home."

These passages neither convey to us a very favourable idea of Petrarch's mind and character, nor make us envious of his way of life. I will say nothing of Laura, because all the world is acquainted with as much as can be known of the history of his love, and with the sonnets that have rendered them both immortal.

Of the house of Petrarch, not a trace remains. It is certain that it was situated somewhere be-

tween the village and the fountain; because he tells us, in one of his epistles, that his house is situated between his gardens; and one of these is known to have been adjoining to the village, the other close to the fountain; for so he also tells us.

A morning visit to the fountain abated nothing of the pleasure I had felt the evening before, in contemplating the magnificent scenery around. Indeed, morning is peculiarly in unison with the coolness and freshness of a fountain; and a draught of its crystal water, in the hollow of my hand, produced—oh! how poetical!—a most convenient appetite for the breakfast of classic trout of Vaucluse which, along with other delicacies, were set before me. I had almost forgotten to mention, that the village is adorned by a simple, unpretending monument to the memory of Petrarch; but the history of the monument is curious. A committee of the inhabitants superintended the disposal and erection of the monument; and where—oh! ye admirer of the wild and savage in nature—where do you suppose the inhabitants of Vaucluse placed this monument? But remember that the inhabitants of Vaucluse are French, and therefore wonder the less. They placed the trim white monument within ten yards of the dark majestic rock that rises above the fountain! I am happy, now that the Bourbon family has passed into the oblivion it deserves, to be able to say one kind thing of any of that fallen race. The duchess d'Angoulême, travelling through the south of France, visited Vaucluse; and, seeing the monument in the place to which the taste of the committee had adjudged it, her royal highness took upon herself to order its removal; and it now stands in the little square or market-place of the village. I have nothing more to add of Vaucluse.

I left Vaucluse to return to Avignon, after an early dinner, with every prospect of being overtaken by a storm, which soon came on. It proved to be one of those violent winds to which the southern parts of France are so liable, and which are, in their nature and effects, peculiar to the provinces lying around the Gulf of Lyons. This wind, called in Provence *Bise*, is the *Circius* of the ancients, mentioned by Seneca, Pliny, Diodorus, and Strabo. Diodorus, in the fifth book of his history, says, "The wind blows with so much impetuosity, that it raises up stones larger than the fist, and clouds of gravel. It is so violent, that it carries away the arms and clothing from the soldiers, and throws over horses and their riders." And Strabo, in speaking of the field of Hercules, situated between Marseilles and the mouths of the Rhone, says, "The north-wind is so horrible and violent in this place, that it carries stones before it, throws over men and their chariots, and snatches from them their arms and their clothes." Any one who has had the misfortune to travel in the south of France during the prevalence of this furious *bise*, will be able to recognise the truth of these descriptions. I, more than once, left the carriage, fearful that it might be blown over; and my face bore painful evidence of the showers of small gravel which it carried along with it. This wind is the curse of all these provinces; and it is scarcely possible, in travelling through this country, to meet a greater misfortune than a *bise* wind, especially if the word "meet" be interpreted literally. It was opposed to me all the way to Avignon, and rendered the jour-

ney one of the most unpleasant I ever recollect. Its effect upon the frame, too, is singularly disagreeable; it parches the mouth and throat, creates a feeling of suffocation, and seems to dry up the whole juices of the body.

CHAPTER XXII.

JOURNEY TO NISMES—NISMES.

Ignorance of some Travellers—Journey to the Pont de Gard—Its Magnificence—Arrival at Nismes—Necessary Privations—Character of Nismes—Its Antiquities—Errors upon the subject of French Politeness.

THERE are two roads from Avignon to Nismes—one of these passing within a league of the *Pont de Gard*, that most imposing among Roman remains, of all that are to be found out of Italy. No one, therefore, travelling from Avignon to Nismes, can do otherwise than choose this road. I cannot help mentioning, in this place, the extreme ignorance of purpose with which some persons travel. A party of young Englishmen, who descended the Rhone along with me, did not seem to be provided with even the common knowledge afforded by a guide-book; for one of them, when near Avignon, asked me, how one could get from Avignon to Geneva? Finding that they had left Geneva behind, they resolved upon travelling through the southern provinces; but never having heard of either Vaucluse or the Pont de Gard, they visited neither the one nor the other, until meeting them again accidentally in the hotel de Luxembourg at Nismes, and naturally asking how they liked the Pont de Gard, they went back all the way from Montpellier to see it; because, as one said, "people may ask about it at home."

I left Avignon *en cabriolet*, the morning after I returned from Vaucluse; and journeyed through a very uninteresting country—the sweet Provence. It was not, however, a plain, but a constant succession of low hills, many of them covered with vines, and most of them sprinkled with olives. In the morning, the *bise* blew furiously, and the first part of the journey was made by it both uncomfortable and dangerous; but it suddenly fell, and a perfect calm succeeded. About mid-day, I reached the point where the road diverges to the Pont de Gard; and, leaving my cabriolet at an auberge, I walked towards the aqueduct. However uninteresting Provence is in some respects, it is, I believe, a fine field for the botanist. I picked up, in this short walk, innumerable wild flowers; and, in many places, the air was filled with the fragrance of aromatic plants. Lavender, sweetmarjorum, and peppermint, were thickly scattered around; and all the acclivities were covered with box in flower.

I shall not easily forget the impression made upon me by the first view of the Pont de Gard; and the impression was not diminished by a nearer approach to it. This is certainly one of the most splendid relics of the Roman empire; and, whether to the antiquarian, or to the mere lover of the picturesque and the sublime, it must ever be looked upon as one of the most interesting of all the monuments of antiquity. Even were there no Pont de Gard, the valley of the Gardon would be beautiful; but, spanned by this majestic aqueduct, the character of

sublimity is added to the naturally picturesque features of the valley.

Antiquarians are nearly agreed, that the Pont de Gard is a part of that stupendous aqueduct which conveyed to Nismes the waters of the Eure and the Airau—both having their sources in the neighbourhood of *Uzes*; and which must, therefore, have been upwards of twenty miles in length. The two sides of the valley, or banks of the Gardon, connected by this aqueduct, are distant from each other about 800 feet. The aqueduct is formed upon three bridges, one above the other;—the total height from the level of the river to the top of the aqueduct being 156 feet. The undermost of the bridges consists of six arches, through the largest of which the river passes. The middle bridge has eleven arches; and the uppermost has thirty-five arches. Above this is the aqueduct, which is four feet and a half high, and four feet wide. The arches, both of the lower and of the middle bridge, are unequal; which, if it does not increase the architectural beauty of the structure, certainly adds to its picturesque effect. The two lower stories of the bridge are formed of hewn stones, placed together without the aid of any cement; but the mason-work underneath the aqueduct is of rough stones cemented, by which all filtration was of course prevented.

It is impossible to view this stupendous relic without the truest delight. There is no occasion to enter into and understand the details of antiquarianism, that we may enjoy its magnificence. As a fine and imposing object, in connexion with the surrounding scenery, it is worth a pilgrimage;—as a relic of other days, it is wonderful and impressive. We know not the precise era of its construction; but we know that 2000 years have nearly elapsed since the Roman workmen rested upon the summit, and threw down their tools. All that these Romans attempted, was commensurate with the extent and seeming stability of the empire; but they guessed not that the work of their hammer and their chisel would outlive a thousand years, the glory of that empire.

I do not know whether the greatness of this monument is most conspicuous seen below, or from its summit. The traveller must view it from both positions. I remained long seated underneath a rock, about 300 yards down the river; and from this spot, the union of the grand and the picturesque—of the wild romantic features of nature, with the majestic and unperturbed work of art—is complete. I then climbed, by a difficult ascent, among rocks and tangled shrubs, to the summit; and examined, though not with a critic's eye, the aqueduct; and walked along and through it, till some gaps and doubtful footing forced me to return. The stupendous dimensions of the structure are made more obvious from every point, by the erection of a modern bridge across the river, one side of which is supported upon the ancient bridge. The modern bridge is fine and elevated; but, oh! how insignificant beside its majestic neighbour! The top parapet of the modern bridge does not reach half way up the lowest tier of arches of the *Pont de Gard*. I turned away unwillingly from this imposing monument, which I yet often see in fancy, spanning the deep valley, seeming like a bridge constructed for the use of giants, rather than of men—the work, too, of colossal hands.

In returning to the inn where I had left my car-

riage, I kept by the river-side, in place of going along the road, that I might not lose too soon the view of the object I had come to see; but finding that the curve would carry me, I knew not how far, out of the way, I endeavoured to find a path to the road, by crossing a thick wood that lay between the road and the river; but I soon lost myself in its intricacies; and when I emerged from it, I found that I had walked two hours without having advanced 300 yards from the Pont de Gard. But I scarcely regretted this, both because I saw once more that majestic object which I had never expected to see again; and because, in my wanderings through the wood, I had found verdure, shade, and coolness—all rarities in Provence. It was late when I reached the auberge, and night when I arrived at Nismes, where I found excellent accommodation in the *hôtel de Luxembourg*. But when I speak of excellent accommodation in the south of France, this is to be understood with one reserve upon its excellence. I mean filth—particularly the plague of fleas, which abound all over these parts—even in the very best hotels. I have frequently been obliged to walk through my bed-room from one chair to another; and I always found it a necessary precaution to undress upon a chair, that I might not, by putting a foot upon the ground, carry into bed with me half a score of tormentors. A traveller will also perhaps look upon it as a grievous thing, and a direct proof of bad accommodation, that if he ring the bell, and ask for butter—(for what Englishman can breakfast without butter?)—the answer is, “*Il n’y en a pas.*” *Pourquoi?* For this reason, that in the temperate of the south of France during the summer months, the only kind of butter that could be produced would be melted butter, which might suit a Russian, but nobody else. And there is another reason why butter is not to be had. Pasture is scarce, and therefore milk is scarce: and all the milk that can be procured is used for *café au lait*, without which, it is well known, a Frenchman cannot exist. It is, therefore, quite unnecessary to ring the bell and ask for butter.

I like Nismes better than any city in the south of France. It is cleaner than any of the others. There is rather more shade about it; the promenades are finer; and its antiquities give to it a pre-eminence of one kind over every city in Europe, excepting, of course, the cities of Italy. Many of the modern buildings, too, are fine, and the private houses are respectable, if not handsome. The streets indeed would have been better, had they been a little narrower; for it is not possible to walk through the town, as in Avignon, without stepping out of the shade. At Nismes we find ourselves arrived in that latitude where night is converted into day. During the day, the streets are comparatively deserted; but at sunset, every one leaves his house; the streets and the promenades are crowded; and until after midnight, there is nothing like silence in any part of the town.

I began my tour of the antiquities at sunrise next morning; and first visited the amphitheatre, which has the reputation of being the most in preservation of any of the Roman amphitheatres of which the cities of Italy, Spain, or France, can boast. It is certainly the most perfect that I have seen. It is elliptical in its form. Its length is 412 feet, and its breadth 306 feet. The wall all round is entire, and

is embellished by two rows, each of sixty arcades, one above another. The good taste of the civil authorities of Nismes has prevented all building in the neighbourhood of this splendid remain. A large void space almost surrounds it, and it is open towards the west, to receive the rays of the setting sun. How insensible does habit render us both to beauty and deformity ! I noticed hundreds, I might say thousands, of the inhabitants pass across the square ; and I scarcely saw one turn his eyes towards that glorious edifice, which is not only the pride of the city, but, as a relic of past ages, one of the most wonderful monuments that the world contains.

The interior of the amphitheatre fully maintains the interest awakened by viewing the exterior. Thirty-five rows of steps, once the seats of the spectators, rise the whole way round from the arena to the summit of the wall ; and all is yet—not indeed as it was 2000 years ago, but—in such a condition as might lead one unacquainted with antiquities to guess, that three or four hundred years had perhaps passed over it. Rank grass indeed grows on the arena ; and weeds, and flowers, and tangled roots, spring up among the seats, and creep over the walls ; and wild-fowl nestle, and lizards play, in their crevices ; but the walls are solid, and the stone-seats are all there ; and spectators might yet assemble, and gladiators fight, within its precincts. It is said that this amphitheatre sufficed to contain 25,000 spectators. In this, however, I suspect there is some exaggeration. I judge by the comparative size, and number of persons seated in the buildings in the Spanish cities, which are dedicated to the bull-fights. Their construction is precisely similar to that of a Roman amphitheatre, excepting that they are generally circular, in place of being elliptical. About a year after seeing the amphitheatre of Nismes, I saw the Spanish bull-fights ; and preserving then a tolerably accurate recollection of the amphitheatre of Nismes, I thought the *Plaza de los Toros* at Madrid considerably exceeded the size of the Roman amphitheatre, and yet the former will not contain more than 20,000 spectators.

The French government—be it Bourbon, Corsican, or any other—deserves praise on account of the jealous care with which it watches over the preservation of the monuments of antiquity that are found in France. I noticed at the amphitheatre, and at all the other antiquities of Nismes, guards placed, to protect them against the injuries of the mischievous or the thoughtless. This feeling of reverence, which no doubt has its origin in French vanity, and which has probably therefore operated from the earliest times, is, without doubt, one cause of the excellent preservation in which all the Roman monuments in France are still found.

From the amphitheatre I directed my steps to the *Maison Carrée*, the absurd name by which this relic is known. If the *Pont de Gard* and the amphitheatre are stupendous, majestic, and imposing, the *Maison Carrée* is beautiful. Antiquarians, I believe, prefer it to them all ; partly because it is the most perfect Roman remain to be found in the world—not excepting Italy ; and partly because some mystery was long supposed to hang over its origin and use. This ground of interest is, however, I believe, nearly at an end ; for, in the year 1758, *M. Siquier* discovered accidentally the following inscription :—

C. CAESARI. AVGSTI. F. COS. L. CAESARI AVGSTI F. COS. DESIGNATO PRINCIPIBUS INVENTVITIS,—which proves that this was a temple erected in honour of Caius and Lucius Caesar, the grandsons of Augustus. It was therefore built sometime about the middle of the eighth century from the foundation of Rome—the epoch of the first establishment of Christianity. From the name *Maison Carrée*, it may be gathered, that the building is rectangular. It is an oblong square, quite *en petit*, being only seventy-five feet one way, and thirty-nine the other ; and the height is also thirty-nine feet ; but it is indeed a gem, perfect and beautiful. Within, it is adorned by thirty columns of the Corinthian style, the frieze and capitals of which are sculptured with the utmost taste.

Many have been the honours rendered to the *Maison Carrée*. Architects from all parts of Europe, even from Rome, have travelled to Nismes, to take models from it in plaster ; and Louis XIV. at one time entertained the project of having the building transported to Paris, that his architects might form their taste upon it ; but this enterprise, worthy of a vain king, surrounded by parasites, who tell him that his power is boundless, was found to be perilous ; and Nismes has retained her ornament. Antiquarians say, that the walls of this temple were covered with bas reliefs in marble and bronze, which have been destroyed or stolen ; and it is a curious fact, that the temple is destitute of all other light than that which is admitted by the door.

The amphitheatre and the *Maison Carrée* were sufficient for one day. The forenoon was indeed so intensely hot, that it was impossible to stir out of doors ; but the gallery in the court of the hotel affords an airy and cool promenade, and the kitchen a most excellent dinner. Generally, throughout the cities in the south of France, there are two *tables d'hôte*—one at half-past one, the other at four, in the principal hotels ; and, with the recollection of these *tables d'hôte* fresh in my memory, I cannot resist the opportunity that seems to be open to me in this volume, of calling in question the correctness of two very common, but very erroneous opinions. One of these is, that the French are the most polite people in the world. Now I think precisely the reverse ; and that the middle classes of Frenchmen have the smallest share of true politeness of any people in the world. A very selfish man cannot be polite : and a very self-conceited man cannot be polite ; and I think no one who understands much of French character, will hesitate to admit, that it is not untinged by selfishness or vanity. No place is better suited than a *table d'hôte* for discovering these weaknesses, especially the former ; and I think it impossible that one can rise from a *table d'hôte* in any part of France, without an unfavourable impression of French character, particularly of French politeness. Happy is the man who, at a French *table d'hôte*, is seated near the president, or general carver ; or who has the courage to be independent of etiquette, by drawing towards him whatever dish he fancies, and helping himself, without regarding his neighbours. I have a hundred times been surprised at the cool effrontery with which a Frenchman will sweep the eatables from a dish of *rolaille*, and pass the bare bones to his neighbour with the prettiest bow of invitation, and perhaps even, “ *Monsieur eut-il prendre un morceau de*

colaille?" when all the *colaille* has been transferred to his own plate.

But another failing besides selfishness, contributes towards the incivility of a Frenchman at a *table d'hôte*—I mean his love of eating. Here I come to the other erroneous opinion entertained of the French—that they are small eaters. The French are enormous eaters; and I do not really think there are in the character of the French any more prominent features than their love of eating what is good, and their love of eating much. The French endeavour to get over the charge by saying, that, if they eat of many things, they take little of each. This is far from the truth. A Frenchman will take of soup and *bouillé* alone, as much as would suffice for the dinner of an Englishman of moderate appetite. But this is only the commencement of his dinner: his *cotelette* is to come, his *poisson* is to come, his *colaille*, his *rôti*, his *gibier*, his *légumes*, his *crème*, his dessert; and along with this he devours—for *eat* would not half express the eagerness of the action—he devours as much bread as would serve the household of an English family for a day; and while he thus gormandizes, he will turn round to you, and say, "*Vous autres mangez beaucoup plus que nous.*" And let it be recollected, that it is not once a day, but twice or three times, that a Frenchman makes the tour of soup and beef, and outlet and fowl, and roast, and vegetables, and dessert. His *déjeûné à la fourchette* scarcely differs from his dinner; and his supper is only a third edition of the same; and yet people are so absurd as to say, that the French eat little. I lay it down as a general position, that every Frenchman is an epicure; and that epicurism is not unfrequently allied with gluttony. I have never seen the people of any country lay so great a stress upon their dinner as the French. *Bon dîner* is scarcely ever out of their mouths; and not French *men* only, but French women also, married women at least, are entitled to be classed among the epicures. I ought not to be entirely ignorant of French propensities and habits, for I have spent altogether five years in France; and I wish I possessed as much the power, as I have the inclination, to draw a true portrait of French character.

Although the amphitheatre and the Maison Carrée are the two most interesting of the remains of antiquity in Nîmes; there are several others deserving of a visit; but more interesting to the antiquarian, than to the traveller who is uninformed upon these matters. Among these the *Tourmagne*, from the Latin *Turris magna*, and one of the gates of the city, are the only relics of which almost any thing is visible. The former is one of the towers of the Roman wall, which was once flanked by ninety; but this, it is believed, was the greatest of them, and meant for some end exclusively its own. There are many surmises as to what this end may have been; but inquiries of this kind are not only uninteresting, but as fruitless as they are useless.

I was pleased in no small degree with the garden of Nîmes, which contains many Roman remains, particularly baths, in a state of great perfection, and of vast extent; and many statues of emperors and senators. But the chief attractions of the garden, are its pleasant shades and charming variety of flowers, among which I luxuriated each of the three days I spent at Nîmes, during some of the morning and evening hours. These days sufficed

to gratify curiosity, and I left Nîmes for Montpellier.

CHAPTER XXIII.

MONTPELIER—NARBONNE.

Montpelier, its Climate and Reputation—Montpelier as a Residence—A Jour de Fête—Apparent Inconsistencies of French Character—Journey to Narbonne—Cette, and its Manufactory of Wines—La Maladie Noir—Bezières—French Brandy Manufactories—Narbonne—Narbonne Honey—Fruit-Markets—Journey to Perpignan—The Mediterranean—Perpignan and its Population—the Citadel—French Opinions of Prussia and England—Expenses in the South of France—Journey to Carcassone—"Hairbreadth 'scapes"—Quillan—Limoux—Champagne du Midi—Carcassone—Husbandry in Languedoc.

THE country between Nîmes and Montpellier is a wine, olive, and fruit country; and although neither picturesque nor in any way remarkably interesting, it was a great improvement upon the country lying to the east of it. Montpellier is seen at a considerable distance before arriving in it, seated upon two hills, and certainly presents an imposing appearance. I reached this celebrated city before dinner, and established myself in the *hôtel du Midi*.

I call Montpellier celebrated, because its name has passed into a by-word for salubrity of climate. Every country has its *Montpelier*. In England, several spots have claimed to be its Montpellier. Scotland has also its Montpellier. Nancy is the Montpellier of the north of France; Utrecht the Montpellier of Holland. Ireland, I have no doubt, has its Montpellier; and I almost think Norway and Sweden have their Montpeliers. All these honours are surely enough for the fame of one city; and Montpellier, the genuine Montpellier, must doubtless be deserving of its honours. Medical men, however, I believe, begin to doubt this; and this doubt has had a material influence upon the prosperity of the town. In former times, about twenty or thirty years ago, two hundred English families were sometimes resident there; but since fashion, caprice, or experiment, have sent consumptive patients to die in Madeira or Naples, in place of Montpellier, that number is reduced to forty or fifty families; and these, I believe, resort to Montpellier less for the sake of health than of economy.

The Montpellier of the imagination, and the Montpellier of reality, are very different places. The former is a spot of charming retirement, surrounded by beauty and shade; sweet and noiseless, except the murmur of the Mediterranean, and the song of nightingales. The real Montpellier is a large, bustling, and rather noisy city, with fertility around it, but scanty shade; and the murmur of the sea only to be heard by a six miles' ride. But still Montpellier has many advantages as a residence. Whatever may have been the doubts that have sent the consumptive patient farther south, it is undeniable that the air of Montpellier is salubrious, possessing the mildness which belongs to a southern climate, and yet having its heat tempered by the sea-breeze. It is also a cheap residence; the more so, from the now diminished influx of strangers. I knew a gentleman in Montpellier, who gave sixty francs per month for a commodious second story of a house, well furnished. This was not above 12s. per week;

and two well-furnished rooms may be obtained in twenty places for 10s. Living is not expensive, though not so cheap as house-rent. Beef and mutton are from 5d. to 6d. per lb. Fish, of which there are sometimes twenty kinds in the market, ranges according to its kind, quality, and scarcity, from five to twenty sous per lb. A good sole usually costs about 5d. Fruit and vegetables are both cheap, and good wine of St. George is sold at fifteen sous per bottle; old St. George of the best quality costs two francs. Milk is of course dear, and butter only to be had in cold weather.

The *hôtel du Midi* at Montpellier is one of the most excellent in the south of France. I counted on the *table d'hôte* no fewer than sixty dishes, exclusive of dessert. Tea à l'Anglais, of a most exquisite flavour, and with milk too, is to be had in this hotel; and so ambitious are they of perfection, that even butter was produced; but this turned out to be lard. It is surprising, that in the hotels in the south of France, where fresh butter is nowhere to be obtained, that salted butter has not been thought of. Even in the most southerly of the Spanish cities, every hotel is provided with Irish or Dutch butter in cask; and I have eaten in Grenada as excellent butter as could be purchased in London. There is nothing extraordinary in this; because the steam-packet for the Levant touches at Cadiz every fortnight, being only eight or ten days out of London; but the south of France possesses even greater facilities for intercourse with London by way of Bourdeaux, than the south of Spain; and butter enters as little into the *cuisine* of the one country as of the other.

One of the days I spent at Montpellier chanced to be some great *jour de fête*. In the evening, the promenade was illuminated, and all the inhabitants of Montpellier assembled there. Grievs, cares, regrets, anxieties, seemed all to have been left at home. There were holiday faces there by thousands, as well as holiday dresses; and I believe the hearts and minds had their holiday too. One grand distinction between French and English character lies in this, that when the English determine to be happy, they never succeed; while, on the other hand, when the morning of a holiday arrives, when a *jour de fête* invites a Frenchman to join in its gaieties, he resolves to enjoy himself, and his resolution is carried into effect; he is always ready to say,

To-night—at least to-night be gay,
Whate'er to-morrow bring.

How extraordinary a riddle is French character! Made up of contradictions, it defies the philosopher, and staggers the phrenologist, with all his skill in balances and neutralizations; though, I confess, I think these seeming contradictions may be explained more satisfactorily by the disciple of the school of many organs, than by the believer in the mind one and indivisible. An enthusiast in war, an enthusiast in science, an enthusiast in trifling, and yet no real enthusiast after all—for how can there be enthusiasm in a people destitute of poetry and sentiment? a Frenchman seems to be an inexplicable being. But all the apparent contradictions in his character have their origin, I suspect, in one passion—national vanity. It is not the love of fighting that leads a French army from Paris to Moscow, but *la gloire*. The *philosophe* who sits at

his midnight lamp, cannot contemplate his triumph and discoveries, without mixing them up with *la gloire* of another kind—the scientific reputation of *la grande nation*. And when a Frenchman hurries to the *Théâtre Français*, to witness the representation of a comedy of Molière, or a tragedy of Racine, or Voltaire, a view to his own gratification is not the sole impelling motive; he fancies—may he is sure—that *la comédie Française* is the most perfect in the world; that there never was but one Racine, or one Voltaire; and that it is a duty to uphold and patronise that which so nearly concerns the glory of his country. The national vanity of the French is boundless and incurable. It embraces the whole range of the arts and sciences—all that in which men contend for pre-eminence, or pride themselves in. It is this that carries a Frenchman to the *Académie de Musique*, to listen to the worst music in the world—this that crowds the gallery of the French school of painting, and leaves the Italian school neglected—this that produces a thousand copies of *David*, and not one of *Raphael*, or *Titian*, or *Murillo*—this that endured the despotism of Louis XIV., because he was the vainest of kings, and loved *la gloire*—this that tore down the bastille, murdered a king, and abjured God, because such things were a spectacle for the world to gaze at—this that received the yoke of Napoleon, because the spectacle of revolution was no longer new, and because his ambition and *la gloire Française* went hand in hand—this that encouraged industry, commerce, and manufactures, during fifteen years, because France could not be great without them—and finally, this that now threatens to desolate Europe with the scourge of war, because *la grande nation* is beginning to be forgotten. Much good, and much evil, has arisen from the predominance of a passion like this; but it is evidently impossible to calculate upon the actions of a people who are so governed.

Having seen all that was worthy of observation in Montpellier, I took the road to Narbonne. It runs within a league or two of the sea all the way; but, owing to the inequalities of the ground, and particularly a range of cliffs that lie to the left, the Mediterranean is scarcely ever seen from the road. About three leagues after leaving Montpellier, these cliffs assume the elevation of a hill, crowned by the castle of the well-known town of *Cette*, which lies under it. At this town every one of the celebrated wines of Europe is manufactured. Port, Sherry, Clarets, Burgundy, Champagne, Hock, are all turned out from the manufactory of *Cette*, and sent to the different cities of Europe, to supply cheap dealers, and economical wine-drinkers. These wines are, however, sent in greater quantities to all other countries than England; because the high duties hitherto payable upon wines exported from France, have prevented the manufactured port of *Cette* from entering the English market at a lower price than the genuine wine of Portugal. It is said, however, that *Cette* clarets and champagnes have found their way in large quantities to England—a fact that partly explains cheap French wine advertisements. The materials used in the manufactured wines of *Cette*, are chiefly the wines of Catalonia, Roussillon, and Limoux, and the brandy of *Bezières*. With these, the people of *Cette* say, all things are possible.

I was amused at a small town between Montpellier and *Bezières*, at which I stopped to dine, with

the conversation of a French gentleman at the *table d'hôte*, who entertained the company with an explanation of the reason why the English travel so much. He said this was owing to a disease brought on by the fogs; that it was called in France *la maladie noire*; that its symptoms were low spirits, and a desire to move from one place to another; and that the only cure was foreign travel. He appealed to me, whether or not he spoke the truth; and, as I really thought he had described the disease fairly, I admitted that he was right; and that, before I left England, I was grievously afflicted with it.

Bezières, which lies about four leagues short of Narbonne, and about three leagues from the sea, is one of the most flourishing towns in the south of France. This prosperity arises from its extensive manufactory of *eau de vie*, which is only inferior to the *eau de vie* of Cogniac. French brandy is as various in its quality as English gin. Every country, in fact, that produces wine, produces *eau de vie*; and the quality of the brandy is, generally, in an inverse ratio to the quality of the wine. In all the districts that produce the most esteemed wines, the worst brandy is made; for the obvious reason, that in these it is made from the refuse, after the wine has been extracted; but where the grape is unfit for the produce of good wine, the *eau de vie* is manufactured from the pure grape. The worst brandy in France is made in Champagne and Medoc, which are the choicest wine districts; and the best, at Cogniac and Bezières. Many brandies of France, besides those of Cogniac and Bezières, find their way into the English market; and all are sold under the generic name of French brandy. But brandy may be genuine French brandy, that is, brandy really manufactured in France, and may yet be execrably bad.

Between Bezières and Narbonne, there is little to interest the traveller; but, in the neighbourhood of Narbonne, the country becomes agreeable, the banks of the Aude are fertile and pretty, and numerous orchards and gardens lie around the town. Narbonne is chiefly celebrated for its honey, which is said to be the finest in the world; but that which I tasted there I thought too odoriferous. One might tancy himself eating a *bouquet*. It is certainly totally different in its flavour, and of a higher flavour, than any other honey; but if the same system were pursued in other countries in the management of the hive, honey of a high flavour might be produced elsewhere than at Narbonne. The peculiar excellence of the Narbonne honey is owing to the variety in the nourishment of the bees. The hives are moved from one place to another. From the gardens of Narbonne, they are carried to the meadows in the neighbourhood; and they are afterwards conveyed thirty or forty miles distant, as far as the Low Pyrenees; so that the treasures of the gardens, the meadows, and the mountains, are all rifled, to produce the honey of Narbonne. In England, this system, although it would doubtless be attended by corresponding advantages, could not effect all that it effects at Narbonne, because numerous aromatic plants, that are found in abundance over the most southern of the French provinces, are not indigenous to England; but the trial is worth making.

Narbonne is an ancient city, with a fine church, and contains several Roman antiquities, not, how-

ever, in sufficient preservation to interest any one but an antiquarian. I was particularly pleased with the fruit-market, which exhibited a choice and abundant display of all that tempts the palate and allures the eye. I filled my cap with strawberries, and my pockets with nectarines; and with the addition of honey, bread, and some milk, which cost more inquiry, and much more money, than all the rest, I made a luxurious breakfast. Narbonne has scarcely any manufacture, and lives partly by its trade in honey, partly by the transit trade with Spain. The wages of labour here are extremely low, not more than one franc per day; and the necessities of life are obtained at an easy rate. Among these, meat is not reckoned by the lower orders; for, at Narbonne, we have got so far south, as to discover something of those indolent habits which produce, in still more southern countries, a distaste for all exertion beyond that which is necessary to preserve existence, and which limit the necessities of life to the natural productions of the soil.

At Narbonne, the great road through the most southern provinces diverges to the right. Passing through Carcassone, towards Thoulouse, the only other road leads south to Perpignan, and is the great road to Spain. I was informed, however, that if I proceeded to Perpignan, I should find a cross-road, leading close under the Pyrenees, and among the outposts of the mountains, to Tarbes, from which roads diverge in all directions into the different valleys; and as the flats and low hills of the vaunted south of France had so disappointed me, I resolved to leave them behind, and seek the Pyrenees, of whose charms I felt no misgivings.

Soon after leaving Narbonne, the road approaches the sea; and here another disappointment awaits the ardent and romantic traveller, who has perhaps been accustomed to associate with the Mediterranean all that is lovely and attractive; and has already, in his imagination, enshrined this summer sea as an object almost of poetic devotion. For my own part, my imaginative vision of the Mediterranean had already been proved to be true, by having, some years before, coasted its shores between Nice and Genoa. But there may be some who look for the first time upon the Mediterranean, between Narbonne and Perpignan; and, if they should never see it again, the Mediterranean will be to them no longer a vision of poetry; for nothing is to be seen, but shallow lagoons, sands, and shingle—no bright verdure reflected in its bosom—no orange-trees kissing its waves. But, upon the veracity of a traveller, I declare to all those unlucky tourists, who may never have caught but one glimpse of the Mediterranean, and that one between Narbonne and Perpignan, that it is unfair to judge of the Mediterranean by so transient a glance; and that, if they will but continue their journey southward, and travel along its shores as far as Alicante or Malaga, they will find that poets have for once spoken the truth; that its waves make sweet fellowship with verdure and flowers; and that orange-trees, and palms, and acacias, bend over its waters. But, notwithstanding this, the Mediterranean is no favourite of mine, beautiful though it be. A sea without a tide has only half the ocean charm; for it wants variety—which is, after all, the chiefest charm of every thing.

The road to Perpignan is totally without interest.

There is scarcely a tree or a bush to be seen—no village, and few houses. After skirting the sea about three leagues, the road diverges to the right, and approaches Perpignan by a long straight avenue, through a flat country, thickly scattered with olives, willows, and poplars; and crossing the long bridge over the dry bed of the little river Tet, I entered Perpignan, and alighted at the *hôtel de l'Europe*.

Every body knows that Perpignan is the frontier town of France, on its south-eastern boundary—the key, as historians say, on the side of Spain: but it is the passage of the Pyrenees, not the possession of Perpignan, that would open the way into France; and the great expense at which the fortifications of Perpignan have been recently put in order, seems, therefore, to be a very needless expenditure.

At Perpignan, though the remotest nook of the French empire, I found that I was still in that country, to every corner of which Paris gives law. There was still the same French air about every thing. I saw no amalgamation in character, usages, or dress, with the dress or usages of Spain. Even the bonnets of the Perpignan ladies might have issued from a *magazin des modes* in Paris. I take the inhabitants of Perpignan to be a contriving people; for, besides the narrowness of the streets, they have hit upon another simple device for excluding altogether the mid-day sun. Cloths of some kind are suspended, like awnings, across the street, from the upper windows; so that, in those parts of the town where this is the practice, the fiercest noon-day sun may be set at defiance. I am surprised that so simple a device as this has not been adopted in other towns of the south; and yet I never remarked it elsewhere than in Perpignan.

I applied to the commandant for leave to see the citadel, which he politely granted; and attended by a soldier, I made the tour of it. It is large enough to contain four regiments; but the usual garrison is one only. To me, the citadel was chiefly interesting from the view it commands over Roussillon, and of the Eastern Pyrenees. The country is entirely level on every side of Perpignan. On the east, the plain extends to the sea, which is distant about four leagues, but is scarcely visible from the citadel; and, on the south, it reaches to the outer ridges of the Pyrenees, which are seen stretching westward in a majestic line, as far as the eye can trace. Upon these outer and lower ridges, the wines of Roussillon are cultivated. The plain, at least in the neighbourhood of Perpignan, is a corn and oil country—almost the only wood, excepting the olive, being willow, which is used for fire-wood. From the citadel of Perpignan no part of Spain is visible. The highest mountain-peak is that of the Canigou, which lies within the French boundary. The soldier who accompanied me round the citadel, complained bitterly of inaction, and the long continuance of peace. I asked him, what country he and his comrades would like to make war upon—l'Espagne? At the mention of so unworthy an enemy as Spain, he only smiled. I next mentioned Russia;—he shrugged his shoulders, as if he would have said, that fighting against frost and snow was no fighting at all. I then mentioned England; he said the English and French were best in friendship;—“*cependant*,” added he, significantly. I knew the force of the word, and saw that the idea was

not disagreeable; but it is upon Prussia that the French desire to take vengeance. The mention of Prussia called forth a “*sacre*.” He said he was ready, and all Frenchmen were ready, to march against Prussia. I have never found any variation in this statement in France. The French hate the Prussians even more than they hate the English; and I think it may be safely predicted, that, should a French army ever set foot on Prussian soil, it will be a war of extermination.

It is at present the fashion to speak of the strict alliance of friendship that exists between France and England; and to deprecate the notion, that any animosity between the two nations now remains. I believe that national animosity has long ceased, on the part of the people of England; but I am persuaded, that, with the great mass of the French people, kind feelings towards England will never take deep and lasting root. Particular circumstances may, for a short season, call forth kindly sentiments, and there may be a sudden overflow of enthusiasm and gratitude; but these will subside—they will sink down to their original level, dried up by the parching influences of jealousy and old prejudices.

Perpignan is chiefly supported by its garrison, and by the transit trade to Spain, which, I need scarcely say, is not very extensive. There is one article of export, however, from Roussillon to Catalonia, both extensive and lucrative. The inhabitants of Barcelona cannot do without turkeys; and as these birds are scarce in Spain, there is a large export of them from France. A well-sized turkey does not cost more than four francs at Perpignan, and at Barcelona it is sold for ten or twelve; but from this profit two francs of import-duty upon every turkey entering Spain must be deducted. All the necessaries of life, and many of its luxuries, are cheap, over the most southerly provinces of France. Beef and mutton are 2½d. in the markets of Perpignan, and almost every thing else is in the same ratio of cheapness. Yet, notwithstanding, there is little or no difference in the expense of travelling. Is this, or is that a cheap country to travel in? is a question that need never be asked; for, however much one country may differ from another in its expenses, to those who reside in it, they are nearly all alike to the traveller. I do not speak of the expense of transit, but of the expense of inns. If a man sets out to make a tour of Europe, he need scarcely make any variation in his calculation of expenses for the different countries through which he has to pass.

I found here, that the information I had received at Narbonne, respecting a cross-road to Carcassone through the outposts of the Pyrenees, was correct; and I learned, besides, that it would be necessary to make a circuit from Carcassone by Thoulouse, in order to reach the celebrated valleys of the Pyrenees, watered by the Gave and the Adour; and I took advantage of the public conveyance, which travels the road three times a week.

The country between Perpignan and Quillan is scarcely susceptible of cultivation, excepting in the neighbourhood of these towns. The road winds among rocky defiles, and through deep valleys; but none of these are remarkable for beauty. The outer ranges of the Eastern Pyrenees are but scantily covered with verdure; and in the valleys few trees are to be seen excepting the olive. I noticed by the

way-side—the first time I had seen it growing wild—the aloe ; and lavender, rosemary, and sweet-briar abundantly perfumed the air. This road is certainly better fitted for a foot-passenger than for a carriage : it is not only bad, but in many places extremely dangerous. At one place it ascends by the side of a deep valley, with no parapet between it and a tremendous precipice ; and the ascent is so steep and so long, that six horses were unable to draw the carriage up. Several times the horses backed, and brought those who were within to the very verge of destruction. For my own part, I was on foot. At another time we were in still greater jeopardy. A bridge is thrown across a ravine of great depth ; the bridge has no parapet, and is only wide enough for a carriage to pass over. The descent to the bridge is rapid ; and the ascent, immediately upon crossing it, is so steep, as to seem, in approaching it, almost a perpendicular. The coach went rapidly down, and crossed the bridge ; but after the impetus had carried the horses some little way up the steep, they stopped. The coach went back ; and one half-foot from a right line would have thrown it down the precipice. Upon the bridge the horses began to be restive ; and here the situation of the inside-passengers was sufficiently alarming ; for the carriage, being close to the edge of the bridge on both sides, it was impossible to step out. I was seated in the *banquette*, and, scrambling down between the horses, I made my way out of danger. The passengers in the *rotonde* behind could also leave their places without difficulty ; and, thus lightened, a new attempt was made to go forward, and it fortunately succeeded.

Quillan is the only village between Perpignan and Carcassone. It is situated under a high stony mountain, and beside a mountain-stream, the banks of which are covered with vines, and spotted with wood. The road skirts this stream all the way to Carcassone ; but before arriving there, we stopped an hour at *Limoux*, which I have already mentioned, when speaking of the wine manufactory of Cette. The wine of Limoux is called the *Champagne du Midi*, and it well deserves the name. It is quite equal to the Champagne blanc, drank in the *Café de Paris* ; and costs one franc per bottle, in place of six. At Limoux, we have left even the outer ridges of the Pyrenees ; and, approaching Carcassone, we pass through an open, better cultivated, and more fertile country.

Carcassone has the reputation of being a remarkably pretty town. Its streets are straight and wide—too wide for its latitude—and adorned by several handsome fountains ; and there is also an extensive boulevard of lofty trees, parallel with the old Roman wall that still surrounds the town. I was amused at Carcassone by a novel demand. I had drank so plentifully at Limoux of the Champagne du Midi, that I was unable to taste the supper provided by the aubergiste. “It is of no importance,” said he, “whether you took supper or not ; supper was on the table, and it was no fault of mine if you had no appetite, *parbleu*.” But I would not pay for the supper I had not eaten ; and the aubergiste swore, with many a *sacré*, that the English were the most unreasonable people upon earth.

I left Carcassone early in the morning for Toulouse, but with the intention of only going as far as Castelnaudary, having sufficient acquaintance with

a landowner in the vicinity, to reckon upon a hospitable reception. All that part of Languedoc which lies between Carcassone and Toulouse is a corn country, and grows also a little wine. The grain chiefly raised is wheat and Indian corn ; and the crops of every description are luxuriant. The rotation of crops in this country is Indian corn, wheat, fallow, and wheat. Almost all the land in this part of France belongs to the person who resides upon it. His house is substantial and comfortable, with every suitable convenience for the necessities of a farm. The proprietor farms his own land ; he has a manager, who is paid partly by a fixed salary and partly by a small proportion of the crops, which makes him a participator in the returns of his industry and exertions. Farm-servants in this part of the world are very enviously situated. There are, upon every property, one, two, or three small separate houses, according to the wants of the estate. In each of these, two or three farm-servants are accommodated. They have a garden, and a bit of land for Indian corn ; they are supplied by the master with as much bacon and wine as they require ; and they are allowed, besides, enough of wages for clothes, &c. A day-labourer receives two francs per day. Horses are not employed in the agriculture of Languedoc, but oxen solely ; and these cost about 450 francs a head. The clear returns of corn land throughout this country are not above $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. ; but the best wine country produces 5 or 6 per cent. The people are well off, and paupers are rare ; indeed, I do not recollect to have seen one *miserable* from Carcassone to Toulouse. The bread universally in use among the lower orders, and not unknown even at the tables of the upper classes, is the bread of Indian corn. It is mixed with one-fourth, or one-third part of wheat ; and no one need desire better bread than that which I ate at the house of the gentleman upon whose hospitality I had rightly counted.

Towards Toulouse, the country increases in richness and fertility. There is nothing of the beautiful or the picturesque in it ; but there is every where—what is far better—an appearance of abundance. I arrived at Toulouse at sunset, after passing through the most extensive suburbs I have seen in any provincial town, and found an apartment in the *hôtel de l'Europe*.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THOULOUSE.

The Markets of Toulouse, and Market-People—Fruit in England and on the Continent—Place du Capitale—The Floral Games—The Dark Ages—Clemensæ Isaure, and her Poetry—Institutions and Churches—Toulouse as a Residence—Prices of Provisions.

THOULOUSE, the capital of Languedoc, is one of the most ancient, and certainly one of the most interesting cities of France. Some say that Toulouse existed five centuries earlier than Rome. It is certain, that in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, Toulouse sent out armies and colonies. In the days of Cæsar, it was well known under the name of Toloso ; and Martial, in one of his epigrams, says,—

“ Marcus Palladiæ non inficienda Tolosæ,
Gloria, quam genuit pacis alumna quies.”

But the annals of Toulouse are more interesting at a later epoch ; for, at a time when the thickest darkness overspread Europe, the revival of letters had long been preparing in the songs of the troubadours, which were sung at the floral games. The recent and disastrous events of war have also given to Toulouse a new interest ; and, independently of these exclusive claims to the notice of the traveller which this city possesses, it is a fine, large, flourishing place, situated in the midst of abundance, containing many fine edifices and remarkable objects ; and, even if it possessed no other distinction, it would be entitled to be separated from the common catalogue of towns, merely because it is there that the waters of the Atlantic and the Mediterranean are united ; for it is at Toulouse that the great canal of Languedoc is merged in the Garonne.

I would counsel every traveller who arrives in Toulouse, to provide himself with a *Cicerone*, unless he takes a pleasure in losing himself ; for I do not know any other city whose localities are so intricate. In whatever direction I wished to go from the *hôtel de l'Europe*, I found myself sooner or later in the market-place, called *la Place du Capitale* ; and here I generally lingered an hour or two ; for I do not know any market-place in the world so splendid as this. To stroll through the market-place of Toulouse, about seven o'clock on a summer's morning, is a pleasure of no common kind. The display of fruit and vegetables is beautiful to behold. There are millions of peaches and nectarines, of a size that would strike an English gardener with astonishment. I found several of those which I bought measure ten inches in circumference. There are millions of plums, of every shape, size, and colour—millions of pears—millions of every fruit, and every vegetable, found within the temperate zone. *Pomme d'amour* is also brought in immense quantities to all the markets of the southern cities ; for no condiment enters more generally into the *cuisine*. This useful and showy fruit was very conspicuous in the market of Toulouse. I also noticed quantities of green olives, which were brought to the market on the branches. Notwithstanding the size and beauty of the fruit found in the more southern countries, I do not think it equals, in flavour and mellowness, the same fruit produced in a choice garden in England. I of course exclude those fruits which cannot be raised in England without artificial heat : those, in the southern countries, are incomparably better than they are in more northern latitudes. The finest melon reared in England by artificial heat, is an indifferent fruit, compared with the melon of Grenada or Valencia ; and the choicest hot-house grape, though much excelling the grapes of France, is yet far inferior to the muscatel of Malaga or Alicante. But I speak of fruits ripened both in England and on the continent by the sun ; and I assert, that these are found in greater perfection in England than in any other country. The enormous peaches of Languedoc are neither so mellow nor so high-flavoured as the best English peach ; for, before the inside of these large peaches becomes thoroughly ripe, the outer parts lose their freshness and flavour. I have nowhere tasted pears equal to the jargonel, such as I have eaten it in England ; the ribson pippin is not equalled in any continental market ; and as for strawberries, I'll back my own little garden against the world.

Besides the pleasant display of fruit, vegetables, and flowers, in the market of Toulouse, there are many agreeable pictures of another kind—living pictures. Hundreds of market-people are busily employed, before the bustle of the morning begins, in forming, upon the lids of the boxes, the most enticing pyramids of their various fruits, arranged with the utmost taste, according to size and colour ; others are seen at their early and simple breakfast of pears and bread, after their fruits have been arranged ; others are busy shelling peas, or clipping and laying out cabbages, or wiping clean the yellow or orange-coated *pomme d'amour*. But to see all this, you must be on the road to the *Place du Capitale* when the church of St. Etienne strikes six, otherwise the pyramids will be raised and partly demolished, the breakfast over, the vegetables arranged, and the scene of preparation at an end. But mental as well as bodily wants are provided for in the market-place of Toulouse ; for there are numerous booksellers' shops in little wooden houses, covered with announcements of the new publications to be had within. I noticed several translations from English works ; among others, Captain Medwin's *Conversations of Lord Byron*, Shakspeare, Gibbon, and Swift.

But the Place du Capitale is not remarkable only as being the market-place of Toulouse ; for it takes its name from the *Capitale*, or *hôtel de Ville*, which forms one side of it, and which is, upon many accounts, one of the most interesting edifices in France. The exterior of this building is adorned by much fine marble and sculpture ; and to view, as it deserves, all that is to be seen in the interior, a day will scarcely suffice. Among the halls, one of the noblest is that called *la Salle des illustres Toulousains*. Here are placed, in niches, busts of all who have been born in Toulouse, and who have reflected honour upon the place of their nativity. But through this hall we pass into one more interesting—the hall of the academy of the floral games. Every one has heard of the floral games of Toulouse—the earliest institution in the history of modern Europe, for the promotion of any department of letters. By the registers of its history, it is known to have existed long before the year 1323, and was therefore in its vigour at that period which is usually denominated the dark ages—a term that ought to be better defined. When we think of the dark ages, we are apt to picture to ourselves a time when Goth and Vandal had trampled under foot all that was noble and intellectual—a rayless season of mental bondage—a leafless “desert of the mind,” when intellect never put forth one bud, or, if she did, when it was crushed by the hand of the barbarian, or drooped because it bloomed alone ; and then we imagine that, at a period called the revival of letters, intellectual light broke upon the benighted earth, as the sun bursts from an eclipse upon a shrouded world. There is doubtless something very captivating in this idea ; but it needs little acuteness to discover that it is all a delusion, and that such darkness and such miraculous light had never any existence. It is true, indeed, that during those times, called by us the dark ages, intellectual light shone with an uncertain and flickering flame ; that if, for a time, under the patronage of an Alfred or a Charlemagne, learning appeared to have found a sanctuary, the death of its patron, or the first political convulsion, again clouded its horizon. It is true, that learning

had then no constellation, but that her lights shone single; and that often one star sunk ere another emerged from the opposite horizon: and yet learning, though in these ages neither very commanding in its nature, nor very widely diffused, was never so totally prostrated as it has been customary to believe; and to the middle ages we are indebted not only for the collection, and preservation, and multiplication, of the most valuable works of antiquity, but for the germ of all that romantic poetry of which the nations of modern Europe can boast. It was for the encouragement of this poetry that the floral games were instituted. The academy consisted originally of seven troubadours, who took the title of *Mantenadors del gaysaber*, (*Mainteneurs du gai savoir*); and the institution was called *le gai Consistoir*. Originally, they used to assemble and distribute prizes in the open air; but at a later period the meetings were held in the hall. It was in the fifteenth century that the floral games found a patroness in the Dona Clemensa Isaure, who presented, with her own hand, the golden violet which was the prize of the successful poet. There is a manuscript in existence, containing many of the pieces which then obtained the prizes, and where, it is said, that they were read (*dictes*) before Clemensa Isaure.

The statue, in white marble, of this patroness of the floral games, which was formerly placed upon her tomb in the church of the Daurade, is now preserved in the hall in the Capitale. Below is a copy of the inscription in *Provençal*, which formerly adorned her sepulchre. The following is a translation of it:

"Clemensa Isaure, daughter of Louis Isaure, of the illustrious family of Isaures, having taken the vow of chastity, as the most perfect state, and having lived fifty years a virgin, established, for the public benefit, markets for corn, fish, wine, and herbs, and bequeathed them to the citizens of Thoulouse, on condition that the floral games should be celebrated every year in the edifice which had been constructed at her expense;—that a festival should there be held, and that they should strew roses upon her tomb; and if these conditions should be neglected, that the gift should revert to the king; and, finally, that a tomb should there be erected, where she might repose in peace."

It would appear, therefore, that this Clemensa Isaure, the patroness of poetry, and dispenser of the golden violets, was, after all, but a matter-of-fact person, who established fish-markets, as well as patronized the floral games—not a divinity of beauty and youth, whose smile of approbation was rapture; and whose fair hand, presenting the *nouvelle églantine*, the poet would rather touch with his lips, than take from it the richest prize.

Clemensa Isaure was herself one of the most celebrated minstrels of the age in which she lived. Many of her poetic effusions are preserved in a collection of these, written in Gothic characters, and reprinted at Thoulouse. I shall cite one poem, in *Provençal*, with a French translation, given by M. Jouy in his "Hermite en Provence."

"Dolsa sazo, joëntat de l'annada,
Tornar fasetz la dolsa joc d'amors,
Et per hondrar fiseles trobadors,
Abetz de flors la testa coronada.

De la vergès humils, regina des angels,
Disen cantan la pietat amorosa,

Quan das sospirs amars, angoissa dolorosa
Bie morir en la crotz la gran Prince dels cels.

Cintat de mos aujols, ò tan genta Tolosa,
Al fis aymanz uffris senhal d'honor;
Sios a james digna de son lausor,
Nobla coma tojorn et tojorn poderosa.

Soën a tort, l'ergulhos en el pensa
Qu'hondrad sera tostemps dels aymanors
Mes jo sai ben que lo joen trobadors
Oblidaran la fama de Clemensa.

Tal en lo cams la rosa primavera
Floris gentils quan torna lo gay temps;
Mes del bent de la nueg brancejado rabens,
Moric, e per tojorn s'esfassa de la terra."

"Douce saison, jeunesse de l'année, vous ramenez les doux jeux de la Poésie, et pour honorer les Troubadours fidèles, votre tête est couronnée de fleurs.

"De l'humble vierge, reine des anges, disons, chantons l'amoureuse piété, lorsque poussant des soupirs amers, et dans les angoisses les plus douloureuses, elle vit le grand Prince de cieus mourir sur une croix.

"Cité de mes aïeux, ô belle Toulouse, offre le signe du triomphe au bon poète; sois à jamais digne de ses louanges, toujours grande et toujours puissante.

"Souvent à tort, l'orgueilleux croit qu'il sera constamment chanté par les Poètes; mais moi, je sais bien que les jeunes troubadours oublieront la renommée de Clémence.

"Telle en nos champs la rose printanière fleurit et se pare d'un vif éclat au retour du printemps; mais tourmentée par le vent de la nuit, elle tombe, elle meurt, et son souvenir s'efface sur la terre."

Although these are no longer the days of the floral games or of chivalry, there are still in Thoulouse several societies which adhere to the example set in former days, by distributing prizes to successful candidates. One of these, *L'Académie des Sciences, Inscriptions, et Belles-Lettres*, which originated in the seventeenth century, and another, called *La Société de Médecine*, hold public sittings, and crown successful competitors. There is also a Society for Painting and Sculpture, a Society of the Fine Arts, and a Society of Agriculture;—the last of which holds a public meeting, at which prizes are awarded.

While at Thoulouse, I strolled into several of the churches; and, although the interiors of churches are rather a hackneyed subject of interest, I found several of the churches of Thoulouse worthy of a visit. The church of St. Saturnin is said to be as old as the ninth century, though some parts of it are greatly more modern, particularly the choir, upon which I noticed a bas-relief caricature of Calvin, in the form of a sow, sitting in a pulpit preaching. *Calvin le Porc prêchant*, is inscribed below. But the great distinction of this church consists in the number of relics which it contains. These are preserved in little chapels in the vaults below; and the value of the contents is expressed in this modest inscription:—

Non est in toto sanctor orbe locus.

All the usual relics are found in this collection, such as thorns of the crown of Christ—bits of the true cross—pieces of the Virgin's petticoats, which must have been sufficiently ample, if we may judge from the thousands of morsels of them shown in

every collection of relics in Christendom. Besides these, there are legs and arms of many saints, and the entire bodies of no fewer than twenty. It strikes me, however, that the bodies of some of these saints are to be seen also in several of the monasteries of Italy. Many honours have been rendered to these relics. Calixtus II. raised an altar to St. Simon and St. Jude, and deposited their relics in it. Clement VII. accorded fifty years of indulgence to all who, after having confessed their sins, should devoutly visit the church of St. Saturnin. Urban VIII. has gone farther;—he has extended to all those who visit the seven altars in this church, and who there pray for concord among the princes of the earth, for the extirpation of heresies, and the exaltation of the church, the same indulgences which have been conferred upon those who visit the seven altars in St. Peter's at Rome.

From the summit of the tower of this church, there is a fine and extensive view over the surrounding country. The provinces of Languedoc and Gascony, the windings of the Garonne, and the distant chain of the Pyrenees, forming its imposing features.

The only other churches which are worthy of a visit, are the cathedral church of St. Etienne, and the church *de la Daurade*, upon whose principal altar may be seen the golden flowers presented to the poets at the floral games. Excepting the gallery of pictures, in which some productions of the best Italian masters are found, I saw nothing else worthy of notice. In the vault of the Cordeliers, there was formerly a number of dead bodies, so well preserved as almost to emulate life. I mention this only, because, about forty years ago, a tragical event was connected with this vault. The son and heir of one of the first families in Thoulouse engaged, for a wager, to spend an hour at midnight among the dead bodies. He went; but not returning, his companions sought him, and found him, in the inside of the open door, dead. The key of the vault was found in the door, and a part of his clothes entangled with it. He had no doubt opened the door, and, upon endeavouring to go forward, had found himself held—and fear had done the rest.

The neighbourhood of Thoulouse would be found one of the cheapest places of residence in Europe. Within the city, every thing is about one-fourth part dearer than in its immediate vicinity, owing to the dues of entry. In the markets held in the neighbouring villages, meat is sold at 3d. and 3½d. per lb.; fowls are not more than 10d. a pair; a fine turkey costs but 2s. 6d., or 3s.; eggs, fruit, and vegetables are remarkably abundant and cheap; and wine does not exceed 1½d. per bottle. The country is thickly covered with country-houses; and one of these furnished, and suitable for a small family, and with an excellent garden, may be had for 400 francs per annum (15*l.*)

CHAPTER XXV.

JOURNEY FROM THOULOUSE—LOURDES, AND ARGELES.

Country to the South of Thoulouse—Auch—Tarbes and its Inhabitants—The Plain at the Foot of the Pyrenees— Lourdes—Tradition—The Defile of Lourdes, and Entrance to the Mountains—The Valley of Argeles—Argeles and its Inhabitants.

I HIRED a cabriolet to carry me to Tarbes, and left Thoulouse soon after sunrise. The idea of a coun-

try overflowing with milk and honey is realised in the neighbourhood of Thoulouse. Nothing can be more perfectly fertile than the country on every side of the road leading southward from the capital of Languedoc. Corn, wine, orchards, gardens, and country-houses, occupy every inch of land; and the appearance of the country-people bespeaks a healthy and happy condition. Everywhere, in the fields, the country-people were busy cutting, with the scythe, the straw of grain that had been already reaped. It is the practice, throughout the southern provinces, to cut, along with the grain, only the upper half of the straw, which is used as food for horses; and the under part, which is coarser, is cut afterwards with a scythe, for the purposes to which straw is put in other countries. The peculiar construction of the farm-houses in this part of France produces a singular effect. To every one a pigeon-house is attached; and as these are built high and narrow, and with dome-shaped roofs, and often surmounted by a cross, one might imagine the whole country to be covered with churches.

I stopped to breakfast at a small town, whose name I have forgotten, about four leagues from Thoulouse. The breakfast set down was so bad, and the price demanded so exorbitant, that I refused to partake of it; but walked into the market-place, where I followed the example of others, by purchasing some pears and a loaf of excellent bread for breakfast. The market-place was half filled with sheep exposed for sale. I inquired the price of a fat wether, and found it to be only six francs. All the way to Auch, the country continues charming, and gradually improves, not in fertility, for that is impossible, but in variety; for the great plain of Thoulouse terminates long before reaching Auch; and the road passes through a fine undulating country of gentle hill and valley, both well cultivated and well wooded. The appearance of Auch is particularly striking, standing upon several elevations, and surrounded by wood—not the sickly olive of Provence, but forest-trees, oak, elm, and ash; and nearly in the centre of the town there is a magnificent promenade, upon an elevated terrace of great extent, finely shaded, and commanding an extensive view over the surrounding country. I passed more than two hours here after supper, until it grew dark, enjoying one of the most balmy evenings that ever breathed from the skies of Gascony.

A long journey to Tarbes awaited me next day; and I accordingly left Auch before sunrise. I had expected, before reaching Auch, to have discovered the chain of the High or Central Pyrenees; but in this expectation I was disappointed. Numbers of inferior elevations, scattered over the plain, intercepted the view of the Pyrenees, until within less than five leagues from Tarbes. There, near the village of Rabastens, from an elevation over which the road passes, the whole range bursts into view. But, being at this time mid-day, when the atmosphere was dimmed by hot vapour, the view I obtained was imperfect; and it was not until my arrival at Tarbes, that I was able to gain a satisfactory view of the majestic barrier that shuts out Spain from the rest of the world.

I have read in some book, that the most beautiful part of every country is, where the mountains sink down into the plains; and of this assertion, the situation of Tarbes offers an excellent illustration.

If I had never gone farther into the Pyrenees than Tarbes, I might have said that nothing can exceed the beauty of its neighbourhood. The charming plain that environs it—yet not altogether a plain—stretches to the foot of the mountains, rich in every production of this southern latitude, beautifully diversified with wood, and watered by the meanderings of the Adour, and of several lesser streams. The celebrated valley of Bagnères opens to the left—that of Lourdes to the right; while, to the south, apparently at but a few leagues distant, the *Pic du Midi* towers above the range of mountains that extend to the right and to the left, as far as the eye can reach.

The town itself, anciently the capital of Bigorre, and well known in the time of Cæsar, is one of the prettiest towns of the south of France; and here, for the first time, one perceives a slight approximation to the usages of that untrodden country that lies beyond the majestic barrier. This is visible in the dress of the women, who no longer cover their heads with bonnets, hats, caps, or handkerchiefs, but with scarlet squares of woollen stuff, trimmed with black, which they throw over the head and shoulders, something in the form of the Spanish mantilla; but I noticed, that those who carried milk and butter to market, folded up the *capulet* (for such is the name of this article of dress), and laying it in a square of many folds upon the head, placed the can or jar upon it, and thus tripped along.

It is from Tarbes that all the roads into the Pyrenees diverge. One leads to Bagnères de Luchon; another to Bagnères de Bigorre; a third to Caunterets; and a fourth to Lourdes, Argeles, Luz, St. Sauvier, and Gavarnie. The last road leads through the most central valleys, and most into the heart of the mountains; and, judging by my maps that Luz would be the most central point for head-quarters, I resolved to follow this road in the first place. Here I resumed my pedestrianism, and left Tarbes for Lourdes soon after sunrise.

Until arriving at Lourdes, or rather until we have passed Lourdes, one cannot be said to have entered the Pyrenees. It is an undulating plain that lies between Tarbes and Lourdes, known under the name of *Lanne-Maurine*, or *Lande des Maures*; owing, as tradition says, to a bloody combat which took place here, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, between the Moors and the inhabitants of the country—a tradition that is confirmed by the discovery of tombs and of bones in different places in the neighbourhood, and also by the authentic records of history. It is known that, in the year 732, Abderaman passed the Pyrenees with a powerful army. The duke of Aquitaine was defeated by the Moors on the banks of the Dordogne, and Bourdeaux was captured and pillaged. The invading army proceeded northward, everywhere defeating their opponents, until Charles Martel engaged the foe near Tours, and gained a signal victory, in which Abderaman was killed. After this battle, the Moorish army, deprived of its head, suffering all the privations which a defeated army must always encounter, and pressed by the enemy, retreated towards the Pyrenees to pass into Spain; and it was during the flight of the Moors that the combat took place in the plain between Tarbes and Lourdes. After this second defeat, the Moors, unable to cross the mountains, whose passes were all occupied by the enemy,

abjured Mahomedanism, and abode in the mountains; and this, in the opinion of some, is the origin of the *Cagots*, that unhappy race, who were long the victims of unjust persecution.

After the long continuation of carriage-travelling from Avignon all the way to Tarbes—oh, how I enjoyed this morning the freedom of pedestrianism! it was a glorious morning; the country around was of surpassing beauty; and the magnificent range of the Pyrenees, rising abruptly from the plain, were bathed in sunbeams, which gilded the eminences, reposed upon the slopes, and gleamed in among the valleys. If this book should chance to be read by any one who knows the scenery of Scotland, let him recollect the road from Stirling along the foot of the Ochill Hills, and he will then have a better conception of the country through which I am now conducting him, than could be conveyed by a thousand minute descriptions. It is true, his imagination must assist me; he must imagine the Ochills seven or eight thousand feet high, in place of two thousand; he must substitute Indian corn of the most luxuriant growth for oats and barley; and, in place of whin-blossoms covering the knolls and banks by the way-side, he must fancy these clothed with vines; he must also add the charm of a southern sky, and the balminess of a southern clime. With these changes, the resemblance is striking. I recollect at this moment, with a vividness as if the recollection were but of yesterday, the beautiful line of the Ochills, seen from the heights in the neighbourhood of Hervioston—their woods and shadows, and Castle Campbell's dark ruin, and embowered Alva. And when this image is presented to me, I see at the same time the range of Pyrenees as I travelled from Tarbes to Lourdes, with those differences only which I have pointed out.

About half-way between Tarbes and Lourdes, I left the road a little distance to gain a small village called Lanne, that I might breakfast, for there was neither village nor inn by the way-side; and with excellent milk, which I had not tasted since leaving Switzerland, and bread of Indian corn, I made my first meal on Pyrenean fare. The approach to Lourdes is singularly striking; and the situation of this town unites all that is beautiful and picturesque. It stands at the entrance of a defile, which leads into the central valleys of the Pyrenees. The old castle frowns upon a high-wooded hill overlooking the town; the rapid and crystal Gave sweeps below it. Through the defile are seen the high Pyrenees towering into the skies; and the charming undulating plain I had passed through, stretches away towards Tarbes.

In past ages, Lourdes was a place of some importance. It was fortified by the Romans, in the time of Cæsar; and part of the walls, as well as two of the six towers which formerly existed, are yet visible, though in ruins. The castle was also a work of the Romans, and is still in such preservation that it is used as a state-prison. It belonged to the English after the treaty of Brittany; and in 1304, made a vigorous and effectual resistance to the duke of Anjou, who laid siege to it at the head of the *élite* of France.

It was a short day's journey from Tarbes to Lourdes: but the country was too exquisitely beautiful to hurry through it, and I therefore delayed till the following day my journey to Argeles. I applied for leave to visit the chateau; and having

easily obtained it, I spent an hour or two among the woods which stretch over the lower half of the hill, and in delighting myself with the view enjoyed from the summit over the magnificent landscape that spread upon every side. The summit of one of the towers is called *Pierre de l'Aigle*, from the following tradition :—Charlemagne laid siege to the castle, and, not being able to take it by assault, resolved to force it to a capitulation by starvation. But Mirat, the lord of the castle, chanced to be an especial favourite of Notre-Dame du Puy (St. Pé), and she sent an eagle to the summit of the castle, carrying in its beak a large fish alive. Mirat, taking advantage of this miracle, sent the fish to Charlemagne, as a proof that the garrison was not without food ; and Charlemagne, knowing that a live fish could not be had on the top of the hill, perceived that it was a miracle : and, finding that Mirat was under the protection of the Lady of Puy, proposed less hard conditions, and that, in place of surrendering the castle to him, it should be surrendered to Notre-Dame du Puy. It is strange that the Lady of St. Pé should have taken so great a fancy to Mirat, who was not a Christian ; but the tradition adds, that he was afterwards baptized.

In the evening I walked to the little lake called *Lac de Lourdes*, which lies about three-quarters of a league from the town. In size and general appearance, and in the scenery by which it is surrounded, it may be aptly compared with Grasmere. I walked round it, gathering a nosegay of lavender and thyme, and returned to the inn at Lourdes after dark, or at least in deep dusk, to do infinite justice to a stew of pigeons and an omelet, and to sleep without the pest of either fleas or musquitos.

Gray morning still hung in the defiles, though the mountain peaks were touched with the earliest sunbeams, when I entered the gorge that leads from Lourdes to Argeles. It is now for the first time that the traveller is enclosed among the Pyrenees ; the plains are left behind, and the beauties that lie around and before him are of a wilder, though of a no less attractive kind. There is always a peculiar pleasure in entering mountains that have long been seen at a distance ; and I felt fully that elevation of spirits which the entrance into a new country generally produces. I had long been accustomed to think of the Pyrenees as a region where I should find that union of the beautiful, the picturesque, and the sublime, which I had looked for in vain in every other country ; and I found that I reasoned justly, in presuming that the southern latitude of the Pyrenees would create that union in greater perfection than it is to be found in Switzerland. But I shall afterwards return to this subject, when I have seen more of the Pyrenees, that I may compare Pyrenean with Alpine scenery.

The defile, in leaving Lourdes, is extremely narrow, allowing scarcely more room than suffices for the Gave, and the road which is constructed by its side. On the left the rocks rise abruptly above the river, their interstices filled with a variety of shrubs ; but, on the other side of the Gave, opposite to the road, the rocks leave little recesses covered with verdure and scattered with fruit-trees. But this defile, which we imagine is conducting us into the most savage scenes, suddenly expands ; the mountains fall back ; and the Eden of Argeles, for so it may truly be called, opens before us. I know of nothing in Switzerland comparable with the

valley of Argeles. More sublime scenes—as picturesque scenes—may be found in many places ; but no scene where the union of beauty and picturesqueness is so perfect—no spot in which the charm of mountain scenery is so mingled with the softest and loveliest features of fertility. But such scenes abound in the Pyrenees ; and I shall, by-and-by, conduct the reader where sublimity, as well as the picturesque, is united with perfect beauty. The valley of Argeles is about eight miles in length, and varies from one to three miles in breadth : and is bounded on both sides by lofty mountains, far up whose slopes fertility disputes the dominion with barrenness. The valley is not a level, but strewed with innumerable eminences, all wooded to the summit, excepting where here and there a bold rock lifts itself pyramidally above the trees ; and many of these eminences are crowned with the gray ruins of ancient castles. All the lower part of the valley is rich in cultivation ; charming meadows lie along the banks of the Gave, which traverses it from one end to the other ; luxuriant crops of grain lie between these and the mountains ; walnut-trees, ash, and fruit-trees, thickly fringe the banks of the river, and are scattered over the fields ; and, besides innumerable pretty houses embowered in wood, and surrounded by verdure, no fewer than ten villages are counted in the short distance of two leagues. It was through this Eden that I walked to Argeles, where I resolved to remain some days, that I might visit the enchanting scenes and various valleys that lie in its neighbourhood. The *auberge* was not tempting ; but the people were civil, and the beds were clean ; and, if the ragouts were not prepared with the *acumen* of Ude, they were good enough for a traveller who never studied him.

Argeles is but a very small town, containing scarcely a thousand inhabitants. These, in all the towns of the *Hautes-Pyrénées*, are composed of two classes—those who are comfortable, and those who are beggars. There is no class of poor persons ; and the reason of this is easily assigned. The land is fertile, and most of it is the property of those who cultivate it. Its produce, therefore, joined to the profits derived from the transit of strangers to the celebrated baths in which the Pyrenees abound, enables all who are moderately industrious to obtain an easy livelihood. But, as I have observed elsewhere, when speaking of Switzerland, wherever there is an influx of strangers, many beggars will be found, because casual bounty produces idleness. So it is found in all the villages that lie in those parts of the Pyrenees through which it is necessary to pass, in order to reach any of the celebrated baths : and the nearer to the baths, the greater is the number of beggars.

The same evening I arrived at Argeles I climbed up the Monticule, which lies immediately behind the town, that I might look down upon the charming scenes I had passed through. Had it been ten times higher than it is, I should have been well repaid for my labour ; the green meadows and the golden harvests formed the most beautiful mosaic. From this point, too, the chain of the higher mountains was visible, their lofty and fantastic peaks resting against the sky ; and all the windings of the Gave might be traced in its capricious course through the paradise which it waters. From this point, also, no fewer than nine ruined castles or fortresses are visible.

These ancient monuments, which now serve but to beautify the landscape, were in former times places of strength, or signal-towers of alarm. These peaceable valleys were then subject to the ravages of the lawless people who descended upon them from Arragon; and it is conjectured, that these towers were used as signal-towers, that the inhabitants of the valleys might be quickly assembled to repel attack—for to them was intrusted the defence of the frontiers.

Each of the days which I spent at Argeles, I dedicated to a separate valley; one day exploring the pastoral beauties of the *extrême de Salles*; another, tracing up to its origin the beautiful valley of *Aucun*; but descriptions of these would be tedious. One peculiarity I particularly noticed. All the mountaineers in this part of the Pyrenees, profoundly venerate the Virgin of Pouey la Hun; and in many different spots in the valleys, I noticed that their devotion had raised altars to this protectress of the mountaineers. Her own peculiar chapel is placed upon a little platform at the foot of the Pic d'Azun; and there, at certain seasons, the inhabitants of the valleys resort to pay their adorations.

CHAPTER XXVI.

ARGELES TO LUZ—AND ST. SAUVEUR.

Route to Pierrefitte—St. Savin—St. Orens—the Defile of Pierrefitte—The Cradle of Luz—Matchless Scenery—St. Sauveur—Expenses and Comforts—The Waters of St. Sauveur.

AFTER spending four delightful days at Argeles, and in its neighbourhood, I left it to walk to Luz. Between Argeles and Pierrefitte, the valley continues as fertile and as beautiful as between Argeles and Lourdes, but it gradually contracts, crowding more beauties into a narrower compass. This journey is full of interest and beauty. About half a league or somewhat less from Argeles, I was attracted by the gray walls of extensive ruins half way up a wooded hill; and immediately afterwards I reached a small village called St. Savin. Both the village and the river take their name from a saint, who, in the eleventh century, inhabited a hermitage upon these mountains; but the ruin is older than St. Savin. It was originally a Roman fort, and was erected into a convent of Benedictines by Charlemagne. On leaving St. Savin, I noticed several ruins upon the side of the mountains on the opposite bank of the river, and I made a detour accordingly. Crossing some meadows, and wading through the Gave, I reached Beaucens, a very small village overlooked by an ancient castle; and a little higher up the mountain, a chapel called Bidouret is situated, a famous rendezvous for the devout, where three women, bound by a voluntary vow, devote themselves to solitude, and to the care of this religious temple. From time immemorial the chapel has been under the guardianship of three women; for when one dies, a third is immediately found to complete the number. I walked up to the chapel, and conversed with the *solitaires*, who were all three old. One of them had lived there thirty-four years. They said they were supremely happy, for they knew they were under the protection of Our Lady.

From Beaucens, I walked up the side of the Gave, passing under the ruin of a monastery called *St. Orens*, situated upon the side of the mountain, and overhanging a deep wooded ravine. This saint was a Spaniard by birth, and, inspired with a love of solitude, he retired at an early age to the Pyrenees, where he rivalled in his austerities the most famous anchorites of his day. Revered for his piety, he was offered the archbishopric of Auch, a distinction which he long refused; till, having stuck a sapling in the earth, and prayed to God to have his will revealed, it immediately became covered with leaves. From St. Orens, I again waded through the Gave to regain the road to Luz, and soon afterwards I reached Pierrefitte. Here, the valley of Argeles branches into two, or rather terminates in two ravines; one, running up to Cauterets, and traversed by the Gave de Pont d'Espagne; the other ascending the main stream of the Gave *par excellence*, to Luz and Gavarnie. Beyond this point, the character of the scenery through which we have passed, entirely changes; the beautiful is lost in the picturesque and sublime. As I purposed passing the mountains from Luz to Cauterets at a future time, I proceeded up the ravine that leads to Luz.

I never look upon any new or peculiar scene, without endeavouring to find a resemblance to some other better known scenes; because in writing a record of a journey, such references and comparisons at once place the scene before the reader. It answers all the purpose of an engraving. *M. Ramond*, in his work, has compared the defile leading from Pierrefitte to Luz, to the valley of the Reuss in Switzerland, for a description of which, I refer the reader to the first part of this journey. The resemblance is considerable; but the valley of the Gave is narrower, wilder, more wooded, and the road is carried at a greater elevation above the river. The gorge of the Eisach, from Mount Brenner to Brixen, in the Tyrol, would afford a more perfect comparison; but both in England and Scotland there are scenes that approach to this valley, though they do not rival it. If the mountains that rise from the valley of Matlock were eight or ten times higher than they are; if the river were more a succession of falls and rapids; and if the road were carried sometimes two or three hundred feet above the bed of the river, and at other times, when obstructed by tremendous precipices, were forced to cross the stream, the valley of Matlock might be compared to the valley of the Gave. In Scotland too, the gorge called Cartlanc Craigs, might be said to resemble this defile, if a road were constructed above the stream half-way up the precipices; if the banks above were twenty times higher; and if the river were three or four times larger.

The weather was intensely hot as I walked from Pierrefitte to Luz; but so deep is the defile, that the sun scarcely ever found its way into it. This road rivals in its excellence the road now constructed up the bank of the Reuss; but in some respects, the nature of the valley of the Gave has created a necessity for more labour. For between Pierrefitte and Luz, the road crosses the river seven times, by marble bridges of one arch, which required no other foundation than the rocks from which the arches spring.

The defile of the Gave, such as I have described

it, extends about three leagues, and in this distance the rise is nearly a thousand feet. The defile then suddenly expands, and ushers the traveller into that spot the most beautiful that I have ever found, either in the Pyrenees or in any other country with whose beauties I have made myself acquainted. This spot cannot be called a valley; it is a hollow among the mountains, from which three valleys, or rather defiles, diverge—one to Barèges, one to Gavarnie, and the third to Pierrefitte, which I have already travelled. I did not stop in the little town of Luz, but went half a mile farther, to the baths of St. Sauveur, where I lingered a fortnight, among the most beautiful, the most romantic, and the most sublime scenes that nature ever brought into fellowship.

It is at Luz that the union of the beautiful, the picturesque, and the sublime, is complete. In no other part of the Pyrenees, and nowhere else in Europe, have I found it. It was here, and here only, that my expectations of Pyrenean scenery were fully and delightfully realised. I must attempt a description of the hollow of Luz, for there is nothing in any other country to which I can liken it. Figure to yourself a cradle, or hollow, about two miles long, and about one mile broad, the sides of this cradle being the slopes of mountains, which rise from six to seven thousand feet above its level. This little hollow, which cannot be called a plain, because it contains within it some little eminences, is an enamel of the freshest and most beautiful hues in nature; the most living green is mingled with the rich golden of the ripe harvest, and the pale straw of the later grains. Oak, ash, fir, and other trees, various in their tints as in their names, are scattered, single or in clumps, over the little fields; and the two Gaves, one from Gavarnie, and the other from Barèges, unite their streams, and flow in graceful curves through this little Eden. But these features of beauty and fertility are not confined to the hollow. Here the charm of a southern climate robs the mountain-sides of their heath and fern, and clothes them with cultivation. Two miles up the mountain-sides, round and round the cradle, the yellow harvest chequers the landscape. At elevations, which, in more northern countries, would be abandoned to the heath and the fir, waves the golden grain; and both the hollow and the slopes of the mountains, as far up as cultivation extends, are scattered with houses, and cottages, and villages. All this is beauty—and of the highest order. I come now to the picturesque. Upon one side of this valley, on an eminence entirely separate from the mountain, stands the town of Luz—its buildings and its church rise out of the wood. And upon another separate eminence, still higher, are seen the extensive ruins of the castle of *Sainte Marie*. At the southern side of the cradle, the defile of the Gavarnie opens—a gorge presenting every feature of the picturesque; the sides are precipitous rocks, hanging thick with wood; a romantic bridge spans the stream; and about four hundred feet above the river, embosomed in oak, and standing upon precipices, is seen the irregular range of buildings which constitute the baths of St. Sauveur. But the features of sublimity are still to be added. These are the lofty summits of the highest of the Pyrenees; jagged rocks and snow-peaks, which, from various spots, and particularly from the ruins of *Sainte Marie*, are seen

rising behind the nearer mountains, and forming a wider and still more sublime amphitheatre.

When I walked up to St. Sauveur, in search of accommodation, I found this difficult to be obtained. About 200 strangers were already there for the benefit of the baths; and all the most agreeable lodgings were occupied. The expense of accommodation at St. Sauveur differs, not according to its excellence, but almost solely according to its situation. The place consists of one very small street; the front-rooms look into the street, and the back-rooms over the Gave, and towards the delightful scenery I have attempted to describe; for one side of the street is built upon the precipice above the river. The expense of those rooms which are in the back part of the house, is therefore double the expense of those which look towards the street. I was beginning to despair of finding a room to my mind, when a French gentleman, who occupied an apartment towards the river, politely offered to cede his apartment: but he was candid enough not to disguise the motive of his apparently civil offer: he said he was tired of his room, and that it was *ennuyeux* to look always at mountains and rivers.

St. Sauveur is in some small degree spoiled by the common fault of all watering-places—it is a little too much *orné*, though certainly less so than most other watering-places. There is, however, some excuse for this, even in a spot where nature needs so little the assistance of art. Every one does not visit medicinal baths with vigorous limbs and robust frames; and some smooth and gently-inclined paths are therefore necessary for the use of invalids. At St. Sauveur, no one in health need complain of the little garden and shrubbery suspended over the Gave, with their zig-zag walks and little temple, because one may cross them in five minutes, and reach the wooden bridge over the river, which leads to wilder scenes. When I visited St. Sauveur, the shrubbery was ornamented by a monument erected by the duchess d'Angoulême; but which has, no doubt, ere this time, refused to testify to the falsehood contained in the inscription upon it:—"Je vois que c'est un bon pays sur lequel le roi peut compter."

How different are the comforts of St. Sauveur from those which are found in an English watering-place! Let all who desire to revel among the charms of nature, visit St. Sauveur; but let no one who values comfort expect to find it there. I paid for one middle-sized room six francs per day, nearly 2*l.* per week, besides numerous extras; a separate sum for plate, another sum for knives and forks, another for linen, another for fire-wood to boil my kettle, and a franc per day for service; amounting in all to little less than 3*l.* per week. And yet I had a ragged table-cloth; two small tables of different heights joined together to spread it upon; one of my three chairs with only three legs; a teapot, cup, and cream-jug, all of a different pattern, and the teapot without a lid; butter brought in a paper; and the blades of the knives falling from the handles unless they were held together. The expense of living is also considerable at St. Sauveur, and indeed at all the baths of the Pyrenees. Meat is 8*d.* per lb.; a fowl, 1*s.*; eggs two for a penny; wine, of the most ordinary kind, 15 sous per bottle; fruit and vegetables both dear, and all kinds of groceries double the sum they cost in England. The usual mode of living here is, to make an agreement

with a *traiteur*, who sends out dinner to the different houses—good or indifferent, according to the price paid for it ; but for less than three francs a tolerable dinner cannot be had—and even for this sum it is *médiocre*. But all these matters are unimportant to those who visit the baths of St. Sauveur. Only invalids, who find in the waters an equivalent for everything ; or travellers like myself, who seek the society of nature, visit St. Sauveur. It is at *Bagnères de Bigorre* where strangers assemble for the purpose of amusement.

The discovery of the medicinal waters of St. Sauveur is of very ancient date ; but it is not much more than half a century since they became a public resort. A certain abbé from the university of Pau, having sought at Barèges the cure of some malady, and finding the waters of Barèges too powerful, tried those of St. Sauveur ; and, finding there the relief he coveted, he published a little treatise upon the salubrity of the waters ; and so the celebrity of St. Sauveur had its origin. The waters of St. Sauveur contain the same principles as those of Barèges, only in smaller proportions. These are sulphur, common salt, natron, calcareous earth, argillaceous earth, and an unctuous matter ; which latter principle hinders the use of the water as an internal application. The temperature of the four springs of St. Sauveur ranges from 26 to 32 of Reaumur. Besides those invalids who, from the less obstinate nature of their disease, have no occasion for a stronger application than the waters of St. Sauveur afford, St. Sauveur is frequented by persons whose complaints require the more powerful waters of Barèges, but who go first to St. Sauveur as a preparatory measure—which is considered safer, and even more effectual, than at once to apply the stronger remedy.

If I were to visit this part of the Pyrenees again, I would reside at Luz, in place of St. Sauveur, for many reasons ; but the two principal of these are, that at Luz one meets no invalids ; and that lodging may be found there at one-half the expense. St. Sauveur is perhaps more exquisitely beautiful ; but the beauties of this neighbourhood are so little scattered, that it is almost a matter of indifference from what point one starts in search of them. There is one great convenience—at least so it might be esteemed by many—to be had at St. Sauveur and at Luz—the most excellent little horses, pretty, gentle, and sure-footed, may be had at the easy rate of 2s. 6d. per day ; or a three hours' ride costs only 1s. 3d.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE PYRENEES.

Situation and Extent of the Pyrenees—Height of the Summits—Mines—Valleys of the Pyrenees, and their Productions—Roads—Comparison between the Scenery of Switzerland and the Pyrenees, and Reasons why the Pyrenees are little visited.

I WILL dedicate this chapter to a few general statements respecting the Pyrenean range, and to some account of its inhabitants.

The Pyrenees are situated between 42 and 44 degrees north latitude. Their general direction lies from east south-east to west north-west. The chain commences on its eastern flank, at a little distance from *Cap de Creux*, to the south of *Port*

Vendres on the Mediterranean, and touches the Atlantic at Cape de Figuera, near Fontarabia, in the Spanish province of Guipuscoa. But although it is only the range of mountains which separates France from Spain that has obtained the name of Pyrenean, the same chain continues westward, until it sinks into the ocean at Cape Finisterre, in Galicia. The mountains of Biscay, which separate that province from Navarre and Old Castile, and the mountains which divide the Asturias from Leon, are all parts of the same range that rises out of the Mediterranean. The length of the chain which separates France from Spain, is nearly 270 miles ; and its greatest breadth, from Tarbes to Balbastro, in Arragon, is sixty-nine miles. At both extremities of the chain, the breadth becomes less.

The height of the Pyrenean range is as various as that of the Alpine chains. It is in the centre of the range that the highest elevations are found—the height gradually declining as it approaches either sea. The names of the departments, indeed, partly point out this ; for the central part of the chain is called “ High Pyrenees ;” while the extension of the range east and west is denominated “ Low Pyrenees,” and “ Eastern Pyrenees.” In each of these lower ranges, however, there is one commanding mountain—the Canigou, in the Eastern Pyrenees, and the Pic du Midi du Pau, in the Low Pyrenees. The elevation of the High Pyrenees may be said to range from 7000 to 11,000 feet—exceeding, therefore, in altitude, any of the Alpine ranges, excepting the *Oberland Bernois*, and the insulated summits of Mount Blanc and Mount Rosa. I shall note down, in this place, the altitude of some of the principal mountains in the *Hautes Pyrénées*, that the reader may be able to form some idea of the relative elevation of Alpine and Pyrenean ranges.

	Feet.
Pic d'Arriou-Grand	10,086
Pic de Vignemale	10,326
Mont Perdu	10,482
Pic de Nouvielle	9,890
Pic du Midi de Bigorre	9,721

N.—There are many Pics du Midi among the Pyrenees ; but the Pic du Midi de Bigorre is generally considered the Pic du Midi *par excellence*—partly because it has been more frequently measured, and partly because it is somewhat higher than its rivals. I have stated the measurement laid down by M. H. Reboul. M. Dangos and M. Vidal make it somewhat higher ; and M. Ramond a little lower.

	Feet.
Pic Long	9,936
Pic de Biedous	9,990
Pic de Grabioulles	9,900
Pic Poseto	10,584
La Maladetta (in Spain) (<i>accursed</i>)	10,922

N.—This is the highest mountain in the Pyrenees.

Besides these mountains, there are eight others, exceeding 9000 feet. There are, therefore, in the *Hautes Pyrénées*, one mountain within a few feet of 11,000 high, four exceeding 10,000, and nine exceeding 9000 feet in elevation. Now, upon referring to the topography of Switzerland, it will be seen, that there is no concentration of so many elevated mountains. The *Oberland Bernois* includes six mountains exceeding 10,000, and four of these reaching 12,000 feet ; and the Pennine Alps con-

tain three mountains exceeding 13,000 feet ! but there is no concentration of summits equalling in altitude those of the *Hautes Pyrénées*.

Naturalists recognise, in the materials of the Pyrenees, three kinds of rock—granite, schist, and calcareous stone. Iron, copper, zinc, and lead, are all found in the Pyrenees ; but, as it would appear, not in sufficient abundance to repay the labour of working mines, with the exception of iron. We learn, however, from history, that the Pyrenees have not been always so niggardly ; for it is recorded, that the Phœnicians, and after them the Carthaginians and the Romans, extracted great riches from these mountains. The only indication of gold in the Pyrenees is in the sands of some rivulets ; and silver is not found excepting along with lead or copper. The veins of marble are numerous and valuable. One, a white marble, is said to equal the marbles of Carnara ; and for its discovery, a gold medal was some years ago adjudged to M. du Mége, by the Society for the Encouragement of National Industry. The baron Dietrich has enumerated, in that part of the Pyrenees lying between the sea and Foix, ninety-eight mines of copper, a hundred and eight mines of iron, and ninety-nine mines of lead. The extent of country examined by the baron Dietrich, does not comprehend above one-fourth part of the Pyrenees.

I shall at present confine myself to the *Hautes Pyrénées*, on many accounts the most interesting part of the chain, and venture a few general observations, descriptive of their principal features. The *Hautes Pyrénées* contain three chains of valleys, running north and south, each watered by a river descending from the mountains into the plains of France. These are, the chain which is watered by the Gave de Pau, consisting of the valleys of Lourdes, Argeles, Luz, and Gavarnie ; the chain watered by the Adour, including the valleys of Campan and St. Marie ; and the chain watered by the Garonne, which descends from Bagnères de Luchon to St. Gaudens. Besides these, the river *Neste* flows north and south, descending from the Pyrenees by Arreau and Sarancolin, until it joins its waters with those of the Garonne ; but, excepting the valley of Aure, the *Neste* traverses ravines rather than valleys. These are all the valleys contained within the *Hautes Pyrénées*, excepting a few lateral valleys, such as those of Barèges, Aucun, and Heas ; but these are also ravines, not valleys. The whole of the intermediate space between these valleys is mountain, containing no doubt many spots, which, in common parlance, might be called mountain-valleys, but which are only hollows, watered perhaps by scanty rivulets, and susceptible of but very trifling cultivation. The only Pyrenean valleys in which grain is the staple produce, are those of Lourdes, Argeles, Luz, Campan, and Aure. In all the lesser valleys, and even in the narrowest defiles, some grain is reared ; but the Pyrenees may be called a pasture district, this so greatly exceeds the produce of any other description. There are only three roads that traverse the Pyrenees—I do not mean bridle-roads, but carriage-roads. These are, the road from Tarbes to Luz, from Tarbes to Bagnères, and from St. Gaudens to Bagnères de Luchon. All the communications running east and west are only bridle-roads, or foot-paths. None of the carriage-roads leading into the Pyrenees pass through the mountains into Spain, though pedes-

trians, horsemen, and cattle, may enter Arragon at several points.

If I were asked, whether I preferred the scenery of the Pyrenees or of Switzerland, I should feel myself at a loss for a reply ; and yet, although in many respects essentially different, they will doubtless admit of a comparison. They have each their own peculiar charms ; and it will depend upon the peculiar turn of the traveller's mind, to which of the two he accords the preference. Scenes of savage sublimity are more frequently to be met in Switzerland than in the Pyrenees. In the size, too, of the rivers which traverse Switzerland, it possesses a manifest superiority ; for the Adour or the Gave will bear no comparison with the Limmat, the Aar, or the Reuss—still less with the Rhine or the Rhone. The more northern latitude of Switzerland also adds to its features of sublimity ; for the same elevation that, in the Pyrenees, is covered with coarse grass or stones, would, in Switzerland, be the resting-place of eternal snows. I confess, however, that I have sometimes doubted, when standing in the deep hollows and narrow ravines of the Pyrenees, and looking upward at the dark mountain-tops, whether these gray rocks, and dun and dusky heights, were not more allied to sublimity than the smooth sparkling snows of the *silver horns* on the *Monk*. Darkness has generally been considered a more natural origin of the sublime than light ; and may we not therefore infer, that the dark mountain, if of equal elevation with the snow-clad mountain, ought to produce a higher sense of sublimity ? It must also be recollected, in considering the relative sublimity of the Alps and the Pyrenees, that the slight inferiority, in the altitude of the summits of the latter above the level of the sea, is more than compensated by the lower elevation of the level from which the mountain immediately springs. None of the highest Swiss mountains spring from the lakes, which are of comparatively low elevation, but from the upper valleys ; and these are so elevated, that the real altitude of the mountains above the level of these valleys is very different from their height above the level of the sea. The elevation of the valley of Grindelwald, for example, is between 3000 or 4000 feet, and the Engadine is even higher. But the village of Luz is considerably under 2000 feet above the level of the sea. Grip, at the foot of the Pic du Midi de Bigorre, is 500 feet lower ; and the village of Gavarnie, although greatly more elevated than either of these, is yet nearly 1000 feet lower than Grindelwald. To the real as well as apparent elevation, therefore, of the mountains which rise from these spots, must be added the difference between the elevations from which they spring, and the elevations from which the Swiss mountains rise.

If, however, the palm in sublimity should, notwithstanding, be due to Switzerland, the impartial adjuster of the claims of the Alps and Pyrenees must call to the aid of the latter, that union of the beautiful and the picturesque with the sublime, which I have already explained when speaking of Luz, and which is doubtless found in far greater perfection in the Pyrenees than in Switzerland. One peculiar feature in the scenery of the Pyrenees I have not yet mentioned—a feature that, in a comparison of scenery, is of great importance. Every one who has travelled through Switzerland,

knows that the wood which chiefly clothes the mountains, is pine and fir; and that the other forest-trees are only found in the lower valleys, and on the banks of the lakes and rivers; but, in the Pyrenees, fir is not the predominating wood—it only mingles with others. The mountain sides are covered with oak, more than with pine; and this, particularly in autumn, when the hues of approaching decay have touched the forests, gives a prominent advantage to the scenery of the Pyrenees.

But I must not forget to advance, in favour of Switzerland, the important fact, that the Pyrenees are destitute, or almost destitute of lakes. These, next to its mountains, are the great charm of Switzerland, and must, I suspect, cast the balance in favour of that country. In truth, the traveller, who is desirous of seeing all the various charms of mountain scenery, must visit both Switzerland and the Pyrenees. He must not content himself with believing, that, having seen Switzerland, he has seen all that mountain scenery can offer. This would be a false belief. He who has traversed Switzerland throughout, has indeed become familiar with scenes which cannot perhaps be equalled in any other country in the world; and he need not travel in search of finer scenes of the same order. But scenes of a different order—of another character—await him in the Pyrenees; and, until he has looked upon these, he has not enjoyed all the charms which mountain scenery is capable of disclosing to the lover of nature.

But however worthy of attracting the foot of the traveller are the valleys of the Pyrenees, these will probably never be the frequent resort of the tourist, or divide with Switzerland the choice of the traveller; because access to the Pyrenees is more difficult,—and because there accommodation for the traveller is worse than indifferent. To reach the Pyrenees, one must either travel five hundred miles from Paris, through an uninteresting country, or arrive at Bourdeaux by sea; neither of which places could be said to enter into a journey of pleasure: whereas, in going to Switzerland, one has only to cross the Netherlands to Cologne, and step into a boat. And besides, Switzerland is the high road to Italy. Travellers would go to Italy even if there were no Switzerland; and, therefore, Switzerland receives the visits of the Italian tourist, as well as of those who visit it solely on its own account. But the Pyrenees cannot be “included” in a tour, or taken on the way to some other place. The traveller who visits the Pyrenees must journey there *express*, unless he purposes visiting Spain; and, even in that case, the *Hautes Pyrénées* lie more than a hundred and fifty miles out of his way, whether he enter Spain by Perpignan or by Bayonne.

As for the comparative comforts which the traveller may expect in visiting Switzerland or the Pyrenees, the great inferiority of the latter, in this respect, will always prevent the ingress of strangers. Even if nothing were to be seen in Switzerland, one might be recompensed for a journey there, by the unapproached excellence of the inns. Comfort, civility, abundance, cleanliness, good fires if wanted, excellent beds, unexceptionable cookery, bring the Swiss inns as near perfection as possible. But the very reverse of all this is found in the Pyrenees. With the exception of one or two hotels at *Bagnères de Bigorre*, the whole of the Pyrenees does not contain one really good hotel; and, whatever may be

the attractions of a country, it will never be much visited so long as the accommodation for travellers is bad. What is it but the wretchedness of the Spanish Ventas, that has shut out a knowledge of Spain from the rest of Europe?

By a certain class of people, indeed, the Pyrenees are visited—by invalids, who are unable to stir far from the spot where they have gone in search of health; and Bagnères de Bigorre is visited by that class of persons who make delicate health (not positive disease) an excuse for seeking amusement. But Bagnères is not in the Pyrenees, or at least it is upon their outskirts; and those who reside at Bagnères seldom make longer excursions than allow a return to the comfortable dinners at *Frescati's*.

With the exception of those visiting the Pyrenees for the sake of the baths, I met only one English traveller. He had come from Paris; and the motive that influenced his journey was singular enough. He said he wished to reach some of the passes where he might have a view into Spain, and walk a little way within the boundary, that he might be able to say he had been there. “And why not extend your journey into the country?” I asked. “Oh,” says he, “nobody goes there.” This reply was the first thing that led me to entertain the project of travelling through Spain—a project which, in the following year, I carried into effect.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE INHABITANTS OF THE PYRENEES.

Manner of Life of the Pyrenean Mountaineer—His Winter and Summer Habitations—His Industry—Dress—Hospitality—Morals—Short Summary of the History and present State of the Cagots.

EXCLUDING the inhabitants of the towns, the mountaineers of the Pyrenees are shepherds, and at the same time proprietors both of land and of cattle; but their condition is far inferior to that of their brothers of the Alps. This is chiefly attributable to the small supply of milk yielded by the cattle of the Pyrenees, in comparison with those of the Alps, a fact that must arise from the less abundant and less nutritious vegetation of the Pyrenees. It is difficult, therefore, for the inhabitant of these mountains to improve his condition. His dairy is either consumed by his own family, or its produce is taken to the nearest baths, to purchase the necessaries of life. He has no superfluous produce to convert into cheese, like the Swiss peasant.

The Pyrenean mountaineer is a patient and industrious man; but it is his lot to maintain a constant struggle with the *besoin de vivre*. During the winter, he lives with his family in the village or hamlet of that valley in which his lot has been cast; but, when snows pass away from the mountains, he removes to a cabin in one of the upper valleys, where his cattle have been left during the winter, under the care of a single herd. Around these summer-habitations, he and his family cultivate the ground, to insure against the winter a provision both for the cattle and for themselves. Warm nooks are selected, which are cleared, and sown with rye or other grain. A little potato-land is also allotted; but his chief care is directed towards the meadows, the produce of which is intended for the nourish-

ment of the cattle during winter. These summer-habitations are always selected in some of those upper valleys, where a rivulet may be commanded for the purpose of irrigation, and where the slopes lie conveniently for taking advantage of it. Innumerable small grooves are made in the land, and the water is conveyed at pleasure to one part or another, by merely turning the course with a flat stone or a slate. While the mountaineer and his family are thus employed during the summer months, in providing for the necessities of the winter, the cattle are not permitted to feed within the range of the irrigated meadows, but are driven up into the highest parts of the mountains; and the man who accompanies them constructs a shelter with stones and furze. I shall afterwards have occasion to lead the reader into some of these habitations. It must be a wretched existence that of the shepherd, who, when the winter approaches, and drives the family into the lower valley, retires into the cabin along with his cattle, there to pass alone the dreary days and nights of winter, surrounded by snows and tempests. It is thus the mountaineer of the Pyrenees spends his days among scenes in which he feels a mountaineer's pride; and contrives, with labour, to support himself and his family in independence. But it sometimes happens, that all his industry and precautions are unable to preserve him from the chances to which the climate of a mountainous country expose his fortune. Late and deep snows have often buried the summer-habitations during so long a period, that the stock of provision for the cattle has been exhausted, and the cattle perishing; the herd is also necessarily cut off from nourishment. Another lesser calamity is of yearly recurrence. The soil which is allotted to the production of grain is carried away by the winter torrents, leaving only the bare rock beneath; but the industry and patient toil of the mountaineer supply this loss. He carries soil in baskets from the lower valley to form again his little arable possession, and to rear upon it the rye or the flax that help to support his family during the winter, or to furnish them with winter's employment. A Pyrenean peasant who possesses fifteen cows is considered an opulent man; but few possess so great a number.

The winter-habitation of the Pyrenean consists of only two apartments. The furniture is limited to articles of mere necessity; and in the greater number of cottages, the windows are without glass. Externally, these houses seem better than they really are. They are generally roofed with slate; and this gives to them an air of respectability which is rarely confirmed by a visit to the interior.

The inhabitant of the Pyrenean valley is, in every thing, more primitive than the Alpine mountaineer. In his nourishment and dress, he retains the pastoral simplicity; and, I might add, in his morals too. Bread of rye or barley, and milk, and a sort of paste made of Indian corn, are the habitual diet of the Pyrenean peasant; and those who are in comparatively easy circumstances, salt some kid's flesh, and sometimes a pig, for high days and holidays. In comparison with the comforts which a peasant of Grindelwald or the Grisons draws around him, those of the Pyrenean peasant scarcely raise him above the grade of a needy man; for not only are the articles of his subsistence of the simplest kind, but even in the quantity of these is he limited.

In the dress of the Pyrenean peasant of both

sexes, the usages of Spain have been adopted. The men cover their heads with a small bonnet, and their bodies with a large cloak, which descends to the very feet. The women throughout all the Pyrenean valleys are clothed in the same way as at Tarbes; they either wear the capulet, or short hood of scarlet—or the capucin, a cloak of black—both thrown over the head and shoulders; and most commonly they have sandals upon the feet, excepting in the mountains, where the peasant generally walks with naked feet. The mountaineers of the Pyrenees are a handsomer race than the Alpine peasantry; but the dress of the former is less adapted to display the figure.

The besetting sin of the Swiss—greed, I have never found among the Pyrenees. The intercourse of the mountaineer with strangers has hitherto been too limited to dull his natural feelings of justice, kindness, and generosity; and I have generally found it difficult to prevail upon an inhabitant of a Pyrenean cabin, poor as he is, to accept any remuneration for his hospitalities. Crime of every description is rare in the Pyrenees; theft is very unfrequent, and murder altogether unknown. No traveller need hesitate to traverse every part of the French Pyrenees alone and unarmed.

In speaking of the inhabitants of the Pyrenees, I must not overlook that extraordinary race, which has baffled the historian in his vain endeavours to account for its origin, and which has furnished matter of interest both to the novelist and the traveller. It is probable, that many readers of this volume may never have heard of the *Cagots*, and that others may know only of the existence of such a race; and although, in presenting some details respecting this extraordinary people, I disclaim any pretension to novelty or original elucidation, yet, having travelled among their valleys, and seen their huts and themselves, I feel that it would be an unpardonable omission, were I to omit availing myself of even the common sources of information, in order that I may include, in this volume, a short account of the *Cagots*.

The *Cagots* are found in several of the more secluded valleys of the Pyrenees, particularly in the lateral valleys that branch from the valley of Barèges, Luchon, and Aure. So sedulously do the *Cagots* keep apart from the rest of their fellow-men, that one might travel through the Pyrenees without seeing an individual of the race, unless inquiry were specially directed towards them. It was not until I expressed a desire to the guide who attended me in my excursions from St. Sauveur, to see one of the race of *Cagots*, that my curiosity was gratified. This was one of the lateral valleys that runs to the right, between Barèges and the Tourmalet, a valley traversed by no road, and which only leads to the *lac d'escaïbous*. The *Cagot* is known by his sallow and unhealthy countenance—his expression of stupidity—his want of vigour, and relaxed appearance—his imperfect articulation—and, in many cases, his disposition to *goutres*. If we were to credit the assertion of the novelist, we should reject one of these characteristics, or at least say, that the stupidity of the *Cagot* is only apparent. It is possible, that a knowledge of his degraded condition, and the contempt, if not aversion, with which he is regarded, as well as the total seclusion in which the family of the *Cagot* lives, may have their effect in impressing upon his countenance an

expression of humility, distrust, and timidity, that might be mistaken for intellectual deficiency. But the observations of all those who have studied with the greatest advantages the peculiarities of this race, concur in allotting to the *Cagots* an inferior share of mental capacity.

The days of *Cagot* persecution have passed away ; but tradition has preserved a recollection of the degradation and sufferings of the race, and has even, in some small degree, handed down along with the history of these persecutions some vestiges of the prejudices which gave rise to them. From time immemorial, the *Cagot* families have inhabited the most retired valleys, and the most miserable habitations. The race has always been regarded as infamous, and the individuals of it outcasts from the family of mankind. They were excluded from all rights of citizens ; they were not permitted to have arms, or to exercise any other trade than that of wood-cutters. And, in more remote times, they were obliged to bear upon their breasts a red mark, the sign of their degradation. So far, indeed, was aversion towards this unfortunate people carried, that they entered the churches by a separate door, and occupied seats allotted to the rejected caste. The persecutions have long ceased ; and time and its attendant improvements have diminished the prejudices, and weakened the feelings of aversion with which they were formerly regarded. But they are still the race of *Cagots*—still a separate family—still outcasts—a people who are evidently no kindred of those who live around them, but the remnant of a different and more ancient family.

It is impossible for the traveller, still less the philosopher, to know of the existence of this caste, without endeavouring to pierce the clouds that hang over its origin, and the causes of its persecution. But it is at least doubtful, whether any of these inquiries have thrown true light upon the subject. History, indeed, records the peculiar persecutions of which they were the subjects ; and proves, that these persecutions, pursuing a despised and hated race, were directed against the same people, whether found in Brittany, La Vendée, Auvergne, or the Pyrenees. We find the parliament of Rennes interfering in their favour, to obtain them the right of sepulture. In the eleventh century, we find the *Cagots* of Bearn disposed of by testament as slaves. The priests would not admit them to confession ; and, by an ancient act of Bearn, it was resolved that the testimony of seven of them should be equivalent to the evidence of one free citizen ; and even so late as the fifteenth century, they were forbidden to walk the streets barefooted, in case of infection being communicated to the stones ; and upon their clothes was impressed the foot of a goose. Yet all these marks of hatred are unaccounted for. No record has descended to us, by which the cause of this persecution may be explained ; and we are left to guess at the origin of that reprobation which has followed this rejected people from the earliest times, and in whatever country they have been found.—M. Ramond, in his disquisition upon this subject, says, “The *Cagots* of all France have a common origin. The same event has confined them all in the most remote and desert spots ; and, whatever this event may be, it must be such as will account for every thing—it must be great and general—must have impressed at once upon the whole of France the same sentiments of hatred—have marked

its victims with the seal of the same reprobation—and have disgraced the race, and all its subdivisions, with the opprobrium of a name which every where awakened the same ideas of horror and contempt.” This is just reasoning ; but we are as far as ever from the event which has fixed hatred and opprobrium upon the dispersed race of *Cagots*. Some have held, that they are the descendants of lepers, and, as such, exiled from the society of others ; but to this, M. Ramond replies, that although lepers have been exiled or confined, there is no record of their having ever been sold or disposed of by testament. Others have contended, that the *Cagots* are the descendants of the ancient Gauls, brought into a state of slavery by the people who drove out the Romans ; but to this hypothesis, also, M. Ramond answers that, under the dominion of the Goths, the Gaul and the Roman were never reduced to a state of slavery ; and he rightly adds, that the tyranny merely of a conqueror enslaving the vanquished, would not account for the origin of the *Cagot* ; because the feeling with which the *Cagot* has been regarded, has not been merely that of contempt, but of aversion, and even horror. But the explanation attempted by M. Ramond seems to me to be alike inefficient to explain the origin of this hatred and persecution. He says, “Such victory as may have terminated the conflict of two nations equally ferocious and inflamed against each other by a train of rivalry—the invasion of one barbarian punished by another barbarian—the reaction of the oppressed against the oppressor—at last completely disarmed—bloody combats—disastrous defeats—such only could have been the sources of the hatred and fury which could have given rise to miseries like those which we behold.” But it appears to me, that such events as M. Ramond supposes would lead only to oppression, and perhaps slavery, but not to aversion or horror ; and that even the deadliest feelings of hatred, engendered from such causes, would not have out-lived the generation which first imbibed them. But even the explanation of M. Ramond, if satisfactory, would still leave the origin of *Cagots* and *Cagot* persecution as dark as ever ; for, among the numerous hordes of barbarians who pushed one another from their conquests, and among the endless and confused strife of battles which destroyed, mingled, and separated the different races, how can we determine, whether Alans, or Suevi, or Vandals, or Huns, or Goths, or Franks, or Moors, or Saracens, were that peculiar race, whose remnant has descended to these days with the mark of persecution and hatred stamped upon it ?

It would prove to most readers an uninteresting detail, were I to go over the arguments of M. de Gebelin, who contends that the *Cagots* are the remains of the Alans ; or of M. Ramond, who believes them to be a remnant of the Goths. Nothing approaching to certainty, scarcely even bordering upon probability, appears in the reasoning of either. The *Cagots* may have been Alans, or they may have been Goths ; but there seems to be nearly the same reason for believing them the remnant of one as of the other people. If this miserable and proscribed race should, indeed, be all that remains of the Gothic conquerors of half the world, what a lesson for pride is there !

I cannot conclude this hasty sketch better than in the words of M. Ramond, who, whatever his philosophical powers may be, is evidently a kind-

hearted and observing man, and who possessed the best of all opportunities for judging of the people which were the object of his inquiry.

"I have seen," says he, "some families of these unfortunate creatures. They are gradually approaching the villages from which prejudice has banished them. The side-doors by which they were formerly obliged to enter the churches are useless (M. Ramond might have said shut up, for so they are in general), and some degree of pity mingles, at length, with the contempt and aversion which they formerly inspired; yet I have been in some of their retreats, where they still fear the insults of prejudice, and await the visits of the compassionate. I have found among them the poorest beings perhaps that exist upon the face of the earth. I have met with brothers, who loved each other with that tenderness which is the most pressing want of isolated men. I have seen among them women, whose affection had a somewhat in it of that submission and devotion which are inspired by feebleness and misfortune. And never, in this half-annihilation of those beings of my species, could I recognise, without shuddering, the extent of the power which we may exercise over the existence of our fellow—the narrow circle of knowledge and of enjoyment within which we may confine him—the smallness of the sphere to which we may reduce his usefulness."

CHAPTER XXIX.

BAREGES—THE VALLEYS OF BASTAN AND CAMPAN.

The Valley of Barèges—Devastations of the Gave de Bastan—Barèges, its Inhabitants and its Waters—Journey to the Lake d'Oncet—Old Usages—The Milk of the Pyrenees—Mountain Scenes—The Lake d'Oncet—Mountaineers—Difficult Path—The Tourmalet—Character of the Valley of Campan.

AFTER having been a few days at St. Sauveur, I left it upon a visit to *Barèges*, the *Pic du Midi*, and *Bagnères*. My intention was to breakfast at Barèges, to ascend the *Pic du Midi*, and descend on the other side to Bagnères before night. The guide assured me this was possible; but, as the distance and fatigue of such a journey would necessarily be great, I took his advice in hiring a horse, to carry me as far as the nature of the road would permit.

I left St. Sauveur at five o'clock on a still, gloomy morning, which to me appeared rather threatening; but the guide assured me the day would turn out fine; and I, of course, trusted to his superior knowledge in such matters. Passing through Luz, and round the *montieule* upon which stands the castle of *St. Marie*, I entered the valley of Barèges, or, as it is more generally called, of Bastan. The first part of the road is agreeably shaded by fine linden-trees, and sloping meadows rise from the valley; but about a mile from Luz all trace of beauty and verdure is lost; and we perceive, from the signs of desolation every where around, that we are in one of those valleys where the inhabitants vainly strive against the elements, and where it may be said of them, as of the inhabitants of the *Valais*, "their lives are in their hands." There is not, perhaps in Europe, a more devastating torrent than the Gave de Bastan. Its ravages are every year attended by the most frightful effects; and all the

barriers and bulwarks which fear and industry have contrived, have proved ineffectual against its inroads. The road, which is every spring constructed between Luz and Barèges, for the benefit of the baths, is every winter destroyed. The road and its bulwarks are alike hurried down the impetuous torrent; and if the fall of an avalanche chokes up the bed of the river, the most frightful loss of life and property is the consequence. It sometimes happens even that a summer-storm in the mountains produces almost the effect of a winter-storm. Such had taken place a few weeks before I visited Barèges; and, in several places, more than half the breadth of the road had been swept into the bed of the torrent, and labourers were busily employed in reconstructing it.

But notwithstanding the gloomy and desolate character of the valley, it was a lively scene as I passed up towards Barèges; for the road was thronged with country-people going and coming from market—some from the lower valleys, carrying fruit and vegetables to the baths of Barèges—others from the mountains, carrying thither milk and butter, the produce of their dairy. In the neighbourhood of Barèges, nothing is produced from the soil. The devastating Gave de Bastan, and the mountain-rivulets that feed it, leave nothing but the houses; and even these are often in danger.

Barèges lies about two leagues from Luz. On the spot where it is built, the valley is so narrow, as only to leave room, and scant room, for the street, one side of which is threatened by the Gave, and the other by the mountains that hang over it. I reached Barèges on an early breakfast, and was glad to take refuge in one of the hotels from the unpleasant sight which the street of Barèges presented, thronged as it was with invalids and cripples.

The baths of Barèges are the most celebrated in Europe for the cure of rheumatism, scrofula, gout, and, above all, the effects of wounds. It is in consequence of this latter property that Barèges is so much frequented by military. To these the baths are administered gratis, and not fewer than 800 *militaires* are domiciled at Barèges every summer. The virtues of the medicinal waters of Barèges had not risen into celebrity previous to the reign of Louis XIV., when Madame de Maintenon visited them along with the *Duc de Maine*. In 1735, the attention of the French government was directed towards them; and during the ensuing ten years, the baths and all their conveniences were constructed. The bath allotted to the poor, is distinct from the other baths; it is a subterranean pond, the roof of which serves for a promenade. The medicinal springs of Barèges are insufficient for the demands upon them; and, therefore, in the distribution of the waters, which are all under the inspection of government officers, the utmost regularity is practised, and the strictest justice dealt out.

Barèges is only inhabited during the summer months, or the season of the waters, as it is called. This season commences in the end of May, and ends in the beginning of October. July and August are the months in which there is the greatest concourse of strangers; and there are then not fewer in general than 800 persons, exclusive of those who are in the military hospital. During the winter, a few keepers are appointed by government to reside in the place, in order to prevent the occupation of the

houses by the mountaineers. But it not unfrequently happens, that when the torrent or avalanche has made a breach in a habitation, it becomes the domicile of a bear or a wolf. Some parts of the street are every winter destroyed, particularly the house of chief resort, the *Café au Vauxhall*, which is exposed to the torrent, and is every spring rebuilt.

The natural temperature of the waters of Barèges reaches forty of Reaumur, and the different baths are tempered at pleasure. The water is remarkably limpid, and both smells and tastes disagreeably.

In the year 1762, the whole of the Barèges was menaced with destruction. The Lake d'Oncet, situated between 6000 and 7000 feet high, below the highest summit of the Pic du Midi, overflowed its limits, and pouring with irresistible force into the bed of the Gave de Bastan, carried desolation before it. The catastrophe took place on the night of the 4th of June. Seventeen houses were swept away, which then formed the greater part of that side of the street which flanks the river. Since that time, a strong buttress has been raised for the protection of the town; but the storms of every winter prove the insufficiency of human power, in a contest with nature.

I left Barèges about half-past seven, to ascend the Pic du Midi. I followed the steep and narrow path that skirts the side of the mountains, on the southern bank of the Gave—sometimes ascending many hundred feet above the river, sometimes descending to its brink, and crossing two naked defiles, one the defile of Lienz, the other that of Escabous. The torrents which rush down these defiles are as impetuous and almost as large as the Gave de Bastan, which they join; and the bursting of a storm over the *Neou Vieille*, is almost as disastrous in its effects as when it bursts over the Pic du Midi. From Barèges, all through the valley of Bastan towards the Tourmalet, there is not a single habitation on the right acclivity of the mountains. These would be exposed to certain destruction from the torrent and the avalanche. On the opposite side of the river, a little scanty verdure and a few huts may here and there be seen, perched upon those spots which are above the reach of the water-courses; while higher up, among the alpine hollows and slopes, are thinly scattered the summer-habitations of the shepherds.

Emerging from the narrow valley of Barèges, I found myself in a wide hollow, where the different feeders of the Gave du Bastan meet, and unite into the one stream that flows past Barèges. The bridges which carry the paths across the streams had all been swept away a few weeks before; and it was therefore necessary to ford them. From this hollow, or basin, several of the wildest pastoral valleys of the Pyrenees branch to the right, bounded by the summits of the Campana, Coubière, and Espade. Formerly, and occasionally even to this day, these valleys have been the scenes of a petty border warfare, carried on for the right of pasturage—sometimes between the shepherds of one valley against another valley—and sometimes the shepherds of Gascony and Bearn against those of the Spanish valleys. With reference to these disputes, a singular usage is observed at this day in the valley of Barnetons, an account of which is thus given by the author of "*Essais Historiques sur le Bearn*:"

"Chaque année, le 13 de Juin, les jurats*, des sept communautés Espagnoles de Boncal, et sept jurats de Barnetons, avec un notaire, se rendent, chacun de leur côté sur le sommet des Pyrénées, au lieu nommé Arna, lieu qui sépare le Bearn de l'Espagne. Tous sont armés des piques, et les députés de chaque nation s'arrêtent, chacun sur leur territoire. Les Espagnols proposent aux Béarnais de renouveler la paix; les Béarnais y consentent, et posent leurs piques sur la ligne de démarcation. Les Espagnols placent leurs piques en croix sur celles des Béarnais, et le fer est tourné vers le Bearn. Ensuite Boncalais et Bernais, tous mettent la main sur la croix formée par les piques. Le notaire lit une formule de serment, et les députés de part et de l'autre répètent cinq fois, *Paix a bant* (Paix à l'avenir). Après ce serment, les députés se mêlent ensemble, et se parlent comme amis. Cependant on voit sortir de bois trente hommes de Barnetons, partagés en trois bandes, conduisant trois vaches exactement pareilles; ils les placent tour-à-tour sur les limites, la moitié du corps en Espagne, et l'autre en Bearn; les députés de Boncal les examinent et les reçoivent. Trente habitants de Boncal viennent les prendre. S'ils les laissent échapper, elles sont perdues pour eux, et les Béarnais ne sont pas tenus de les rendre. Après cette cérémonie, les Espagnols traitent les Béarnais en pain, vin, et jambon; et la fête est terminée par un marché de bétail qui se tient dans le territoire de Bearn."

Several small huts are situated near the foot of the mountains; and as I passed by their doors, two or three ragged children ran out, to offer me milk. I had breakfasted but scantily at Barèges; and as I could not expect to find any refreshment until night, I willingly accepted the offer, and led my horse into the little court. The milk was brought in a large iron goblet; and a flat wooden ladle, such as is used in the Alps, was handed to me, with the assistance of which I made a second hearty breakfast.

It is generally said, that the milk of the Pyrenees is inferior to that of the Alps. I can only say, that I never drank more delicious milk in Switzerland than I drank this morning. The same yellow flower, which in Switzerland covers the Alpine valleys, and to which the Swiss attribute the excellence of their milk, is seen also, in almost equal abundance, in the Pyrenees. On this and on many future occasions, I drank delicious milk in the Pyrenean valleys; and I do not believe that it is inferior in quality to the milk of Switzerland. It is the scanty supply afforded by the cattle of the Pyrenees, that has led to the error; for the supply being insufficient for the demand during the season of the waters, it is of course adulterated, and so gets a bad name.

From the point at which I had now arrived, I left altogether the trace of any road, striking up the acclivity to the left towards the upper valleys, from which rises the Pic du Midi. During the first hour we passed through pasture-land, where some summer-habitations of the mountaineers were visible, and some meadows laid out. Higher up we left these, and found ourselves among the scattered

* The *Jurats* are perpetual magistrates, created by the Bernese in 1720. They judged, without appeal, all disputes either between the inhabitants themselves, or between the prince and his subjects.

flocks that had been sent beyond the reach of the meadows. Here I was delighted with the charming carpet of the slopes and upper platforms. All these acclivities I found covered with the plants and flowers I had seen in Switzerland, with the addition of box, which, in the lower parts of the Pyrenees, forms in most places a complete underwood. Still higher, and just before entering the narrow upper valley that leads to the Pic, the slopes and platforms presented a singular and beautiful appearance. They were entirely covered with the large blue pendent leaves, and yellow eyes of the iris, which grew in millions over all this part of the mountain.

Till now, the Pic du Midi had not been visible. It is long hidden by the two shoulders of the mountains that flank the upper valley which leads to its base. Now, however, when we turned into this valley, it rose before us free from vapour; but some light clouds hanging upon the lower acclivities, awakened my fears as to the continuance of a serene atmosphere. The valley which I had now entered was of the most desolate kind; the ascent was extremely precipitous, and was covered with rocks and stones; but there was nothing dangerous in the path to a pedestrian—for I found it necessary to dismount, and drive my horse before me. After pursuing this fatiguing ascent about an hour, we reached the highest basin in the mountain, where lies the Lake d'Oncet, and from which springs the conical summit of the Pic du Midi.

The scenery here is of the wildest description. Nothing is seen but a chaos of precipices and mountain-peaks; and the seclusion, depth, and stillness of this mountain-lake, greatly add to the impressive effect of the scenery. The Lake d'Oncet is surrounded on three sides by majestic precipices of bald rock; and from its northern side, the peak rises directly above the precipice that dips into it. The lake is one, if not the highest, of the mountain-lakes in Europe. Its level is only 1860 feet below the summit of the peak; and it therefore lies no less than 7861 feet above the level of the sea, exceeding, by at least above a thousand feet, the elevation of the lake of the Oberalp in Switzerland. Fatigued in some degree with the ascent, I walked to the brink of the water and seated myself upon a stone. No breath of air can reach this mountain-lake—it lay in perfect calm—the terrific precipices that rise from it, imaged in its dark, quiet depths. Huge fragments of rock lay every where around; and among them blossomed the daphne, and the crimson flowers of the rhododendron, by the presence of which the traveller may know something of the altitude he has attained.

While seated here, the guide directed my attention to two objects moving along one of the upper ledges of the opposite precipice. They were izards, the chamois of the Pyrenees, somewhat smaller than the chamois of the Alps, but of the same species, I believe, and equally worth the attention of the hunter; but along with the izards, a less agreeable object met my eye. This was a canopy of vapour that had gathered around the summit of the peak; and from the lower defiles and valleys, clouds had begun to rise, and rolled up the mountain-side. This was truly vexatious; another hour would have carried me to the summit; for, from the Lake d'Oncet the Pic du Midi is easily ascended. I kept

my seat by the lake some time longer, hoping, if not expecting, that the mists would roll away; but they every moment became more dense. If the summit were one moment discovered, it was only to be involved the next in thicker obscurity. At length the surface of the lake began to be dimpled with rain; and it was then out of the question to attempt the ascent. But I resolved, notwithstanding the rain, to proceed to Bagnères, across the Tourmalet, and to attempt the ascent next day, from the other side, which I knew to be passable, although more difficult. The rain had now increased; and, perceiving a small shelter of stones and heath at no great distance, tenanted by two mountaineers, we made towards it, and found a hospitable reception. What a spot was this for human beings to live in! It was in the interior about eight feet square; the walls were of stones loosely put together, and covered with heath; and a thick layer of heath covered the ground. The two men who inhabited it followed the humble, laborious, but certain employment, of collecting the manure from the cattle that grazed on these heights; and every second or third day, one of the two carried the produce of their industry in sacks to the lower country. There they remain during all the time that the upper parts of the mountains are traversed by the cattle.

When the rain ceased, I left the shelter, to continue my journey towards Bagnères. Here I dismissed both the guide and the horse; because, to have gone from this point to Bagnères, by any road passable for a horse, would have been a *détour* of two leagues. The guide pointed out to me the path which I must follow, showing me an indistinct line along the face of the mountain, which appeared almost a precipice; and cautioning me to be careful of my footing, he left me, and retraced the path by which we had reached the Lake d'Oncet.

I had need of this caution; for the path was indeed both difficult and dangerous. Above it, was a high ledge of rocks; below, a slope, little inclined from the perpendicular: the path itself was often altogether undistinguishable; having either given way and slid down the slope, or been washed away by the rains. It was, in fact, only a sheep or goat track, and was in no place wide enough to permit more than one foot being placed in it. At some places, a cleft in the rocks above was the bed of a torrent; and at such spots, the path and steep slope below, were hollowed out into a deep groove. It was necessary there to creep upon my hands and knees, for a false step might have hurried me down a declivity of at least fifteen hundred feet; not indeed by a fall, but by sliding in the naked bed of the torrent, which would have produced nearly the same effects. I escaped these dangers, however, and reached the path which leads across the Tourmalet from Barèges.

The Tourmalet is a mountain-ridge elevated about 6000 feet, and dividing the valley of Barèges from the valley of Campan. Sterility reigns on one side of the rampart; fertility on the other. The stern and dreary basin and valley of Bastan, and its desolating torrent, are on one hand; the verdant carpet and wooded valley of Campan, and its fertilizing Adour, are on the other. The view, therefore, from this point cannot be otherwise than striking and varied, since it embraces pictures of characters so opposite. From the summit of the

pass, to the commencement of the valley of Campan, the slopes of the mountain were entirely covered with cattle and sheep. The transition from the deep seclusion and the dead stillness of the Lake d'Oncet, and the solitary scenes I had passed through, to the sheep-spotted slopes, and the lowing and bleating of the flocks, seemed fraught with life and cheerfulness; and, although it again rained so hard as to soak my clothes in a few minutes, I could not help lingering among those sweet pastoral scenes. Before reaching the foot of the mountain, I passed two small hamlets, called Trasmesagues, and Artigues, the highest summer-habitations of the mountaineers of the valleys on the north side of the Tourmalet.

It is at Grip, about a mile lower down the Adour than the foot of the Tourmalet, that the valley of Campan may be said to begin; though, until we reach the little village of Sainte Marie, it is sometimes called the valley of Grip. No valley of the Pyrenees, scarcely any valley of Europe, has been more extolled than the valley of Campan. That it is a beautiful and charming valley, fertile, *riante*, and full of life, and industry, and abundance, cannot be denied; but it may very well be questioned whether it justifies the extravagant praises of those who consider it entitled to a decided supremacy over all the other scenes which the Pyrenees disclose. It is beautiful; but it does not boast that union of beauty, picturesqueness, and sublimity, which is the characteristic of the valley of Luz; and even in the elements of beauty, I think it will scarcely bear a comparison with the valleys of Argeles and Pierrefitte. But I willingly admit the claims of the valley of Campan to beauty of a very high order; gentle declivities—flat meadows—orchards, copses, and gardens—charming verdure—many clear rivulets—a fine river—marks of unwearied industry—numerous pretty cottages, and frequent villages:—these are the pleasing features of the valley of Campan.

In this beautiful valley, there is nothing more beautiful than the spectacle of industry, and the clean and comfortable appearance of the cottages. The neat and well laid out gardens, and the respectable dress of the peasants, are sufficient evidence that industry in the valley of Campan is rewarded in the fertility of the soil. Here, nobody is to be seen doing nothing: the women, in particular, are examples of industry: every one has her distaff and spindle; whether she be on the highway driving pack-horses or mules before her; or herding cattle in a meadow; or sitting at her cottage-door; or strolling in the fields; or gossiping with a neighbour,—the distaff is seen in her hand, and the spindle by her side.

Between the little town of Campan and Bagnères, the valley expands, so as to deserve the name of a vale rather than a valley; and a plain of some extent lies between the road and the river. Notwithstanding the comfortable condition in which the inhabitants of this valley appear to live, the vicinity of the baths, and influx of strangers, have produced, even there, its usual effects, by begetting habits of idleness among some, and by tainting the simplicity of thought. The children are almost all beggars, and without the plea of necessity. Every few hundred yards, you are accosted by children, who run from the cottages, and persecute you with these three questions: "Monsieur, voulez-vous un

bouquet?" "Monsieur, voulez-vous voir le grotte?" "Monsieur, voulez-vous me donner un sous?" As for the bouquet which the child offers, it is not like the two or three pretty rose-buds which the flower-girls of Paris stick in your breast *malgré vous*; but a common daisy, a bit of heath, or even a handful of grass—any thing as an excuse for asking a sous.

The weather had cleared up soon after I descended the Tourmalet; and all through the valley of Campan it had been fair and sunshine; so that I was thoroughly dry before I reached Bagnères, which I walked into about five o'clock.

CHAPTER XXX.

BAGNERES DE BIGORRE—ASCENT OF THE PIC DU MIDI.

Bagnères de Bigorre—Its Visitors, Attractions, and Waters—Journey from Bagnères to Grip, and Morning Scenes—Ascent of the Pic du Midi—View from the Summit—Remarks, and Comparison of different Views from different Mountains—Temperature—Descent, and Return to St. Sauveur.

It has been said of Bagnères, that it is a town where pleasure has raised her altars beside those of Esculapius; and this is true; for it is only at Bagnères, among all the watering-places of the Pyrenees, that that kind of pleasure is to be found, which is usually sought for at a watering-place. Bagnères is, for this reason, by far the most frequented of the baths; because it is not frequented by invalids only, but also by two other kinds of visitors—those whose slight ailments are compatible with the pursuit of pleasure; and those who are driven, by the heats of summer, from the plains of France to the mountain-air of the Pyrenees. Among this latter class may be ranked the great majority of the English who reside at Pau and its neighbourhood. The strangers who resort to Bagnères are, however, chiefly composed of French—not from Paris—for, to the Parisians, the Tuileries is the most charming of forests; Montmartre, the prince of mountains; and as for society, who would seek for it beyond the *soirées* and *salons* of Paris!

This predilection of the French for every thing Parisian, and their unwillingness to believe that there is a world beyond Paris, recalls to my mind a little incident worth relating. Leaving Paris in the diligence for Aix-la-Chapelle, I chanced to observe, in conversation with a French gentleman, that I was tired of plains, and that a country without mountains could not be interesting; and, observing that a lady opposite seemed to listen to the conversation, I turned to her, and said, "You have no mountains, Madam, in Paris?" "Je vous demande pardon, Monsieur," said she, with the utmost seriousness; and with something of an offended air, "nous avons les montagnes Russes." "Ah! c'est vrai," I replied; "mille pardons."

But to return to Bagnères: it is not frequented by the Parisians, unless the medical man should happen to be so great a barbarian as to send them there. It is patronised by the inhabitants of Thoulouse, and the Bourdeaux merchants; and, next to the French, it is most resorted to by the Russians,

* The reader doubtless knows, that the *Montagnes Russes* are artificial hillocks.

who are now found all over the world as travellers *pour agréments*, and who threaten to darken the reputation now and long enjoyed by the English, of being the greatest travellers upon earth. Wherever we look into a list of visitors to any celebrated spot, we find it chequered with the outlandish names of this prince and that count; and upon looking over the list at Bagnères for the past year, I found twice as many Russian as English names. As many as eight thousand strangers have been assembled at Bagnères at one time. It doubtless possesses many advantages both to the healthy and the infirm. Delightful drives and promenades, and the gaiety occasioned by some thousands of persons who have nothing to do, are sufficient attractions for the former; and the abundance, the choice, and salubrity of the medicinal springs, are attraction enough to the latter.

But Bagnères is, notwithstanding, no favourite of mine. In the first place, it is not in the Pyrenees, and does not possess the charm of mountain-scenery. The views around, beautiful though they be, are not mountain-views; and the air is not mountain-air: and, in the next place, the town itself is large, noisy, and dirty, and a *show-place* into the bargain. The only thing I like about Bagnères, is the head-dress of the native women. This is a handkerchief, adjusted to the head in a far more tasteful way than I have ever seen a turban in an English ball-room. It is impossible to describe the manner in which it is put on; it must be seen; and I question if, even then, an English girl could readily imbibe the lesson. This manner of adorning the head is universal over all the most southwestern parts of France, from Thoulouse to Bayonne; and there is something in it so becoming, and so smart, that I am surprised the usage has not extended as far as women are to be found who are fond of admiration. The handkerchief used is not silk, but a very thin kind of stuff; and the pattern is generally a broad stripe of green and orange, crimson and blue, or other bright colours.

The abbé Laspales, who wrote an historical essay upon Bagnères, says it was founded in the year of Rome 965. In the immediate vicinity of the town, there is an eminence called the camp of Cæsar; and although this appellation be given to many an eminence upon which the legions of Cæsar never pitched their tents, yet it is not improbable that Cæsar may have visited Bagnères; for Bigorre was forced, with the rest of Aquitania, to submit to the arms of that general. Bagnères was called *Vicus Aquensis* by the Romans, who appear not to have been ignorant of the uses of its waters; for several inscriptions remain, testifying their thankfulness for the benefits which it conferred. The most ancient of these, is one of Severus Seranus, which is yet quite legible, and contains these words:—

“Nymphis pro salute suâ
Sever. Seranus V. S. L. M.”

Upon the doors of the baths, too, are seen several slabs with inscriptions, setting forth the benefits derived from the waters, along with Roman acknowledgments of them. M. Sarabeyrouse, in his observations upon the nature and effects of these waters, gives the following general character of them:—
“Les sources thermales de Bagnères possèdent en général, au degré le plus avantageux, toutes les

propriétés qui sont le partage de la classe d'eaux minérales salines à laquelle elles appartiennent. En effet, elles sont plus diurétiques qu'aucune de celles qui les avoisinent; elles sont purgatives, et fortifient puissamment l'estomac et les intestins, en les débarrassant des mucosités qui peuvent s'y être accumulées; elles réveillent l'énergie des facultés digestives, et raniment l'action organique des solides, de manière à faciliter l'exercice de toutes les fonctions.” This is saying much for the waters of Bagnères, but scarcely more than is seconded by the experience of those who have tried them. There are no fewer than eighteen different springs at Bagnères, their temperature ranging from 25 to 33 degrees of Reaumur. Each of the Pyrenean baths is under the direction of a medical inspector, who *must* be consulted before any one is permitted to employ the waters. He is paid by government, and therefore the consultation costs nothing; and the expense of the bath is not more than one franc.

Bagnères is less expensive than St. Sauveur as a place of residence, because it is situated in a more productive country; but it is far from being cheap, nevertheless. At the public establishments, one chamber costs five francs; breakfast of tea or coffee, two francs; dinner, four francs. To those who live in private lodgings, market-prices are also high. Meat is seldom below 8d. per lb. A fowl costs 1s. 3d. Milk and butter are both dear; and although *vin ordinaire* may be had at 4d. per bottle, tolerable wine costs at least double that sum.

I had no temptation to remain at Bagnères beyond the day following my arrival; and accordingly, the second morning, about an hour before sunrise, I left Bagnères in the intention of breakfasting at Grip, and of attempting the ascent of the *Pic du Midi* from that side, if the weather should prove favourable. The sun rose upon the mountains as I walked up the valley of Campan; and many were the charming pictures which my morning walk afforded. The valley was still all in shade, unless where, through some openings in the mountains, the golden flood streamed across it. The labourers were busy in the fields; some in the lower grounds, cutting and getting in the harvest—others, higher up the slopes, mowing hay—and some, in the neighbourhood of the cottages, spreading out flax. Women, with their scarlet capulets gathered up on their heads, and scarlet-striped petticoats, and spindles by their sides, were following little herds of cattle and troops of goats going to pasture. The little mountain-streams, clear and cool, danced along; and all nature wore the joyous and life-like aspect of the morning.

After a somewhat long, but delightful walk, I reached Grip to breakfast, about seven o'clock; and some excellent brown bread, new milk, and delicious butter, prepared me for the fatigue of my journey. The weather was quite serene, and there was not the least vapour upon the peak. I therefore rested at Grip only until I had finished my repast, and set out to ascend the mountain. The ascent of the *Pic du Midi* from this side, is far more arduous than from the side of Barèges. From Barèges, one may ride a sure-footed horse as far as the Lake d'Oncet, within 2000 feet of the summit. From Grip, it is impossible to go one step otherwise than on foot; and the path is not only steep, but in many places requires a steady step and a strong head—to make use of a common, though absurd

expression. I took no guide from Grip, because the mountain being unclouded, and the peak frequently in sight, it was next to impossible that I should mistake my way.

The journey up the mountain was fertile in all those charming and exhilarating prospects which mountain-scenery never fails to disclose ; and after three hours' continued walking, sometimes up grassy slopes, sometimes through narrow ravines, sometimes over rugged rocks, sometimes skirting the sides and summits of deep precipices, I reached the point where the path which I followed meets the path that ascends from the Lake d'Oncet. From this point, the ascent, although steep, is free from difficulty. A fine elastic turf is pleasant footing ; and nothing is required excepting strong limbs and good lungs. Patches of snow yet lay in the little hollows ; and the beautiful flowers blooming around, recalled to my recollection the ascent of Mount Badus, in Switzerland. I sturdily pursued my journey, looking neither behind, nor to the right nor the left, that the view from the summit might be the more striking—and only resting occasionally upon my hands and knees ; and a little before mid-day, five hours after leaving Grip, I attained the summit.

The excellence of a view from a mountain-top depends upon two things—the position of the mountain, and its height ; and almost as much depends upon the one as upon the other of these. A mountain may be so situated in the midst of other mountains, that, although greatly higher than any of its neighbours, nothing but mountain-peaks may be visible from its summit. Such is the situation of the majority of the Swiss mountains ; for if we clomb to the summit of the Shreekhorn, the Monk, or almost any one mountain of the Oberland Bernois, we should have no reward, excepting the triumph of having surmounted a difficulty. The same remark applies, in a lesser degree, to Snowdon, Ben Nevis, and Helvellyn. Or a mountain, even although not so placed in the midst of other mountains, may be unfortunately situated for a view from it, because the surrounding country may be uninteresting. Many examples of this may be found, both at home and abroad. The excellence of a view from a mountain-top, depends upon the height, as well as the position, of the mountain. No one ever ascended Mont Blanc, merely for the sake of the view from its summit. On such altitudes, the pleasure we enjoy has little to do with the world below : we commune with heaven rather than with earth ; the things of time, and the passing world among them, are lost in the grandeur of eternity ; and, standing upon the utmost limits of human existence, the mind refuses to take cognizance of things so insignificant as man and his petty domain ; and fancy, soaring from the pinnacle, wanders to sublimer scenes and higher destinies. Lower elevations must be sought, if we climb the mountain-side for the sake of the view from the summit ; and accordingly, several of the mountains most celebrated for such views, are but third or fourth-rate mountains. Vesuvius is little more than 4000 feet high ; the Rigi does not reach 5000 feet ; Ben Lomond is only 3000 feet ; Darnley is still lower. All these mountains combine a comparatively low elevation with a favourable position. All of them, excepting Vesuvius, although connected with mountain-ranges, stand in some de-

gree isolated from the others, and rise either from lakes, plains, or the sea.

I know of no mountain whose qualifications, as to position and height, are so perfect as those of the Pic du Midi. Although not isolated, it stands the outermost of the Pyrenean range, the most southerly summit of the High Pyrenees, and drops at once, from an elevation of nearly 10,000 feet, into the plains of Gascony and Bearn. It is rare that a mountain of so great elevation forms one of the outposts of a mountain-range ; and therefore, in position, the Pic du Midi is perhaps more favourably situated than any other mountain in Europe. But, in its combination of position and altitude, it undoubtedly has a still more manifest advantage ; for although the altitude of a mountain may be so great as to substitute a mere undefined feeling of sublimity for a magnificent prospect, yet a very considerable elevation, if combined with the advantage of position, is necessary to the perfection of this prospect. The view from an elevation of 2000 or 3000 feet may be beautiful in the extreme ; but when we look around us from an elevation of 8000 or 10,000 feet, beauty is mingled with sublimity.

I recollect being once asked, at the *table d'hôte*, in the Ecu de Genève, by an English view-hunter, to which view, among all that I had ever seen, I gave the preference ; and I think that if, previous to that time, I had clomb the Pic du Midi, I should have accorded the palm to it. Its summit reaches an elevation from which the extent, as well as the nature of the prospect, entitles it to rank with the sublime ; and yet it is still connected with the world below, so that the human part of the picture (for we are still able to distinguish the habitations of men) lessens the oppressive feeling which unmixed sublimity produces upon the mind ; and while around us we have the solitude and grandeur of "the everlasting hills," below we have a world spread out, in which we have an interest ; and our sympathies are divided between the solitary sublimity of nature, and the realities of human life and human affections.

Looking towards the south, I seemed to be placed in the centre of a semicircle of gigantic mountains, which stretched east and west as far as the horizon, and which rose above one another beyond the frontiers of Spain, the towers of *Marboré* and Mount Perdu overtopping them all. To the north stretched the fertile plains of Bearn, Gascony, and Languedoc, which, even from this high altitude, seemed like a beautiful mosaic, though the woods, gardens, and fields, of which the mosaic was composed, were of course undistinguishable ; and the mountain upon which I stood, was not the least interesting part of the prospect—its rugged rocks, its smooth slopes, its dark dells, its distant and discovered valleys, far, far below, and the thread of silver that serpented through them.

The temperature of this high elevation was chill, but not disagreeably cold at first ; though, after having remained about half an hour, the increasing chillness suggested the propriety of descending. No difference in respiration was perceptible to me, nor any kind of bodily inconvenience, at this elevation of nearly 10,000 feet. On the summit of the peak there is a scanty vegetation. I plucked some mosses, which had put forth their minute flowers, and saw also the gentian-root.

I left the mountain-top with regret ; and yet I believe no one ever descended from a great elevation, without being conscious of agreeable feelings, in approaching again the habitable world from which he had been some time separated. In little more than half an hour I had reached the Lake d'Oncet, where I rested a little while, and then pursued the track by which I had ascended two days before ; but, being on foot, I kept on the north side of the valley, along the mountain-side, till I reached the valley of Barèges, and then I followed the stream. From the entrance of the valley of Barèges to the town—about a league—I counted no fewer than sixty-seven mountain-streams, which pour into the Gave of Bastan ; and I saw at least as many more beds of torrents, in which there was at that time no water. No wonder, then, that the Gave of Bastan is celebrated for its ravages. Before dark I reached St. Sauveur, which looked more beautiful than any thing I had seen since leaving it.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE VALLEY OF GAVARNIE—MARBORÉ—THE BRECHE DE ROLAND, AND THE VALLEY OF HEAS.

An Izard-hunter, and his Conversation—The Shepherds and their Flocks—The Valley of Pragnères—The Peryada—The Inn of Gavarnie—The Amphitheatre of Marboré—Ascent of the Brèche de Roland, and View into Spain—Return to Gavarnie and Gedro—The Valley of Heas, and a Fête.

AFTER returning from the Pic du Midi, I remained only one day at St. Sauveur ; and again left it to traverse the valley of Gavarnie, and to see the celebrated amphitheatre of Marboré, and the Brèche de Roland.

I left St. Sauveur about sunrise, and, passing the convenient wooden bridge across the Gave, found myself at the entrance of the valley of Gavarnie, and upon the narrow road which has been constructed above the river. For some distance after leaving St. Sauveur, the valley is a deep and dreary ravine, the river flowing far below, in a narrow bed between perpendicular rocks, in some parts covered with trees, which have taken root in the crevices. There is not a hut, nor any cultivation ; and the only person I met was an izard-hunter, who, although he was deaf and dumb, recounted to me by signs the history of his day's sport. He was a tall athletic man, about fifty years of age. He carried the izard on his back, and walked at the rate of nearly six miles an hour, notwithstanding this burden, and the additional one of a gun slung across his shoulders ; and I afterwards learnt, that this man is one of the most successful, and one of the most fearless hunters of the Pyrenees. The gestures by which he described the events of the day, were quite as intelligible as if he had possessed the gift of speech. Both his own actions, and those of the izard, were imitated exactly. He showed that he had fired twice, and wounded the izard—that it tumbled down a precipice—that he looked over, and succeeded in scrambling down—and that he pursued, overtook it, and knocked it on the head with the butt-end of his gun. He also made me understand that he killed about three izards in the week, and sometimes four, and that he sold them at six francs a

piece, exclusive of the skin, which was worth another franc. What an enormous profit must be realized by the *traiteurs* at the baths ! They purchase a whole izard for six francs, and divide it into at least twenty dinner-portions, at four francs each ; yet the successful izard-hunter is richer than the majority of the Pyrenean peasants ; and although his profession be both laborious and dangerous, the excitement is proportioned to the danger and difficulty, and the pleasure proportioned to the excitement. When this deaf and dumb man was reciting to me, in his own way, the fortunes of the day, the eagerness of his gestures, and the changing expression of his countenance showed his enthusiasm in his trade, and the delight he took in its chances and issues ; and there can be but little doubt that when the fatigue and dangers of the day terminate in the possession of the izard, he considers these far overpaid. The mind of a man who spends his days a hunter in the mountains, must be strangely complexioned. Dwelling always among mountain-solitudes—always alone with nature, and amid her grandest works—companion of the storm, and the mists, and the shadows—the great rocks—the rushing torrents, and the black lake—we might conclude, that the mind of such a man could not be without the elements of moral and intellectual grandeur ; but so, perhaps, might we argue of the sailor who traverses the mighty deep, and paces the deck of the lone vessel beneath the wide starry sky. But it is probable that these men look not beyond their individual calling. The rudder that guides the vessel through the ocean is, to the mariner, an object of deeper interest than the illimitable and trackless waters ; and to the hunter of the Alps or the Pyrenees, the only object of interest among the mountain-solitudes is the little animal that he pursues.

During the summer months, the road from Gavarnie to the more northern parts of the Pyrenees, is constantly traversed by the shepherds and their flocks, travelling from the mountains on the Spanish side to the pastures of Bearn ; for it is the custom with all the shepherds of the Pyrenees to change their pastures. These patriarchal spectacles are to be seen every day. From my window in St. Sauveur, which opened upon the Gave and the opposite road, I could see a constant succession of these shepherd-families and their varied flocks ; and in this morning's walk I met several. The sheep, the cows, the goats, and the mules, formed the line of march, and behind was the family of the shepherd ; the children in baskets slung across a horse ; the mother walking by its side ; and those children who were able to walk running behind. Such pictures as these added greatly to the interest and beauty of a morning landscape—beautiful even without them, from the picturesque aspects in which nature presented herself.

Soon after leaving the izard-hunter, I reached a bridge across the Gave, by which the road passes to the opposite bank. The bridge is frailly constructed. It is supported in the centre upon a pile of stones raised upon a rock, and trembles under the rush of water, which, just above, forms a rapid which may almost be called a cataract. Here the ravine widens into the charming little valley of Pragnères, one of those delicious spots, which, shut out from the rest of the world by sterile mountains, contains within itself every element of beauty.

There is a small village of the same name about the middle of the valley. It is surrounded by little meadows, corn-fields, and groves. A small stream, the Gave of Pragnères, flows past the village; and several lesser rills hurry through the valley, and are made subservient to its fertility. It will be observed that *Gave* is the generic name of every stream in the High Pyrenees. The word signifies water; and therefore the *Gave*, without the addition of some place, does not indicate the precise river.

The valley of Pragnères is not a mile in length; and, in leaving it, we enter another defile about two miles long, which conducts us to Gedro. This is a narrow valley, rather than a defile; for fields have here and there been conquered from the sterile mountains, and the conquerors have pitched their tents beside their territory. Upon every little level stands a cottage, surrounded by its meadow, and patch of rye or oats, and shaded by its clump of ash-trees; and, as we approach nearer to Gedro, the views become more smiling, and the valley more populous, until, at the little village of Gedro, another valley expands, like that of Pragnères; and the wild and interesting valley of Heas opens on the left. Of this valley I shall speak on my return from Gavarnie; for I had purposely so timed my journey, that I might witness a *fête* in the valley of Heas, which takes place on certain holidays.

There is scarcely a wilder or more desolate scene in Switzerland, than the valley called by the country-people *Peyrada*, through which we pass after leaving Gedro. Others have given it the name of *Chaos*; and that name is, indeed, the best fitted for it, which expresses, the most forcibly, the desolate sublime. The acclivities of the valley are covered with enormous blocks of granite—the fragments of a fallen mountain—heaped upon one another, and of the most enormous size. Some of these fragments are said to contain a hundred thousand cubic feet. These blocks also cover the bed of the river;—sometimes forming arches across it—sometimes entirely obstructing it—and at other times forcing it into rapids and cataracts. As we approach Gavarnie, the towers of Marboré rise majestically in front. The valley contracts, and snow-peaks are seen on every side; and about half a mile farther, we reach the bridge of Barygui, which is understood to separate the pastures of the French and Spanish territories, and, soon after, enter the inn of Gavarnie—a most welcome refuge after a morning-walk from St. Sauveur.

One is sure of a good breakfast at the inn of Gavarnie; for the convalescents of St. Sauveur generally make an expedition to Gavarnie before leaving the baths—sometimes on horseback, a guide leading the horse—and sometimes in chairs or palanquins, which are supported by four men. Coffee, excellent milk, eggs, good bread, tolerable butter, and izard-steaks, were soon upon the table; and, after resting an hour, I again set out. The village of Gavarnie lies a little way beyond the inn. It belonged formerly to the Knights Templar; and, in the church, may still be seen twelve skulls of those who were beheaded, when the order was proscribed. All these districts were, in former times, under the influence of the Templars; and, in the churches, in many of the valleys besides Gavarnie, stones may be seen, upon which are carved the signs of the order.

At Gavarnie the path branches into two. One branch diverges to the right, to the Port d'Espagné,

passing the western shoulder of the Marboré, and leading, at the distance of two leagues, into the valley of *Broto*, in Arragon. The other branch, which is rather a track than a road, leads up the Gave to the amphitheatre of Marboré; and this was, of course, the path I followed. The road traverses several hollows—little round or oblong spots, slightly excavated—which are said to have been formerly lakes; and, having ascended a rocky dike, I stood in front of the celebrated circus of Marboré.

I must endeavour to convey to the reader some idea of this extraordinary scene. Figure to yourself a semicircular space, covered with rocky fragments and snow, backed by a perpendicular wall of rock, fourteen hundred feet high. Suppose you see, above this wall, the precise resemblance of an amphitheatre, in regular stories, declining backwards—each terrace covered with eternal snow, and the uppermost of these terraces rising about two thousand feet above the perpendicular wall; and then imagine rocks at intervals, crowning the whole, in the form of round towers, and elevated about a thousand feet above the amphitheatre. Contemplating a scene like this, how insignificant seem the proudest works of man—the most majestic ruins of antiquity—the Roman amphitheatres—even the colosseum! But there is still another feature in the scene. Many torrents pour from the amphitheatre into the basin below. One, the source of the Gave, falling from a height of fourteen hundred feet, is undoubtedly the highest cataract in Europe. This is the sublime source of that delightful companion, in whose society one may journey through a variety of scenes, which, in so short a course, is perhaps not equalled on the banks of any other river. It visits, by turns, the sublime, the picturesque, and the beautiful—lends effect to the wild and desolate—grace to the gentle and the pastoral—and waters, into fertility and abundance, the cultivated plains, where it is assisted by human industry. Passing through the defiles of Gavarnie and Luz, and the valleys of Argeles and Lourdes, and receiving the tributary waters of Heas, Barèges, Cauterets, and Auzun, it flows into the plains of Bearn, joins the Adour near Bayonne, and mingles with the waves of the Bay of Biscay. It may easily be believed, that one should feel no disposition to leave suddenly a scene so full of majesty as the amphitheatre of Marboré; but as I purposed to return to it at the dawn of day the following morning, in order to mount to the *Brèche de Roland*, I turned from it with the less regret, and slowly retraced the path to the inn of Gavarnie. On the road I met two French ladies and a gentleman, convalescents from St. Sauveur, on their way to see the amphitheatre of Marboré; and when I reached the inn, I found that they had ordered a good dinner, which it appeared I was destined to share with them.

I had returned to the inn so slowly, that the party reached it scarcely half an hour after me; and we were soon all seated at a tolerable dinner of izard, fowl, and trout. Vegetables, indeed, were wanting; for, at this elevation, no vegetable will grow, excepting potato, and the potatoes were bad. The party proved agreeable, talkative, and not ridiculously national. They all agreed, that the amphitheatre of Marboré was *superbe*; that the cataract was *magnifique*; that every thing about the inn was

joli; and the dinner was *gentil*. What is there that a Frenchwoman cannot explain by these four words? The gentleman was so polite as to say, that the English were the most enterprising of travellers; and he added, that if he were not accompanied by ladies, he should have thought seriously of accompanying me to the *Brèche de Roland*. Soon after dinner, my companions set out to return to St. Sauveur; and, during the two or three hours that succeeded, I wandered upon the margin of the Gave, enjoyed the sunset upon the towers of Marboré, and the stillness and solitude of the surrounding scenes.

About six o'clock next morning, I left the inn, accompanied by my guide Pierre, to mount to the *Brèche de Roland*—the breach which the warlike Roland is supposed, in tradition, to have made with his terrible sword in the wall of rock that forms the boundary between France and Spain, and thus to have opened a road to victory over the Moors.

I had been long accustomed to the exaggerations of guides, and had learned to reduce them to truth. My guide described the ascent as most perilous, and was provided with iron cramps, snow-shoes, poles, and all the apparatus needed for a dangerous journey among snows and glaciers. I more than half suspected that these were but incumbrances, and found, that here, as in the Alps, the guides magnify the difficulty of an enterprise, to increase their own importance, and perhaps to augment their reward. The only difficult part of the ascent is from the foot of the amphitheatre to the summit of the rock from which the cascades fall. There is a narrow rent in the rock in which we ascend, certainly by a steep, and in some places a perilous path; but the smugglers who pass to and from Arragon by these heights, have greatly facilitated the footing, by having trodden the track for centuries; and in places of difficulty, footsteps have been evidently formed by art. Having surmounted this rock, I found myself among high mountain-pastures, steep grassy acclivities, that rise towards the towers, partly covered with snow, and called by the shepherds *Malhada de Serrades*. Here we rested a while, taking a mouthful of brandy as a preparation for the rest of the journey. There were here no flocks, which the guide said was unusual; for these pastures are usually occupied by the Arragonese flocks and their shepherds. From this point, we ascended a rugged path of mingled rock, snow, and scanty vegetation, which, however, soon ceased, and then entered upon the deep inclined plain of snow, which stretches nearly to the *Brèche de Roland*. I managed to ascend with only the occasional assistance of my pole. Nothing in the Alps is wilder or more desolate than the views around this spot. Rocks, precipices, snows, and glaciers, are all mingled together; and nothing is visible beyond; for the scene is shut in on the north by numerous peaks, and on the south by the boundary of the two kingdoms. About mid-day, I gained the upper part of the snow-plain, and stood opposite to the *Brèche de Roland*. Let me describe in a few words the *Brèche de Roland*. A rocky wall from 400 to 700 feet high, extends nearly east and west, dividing France from Spain. Nearly in the centre of this gigantic barrier, is a breach or gap more than 200 feet wide, the most majestic gate that ever led from one country into another; and above this gigantic barrier, the towers

of Marboré rise like enormous watch-towers. Besides the *Brèche de Roland*, there are two openings, or holes in the wall of rock, situated near the two extremities; and the whole has the appearance of such a fortification as gods might have raised, and garrisoned with giants.

It was impossible to walk straight to the breach, because the rays of the southern sun, pouring always through the gap, had formed a deep and impassable hollow in the snow; and I found it necessary, therefore, to make a circuit of the hollow, and pass under the rock to gain the side of the breach. I now stood in the *Brèche de Roland*—France on one side, and Spain on the other. The whole extent of Arragon lay below; and as the *Brèche de Roland* is occasionally visible from Saragossa, Saragossa was therefore, within my horizon, although invisible.

I inquired of the guide, while we were seated in the breach, if many persons mounted to this spot? He said, scarcely any one. I told him the fault was partly his own, by magnifying so much the difficulties and dangers of the ascent. He said, the fault began with M. Ramond, (the French geological writer on the Pyrenees), and that he did little more than repeat what M. Ramond had said. This, I told him, might possibly be true; that, in future, he would do wisely to tell *healthy* travellers, that they might, without any difficulty, mount to the *Brèche de Roland*; upon which he was pleased to pay a compliment to my prowess, and added, that scarcely any but invalids visited the amphitheatre, and that, therefore, he might as well continue to tell his old tale, because, however he might change it, none of them could mount the *Brèche de Roland*.

I continued seated about an hour in the *Brèche de Roland*, of course not forgetting to put one foot in Spain, and then began to retrace my steps. The descent, I need scarcely say, was rather more perilous than the ascent, especially as the sun had now great power; and fragments of snow and ice were therefore more likely to detach themselves. However, I reached safely the amphitheatre from which I had set out. This had been, at all events, a fatiguing day; and this evening I spent no time wandering by the river-side, but speedily enjoyed the comforts of a substantial supper, and a tolerable bed.

Next morning, after a very early breakfast, I left Gavarnie, and again traversing the *Peyrada*, I reached Gedro, about nine o'clock. This was the *jour de fête* in the valley of *Heas*, and without stopping in Gedro, I turned to the right. The valley of *Heas* is as wild as the *Peyrada*; ruins are piled upon ruins, and there is scarcely one trace of cultivation. As I walked along, I overtook, or was overtaken by, many peasants and mountaineers, hastening to pay their adorations to the Virgin; and when I came within sight of the chapel, I saw several hundreds defiling along the sides of the mountains towards the chapel, the hymn which they were singing in chorus sounding strangely wild in this desolate valley. About 300 yards before arriving at the chapel, all took off their shoes, and walked bare-footed to the chapel—a penance certainly, since it was anything but smooth turf over which they had to walk; and I noticed afterwards, by the lameness and halting step of some, that the pilgrimage had not been performed with impunity. Every one on

reaching the chapel performed the usual acts of devotion—praying, kneeling, and kissing the statue of the Virgin. But the most interesting part of the scene was after the pilgrimage was made. The mountaineers then retired in groups behind some of the neighbouring rocks, the men to put on their shoes, and the women to put on both their shoes and their stockings. All then gave themselves up to innocent mirth; and by-and-by, seating themselves at a little distance from the chapel, they produced their stores, and feasted with the simplicity, and no doubt with the appetites, of mountaineers. Every one was neatly dressed; and although I did not remark much striking beauty among the girls, there appeared much good humour and attractive modesty. I accepted the invitation of one of the parties, the first of the many who would have offered, to join in their repast; and they were not less sparing in their hospitalities, because I had not walked bare-footed, and kissed the Virgin. They seemed a simple and contented race, with no greater share of superstition than might be expected. After the repast had been concluded, every one made a circuit to the *Caillou de la Raillé*, an enormous block of fallen rock, consecrated by the credulity of the mountaineers, and every one broke off a small fragment as a relic; and having finished the day with acts of piety, the mountain-paths were again scattered with the pilgrims wending homewards, not now singing a pious hymn, but filling the valley with their innocent glee; and having seen all, I took the road to Gedro. There was once a lake in the valley of Heas; but it burst its bounds, and has not been formed again. There was nothing to detain me at Gedro, and I accordingly retraced my steps to St. Sauveur, with delightful recollections of my journey, and enjoying as much as before the interesting scenes through which I had already passed.

CHAPTER XXXII.

JOURNEY TO CAUTERETS—CAUTERETS.

Journey across the Mountains—Lakes of the Pyrenees—A Night in a Hut—Arrival at Cauterets—Situation of Cauterets—Baths, and Medicinal Waters—The Gave de Cauterets—Return to St. Sauveur by the Vignemale and Gavarnie.

THERE is only one road to Cauterets. I had already, in travelling from Argeles to Luz, passed the point where it branches off at Pierrefitte; and, being unwilling to retrace the road down the defile of Luz, I resolved to attempt a passage across the mountains from St. Sauveur. I knew from the map the general situation of Cauterets; and, as I knew also that the distance in a straight line could not exceed three leagues, I felt no apprehension of mistaking the road. But the event proved how little a general knowledge of direction avails us in travelling among mountains.

I left St. Sauveur one delightful morning about six o'clock, and without seeking any path, began the ascent of the mountain which rises directly behind the baths; and, after a toilsome walk, I reached the summit of the ridge that forms the western boundary of the cradle of Luz. The point to which I had directed my steps, was of course the lowest part of the ridge, and was not perhaps more

than three thousand feet above St. Sauveur. I expected to have seen the valley of Cauterets from the summit of this ridge; but I only saw a deep oblong hollow about two leagues distant, filled by a lake about half a league in length. By an error in my map, this lake was not marked; and I mistook it for another, which lies at no very great distance from Cauterets, and which I ought to leave on my right. I accordingly made towards the lake, that I might double its southern extremity, in the expectation that, after ascending the next summit, I should look down upon Cauterets. The distance to this lake I found to be much greater than I had expected; for, owing to several morasses, I was obliged to take a most circuitous path, and more than three hours elapsed before I reached the margin. Although the Pyrenees do not boast lake-scenery, there is, nevertheless, a great number of lakes among the *Hautes Pyrénées*. There are not fewer altogether than twenty-six; but the greater number of these do not exceed a mile or two in circumference, and are rather mountain-tarns than lakes; and even the largest of them scarcely reach a league in circumference. With the exception of two or three of these lakes, they lie in mountain-hollows, with neither cultivation nor picturesque scenery around them. Some are indeed surrounded by sublimity, such as the Lake d'Oncet; but the water is but a very secondary feature in the scene. The lake which I skirted in this morning's walk, I afterwards found is called the *Lac d'Ardiden*. Its only feature was solitary wildness; and its only ornament the box-tree, which here, as elsewhere in the Pyrenees, forms a close underwood.

Before I turned the head of the lake, between five and six hours had elapsed since leaving St. Sauveur. I expected to have reached Cauterets an hour before this time; but I had no doubt, that, from the summit of the next ridge, I should see Cauterets below me. I accordingly struck in a right line from the head of the lake, to ascend the neighbouring range. The brilliant sun and serene atmosphere that had so pleasantly ushered in the morning, had long since become shrouded; and a most threatening darkness had already spread over the sky. There was every foreboding of a storm; and I made all possible haste to surmount the height, that I might arrive at Cauterets before it should commence. I was therefore not a little disappointed, when, upon gaining the summit of the ridge, a wilder scene than I had already passed through lay before me, and Cauterets was nowhere visible; and, to add to my disappointment, the sudden illumination of the heavens, and a deep roll of thunder, was almost immediately succeeded by some heavy drops, which I well knew would soon ripen into one of those torrents that descend on mountain-regions. Where Cauterets might be, I could not conceive; but it was evident that I had mistaken my way. Whether it lay before me, or to the right or the left, I knew not. In the mean time, wishing to shelter myself from the storm, I made towards some rocks that lay in the next hollow; and had hardly got under the shelter of the rock, when the storm came down in good earnest. Not a drop could reach me where I lay; but, after remaining more than an hour, the rain had not in the smallest degree subsided. The day was wearing away; and, for aught I knew, I might be yet many leagues from Cauterets. At length, braving

the storm, I left my shelter, taking at a venture a direction a little more southerly, and walking almost ankle-deep in water ; while, at the same time, the torrent that still poured from the skies drenched me in a few minutes.

I had walked since morning without having seen a single cottage ; but, after continuing my journey about an hour longer, I descried a hut at the extremity of a small lateral valley to the left, about a mile distant ; and, as the sky grew darker on the horizon, although the rain had in some degree subsided, and as I had undoubtedly wandered from my road, I turned into the valley to seek shelter at the cottage. I had hopes that it might prove a *Cagot* hut, which, from the solitariness of the situation, seemed not improbable : but I afterwards learned, that none of the *Cagot* family are found in the valleys that lie in this direction.

Before reaching the cottage, the storm had recommenced with greater fury than ever ; and, in a situation that required fire, victuals and rest, I entered a hut that I feared might contain no materials for either of the three. I found a middle-aged man, a girl about sixteen years old, and two boys in the hut ; and although the inmates seemed marvellously astonished at the entrance of a stranger, I was well received, as I had always been in every—even the poorest—hut into which I ever entered in the Pyrenees. The cottage was not so utterly destitute of comforts as I had feared it might be. The girl lighted a box-wood fire ; the mountaineer lent me a sheep-skin cloak, until my own clothes were dried ; and, after the fire was blazing, bread, cheese, and milk, were placed before me. The peasant was a widower, and these were his three children. They were poorly dressed, and seemed scantily fed ; and the condition of this remote family might be taken as a fair example of the condition of the poorer mountaineers of the Pyrenees. The property of the peasant consisted of two cows and three goats. A small meadow in the neighbourhood of the hut was fertilized, and allotted to rye ; and about a rood of land was laid out in potatoes and cabbages. The peasant and his family consumed the whole produce of the animals. Meat of no kind ever entered the cabin ; but the lake which I had passed occasionally supplied a few fish, which were scarce, however ; and the lake was, besides, a league and a half distant. A kind of cheese, like some of the poor Scotch cheeses, was made from the goat's milk ; and the sale of this to the lower orders at Caunterets, was the only source of the money necessary for the purchase of clothes, and whatever else is not produced by cows and goats.

It may be supposed, that one of the first inquiries I made was respecting my road ; and I found that I was now nearly as far from Caunterets as I had been when I left *St. Sauveur*. I had wandered far to the south ; and, in place of doubling the south side of the lake, I ought to have passed its northern extremity. It was now past four in the afternoon ; and to have set out within a few hours of sunset, across a country where there was no road, and without any certain knowledge of direction, would have been, if not hazardous, at least disagreeable ; and I therefore resolved to pass the night in the hut. No one can be said to fare ill who has a large wooden ladle of new milk before him, and a loaf of rye-bread ; and no one can be

said to pass a bad night who is in good health, and who has a clean sheep-skin to lie upon, in the mild temperature of the south of France. All these luxuries I enjoyed. The rain ceased about six o'clock, and I walked with the peasant's family to the neighbouring mountain—saw the cows milked—supped heartily—slept soundly—and was awoken by the owner of the hut soon after day-break. He resolutely refused any compensation for my entertainment ; but one of the boys, who accompanied me to the top of a neighbouring acclivity, to point out the road, was less sturdy in his independence. I found no difficulty in this morning's journey ; for, after passing a mountain-ridge, I descended into the valley of *Lutour*, which is a continuation of the defile of Caunterets. A road lay along the bank of the small stream that flows down to Caunterets ; and, following this path, I arrived, after about two hours' walk, in the hollow, or basin, in the bottom of which lie the village and baths of Caunterets.

Caunterets is a fashionable place ; and therefore a foot-traveller, arriving without even the excuse of a pedestrian—a knapsack upon his back—could scarcely expect a very cordial reception : besides, pedestrians are unknown in the Pyrenees. Caunterets, too, was so full of company, that there was no temptation to hold out a flag of invitation ; and I should have found difficulty in finding accommodation, if a gentleman whom I had known in Paris had not accidentally passed, just at the moment when I was told, for the third time, that there was not a chamber at my disposal. This recognition, however, gave a new turn to my affairs ; and I obtained accommodation, at the exorbitant rate of seven francs for a bed.

The situation of Caunterets is striking, and, excepting *St. Sauveur*, preferable, in my opinion, to that of any of the other baths I have yet spoken of. There is a small triangular hollow, on all sides dominated by lofty mountains—an enamel of meadow, wood, and little fields—like a miniature picture set in a vast rugged frame. Here the village and baths lie ; the former is not deserted during the winter, like *Barèges*, but always contains an indigenous population of about 600 or 800 persons ; and, in the buildings appropriated to the reception of strangers, nearly a thousand persons can be accommodated.

The medicinal springs of Caunterets, excepting one, called the *Bruzaud*, are situated at some little distance from the village, upon the side of the mountain that rises to the east of it. One of these—the principal of them—is called *César* ; of course, from the tradition that *César* used its waters. Another of the springs was patronized by *Margaret*, sister of *Francis I.*, and grandmother of *Henry the Fourth*, who took refuge from the tumult of cities and courts in the solitude of the Pyrenees. Besides these, there are eight or ten other fountains ; but several of them are yet in a state of nature. Almost all of them are picturesquely situated among rocks and waterfalls. Caunterets possesses several of the *agrémens* of *Bagnères*, with more interesting and exciting scenery ; and, placed at least 1200 feet higher than *Bagnères*, its air is more invigorating, and the heats of summer less felt. There is little doubt, that baths will always be found the most efficacious, where the scenery is the most varied and pleasing, and the air the purest ; and that *Rousseau* was right in thinking “ qu'aucune

agitation violente, aucune maladie de vapeurs ne pourrait résister contre un pareil séjour prolongé ; et il s'étonnait que des bains de l'air salubre et bienfaisant des montagnes ne fussent pas un des grands remèdes de la médecine et de la morale."

Palsy, rheumatism, and stomach-complaints, are the three classes of disorders that are said to yield most readily to the waters of Caunterets. The temperature of the springs ranges from 31° to 40° of Reaumur. Caunterets is the most expensive of the Pyrenean watering-places ; because the concourse of strangers is always pressing upon the accommodation ; because the country around is totally unproductive ; and because some eminent persons having selected Caunterets as a residence during the season, it has acquired a distinction as a place of fashionable resort, besides being a refuge for the infirm. If Caunterets were nothing but a village, with its few meadows and copses, and its flocks and mountaineers—if it had these, without the *désagréments* of a watering-place—its invalids and palanquins—its air *apprêté*—its fine houses, and finely-dressed people—how charming a spot would it be for the disciple of Isaak Walton ! for the Gave of Caunterets is a stream, the sight of which would make the heart of an angler leap for joy. It is neither too large nor too small, neither too limpid nor too dark, neither too rapid nor too slow—shaded occasionally by high banks, but not shaded by trees. But it possesses two drawbacks nearly fatal to the enjoyment of a thorough angler. The fish are so numerous as to ensure a nibble at every cast ; and so simple-minded and credulous, that every nibble proves a take. I am almost ashamed to add—since I am speaking to sportsmen—that the trout of the Gave de Caunterets are admirable, *done* in the frying-pan.

I remained only one day at Caunterets, and during that day visited all the favourite promenades of the bathers, convalescents, and pleasure-seekers. The following day, I left Caunterets to return to St. Sauveur, by a very circuitous and unfrequented route. I traversed the valley of Loutour up to its head at the foot of Mount Vignemale—one of the highest mountains of the Pyrenees—a wild, but interesting route. At the foot of the mountain there are three small cottages, in one of which I procured a guide, to conduct me across the northern shoulder of the mountain, into the valley d'Ossoue, which leads to Gavarnie. This was altogether a journey of nearly nine leagues ; but I had left Caunterets so early, that I reached Gavarnie several hours before sunset ; and the fatigue of the journey did not prevent me from walking again to the amphitheatre de Marboré, and spending another hour in its wild and sublime precincts. I was almost tempted to mount again to the Brèche de Roland ; but sunset dismissed this temptation ; and I returned to the inn, which I left next morning, to walk to St. Sauveur, where I arrived before mid-day.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

JOURNEY TO BAGNERES DE LOUCHON—BAGNERES DE LOUCHON.

The ideal and the real of Travelling—Journey to Arreau—Marbrière—Arreau, and the Valley of the Aure—The Family of Armagnac—Journey to Bagnères de Louchon—The Valley of Louchon—The Baths—The Waters, and Opinions of Physicians—Visit to the Lakes of Seculejo, and the Espingo.

I WAS now about to take leave of St. Sauveur

for the last time. I proposed to cross the Tourmalet to St. Marie, and by Arreau to Bagnères de Louchon, and from thence to return by Bagnères de Bigorre and Lourdes to Pau.

I know few occupations more agreeable than sitting down with a good map, and tracing one's future route through a country which is yet untravelled by us. I suppose every traveller knows this enjoyment. For my own part, I reflect with equal pleasure upon the hours I have spent in meditating a journey—in examining my maps—tracing my route—marking distances—and calculating time and expenses, as upon the events of the journey itself. With his map before him, and his pencil in his hand, sunshine always illumines the traveller's path. Neither heat nor cold interfere with the comforts of his journey ; the trees afford a pleasant shade, and the mountain-breeze blows cool upon his forehead ; the inns are neither dirty nor ill-provided ; and no one overreaches him. 'Tis truly a charming excursion which he makes on the map ; 'tis the *ideal* of travelling—the cream whipped off, and beat up ; he has it all his own way ; he can proportion the distance of the journey to his strength or his caprice ; he can fix the temperature of the weather ; he regulates his health, and even the frame of his mind ; and he can dine upon fish, flesh, or fowl, and drink *vin du pays*, or *première qualité*, just as he pleases. But I am far from wishing to intimidate the stay-at-homes, by leading them to suppose, that the ideal and the real of travelling are always diametrically opposed. I doubt whether a journey be so agreeable, which is all pleasure and no privation. If a day's journey turn out to be ten miles longer than one expected, with how much more satisfaction do we arrive at the end of it ! If we have been half-frozen in crossing a mountain, how doubly sweet is the warm shelter of the valley, or the cheerful blaze of the inn fire ! or, after a meagre breakfast and a worse dinner, who shall describe the delights of an ample and excellent supper, or the joys of a soft clean bed, after a night's travelling in the diligence ? The pleasure of every journey that I have made has far, very far outweighed the pains ; and if it be any test of the enjoyment we have reaped in a journey, that that journey often recurs to the memory, then I have the most enjoyed those which have been the most chequered with difficulties and dangers. But the pleasure of travelling depends upon the peculiar frame of every man's mind. Some can be merry under all circumstances ; others are ever discontented. Let these stay at home, and keep to their easy chairs and fire-side comforts.

I recollect with peculiar pleasure the days I spent at St. Sauveur—my walks upon the mountain-sides—my search for aromatic plants—my inactive musings by the side of the Gave, or upon the wooden bridge ; and yet I had no comforts at St. Sauveur. I had had breakfasts—(there was no butter, and the water never boiled)—execrable dinners, cold, and ill-cooked—a bad bed—and great extortion. The system pursued at the Pyrenean watering-places is an unsocial and uncomfortable one. In place of public tables, every one dines in his own room. An attempt was made by a *traiteur*, while I was at St. Sauveur, to open a public table ; but I believe the company never got beyond two kept-mistresses and a gentleman's gentleman. This is certainly extraordinary, since no people upon

earth are so little addicted to solitude as the French. But public tables are not *la mode*; and therefore, however much against their inclination, the French are compelled to eat their dinners in solitude. The next room to mine was occupied by a French gentleman, who found solitude at meals so irksome, that he talked to himself, and sung by turns, almost the whole time of dinner.

I now bade a final farewell to St. Sauveur, by setting off on foot for Bagnères de Louchon—a packhorse being charged with my portmanteau; and, once more crossing the bridge over the Gave, I passed through Luz, and entered the valley of Barèges. Recollecting the cottage and the delicious milk at the foot of the Tourmalet, I practised a little economy at Barèges, by purchasing an excellent new loaf to carry forward, in place of paying two francs for a bad breakfast in the *café*. The cottage I found in its place, and the boys ran out as before. The milk was as delicious as ever, and I enjoyed it ten times more, because I had not breakfasted. This I call part of the art of travelling—to increase luxury, and diminish expense. As I again journeyed up the Tourmalet, I was almost tempted to pay a second visit to the Pic du Midi, the summit was so free from vapour, and seemed so near. I passed the Tourmalet at the same point as before, and again descended into the valley of Campan to Grip, where I stopt a little while for rest and refreshment, and reached Sainte Marie in the afternoon. Here I was obliged to remain for the night, because there is no inn between St. Marie and Arreau.

It is at St. Marie that the traveller, who wishes to reach Bagnères de Louchon, leaves the valley of Campan, and ascends the valley of the Adour of Aure; and next morning sometimes I was on my road to Arreau. At first, the valley of Aure differs but little from the valley of Campan. It is equally fertile and *riante*. About a league and a half from St. Marie, the guide pointed out to me, on the left hand, the very small valley of *Marbrière*, which contains the valuable marbles of Campan. This marble was formerly worked, but is now abandoned. It is a very beautiful marble; but has been discovered to be unfitted for exposure to the weather, and is therefore only used in ornamenting the interior of edifices. The cause of its susceptibility to the atmospheric changes, is the portion of argil which enters into its composition.

After leaving this spot, the scenery entirely changes. We enter among the pine-forests of Aure, and traverse a narrow valley, sombre and uncultivated, leaving the *Pic d'Arbizon* on the right, and passing at no great distance from it. Throughout all the valley the sun never reaches the path. It is intercepted by the pine that skirts the road; and, in perfect unison with the coolness of the scenery around, a clear fountain, welling from a rock, reposes, deep and clear, in a basin below. From the base of the Pic d'Arbizon, a path leads across the shoulder of the mountain: and after about an hour's walk, I saw the valley of Arreau at my feet. Not many views in the Pyrenees are finer than that which looks down upon the valley of Aure. It is verdant, almost as Ursern in Uri; but its verdure is diversified by cultivated fields, and it is skirted by old forests, which hang upon the mountains; and the back-ground is a magnificent assemblage of peaks—rocky, snowy, and rising in the most fan-

tastic forms. From this point I descended into the valley, where I was enclosed among fir-woods; and, passing through some of the sweetest little meadows I have ever seen, I soon after entered the town of Arreau.

The situation of this little town is beautiful, and the surrounding scenery partakes largely of that union of beauty, picturesqueness, and sublimity, which I have already more than once mentioned as the characteristic of Pyrenean scenery. I could easily have proceeded to Bagnères de Louchon before night, for I had not walked more than four leagues; but I was desirous of visiting the ruined chateau of the counts of Armagnac, whose history in connexion with the valley of Aure is so remarkable. Nothing can be more beautiful than the road to this chateau; for the valley of Arreau contains *en petit*, the whole *matériel* of beauty. The castle stands upon the summit of one of those wooded hills that sprinkle this valley. It was only one of the many chateaux that belonged to the lords of Armagnac, whose possessions included many valleys, and probably not the most remarkable of them. I climbed to it by a circuitous, tortuous path, through fir-woods and box, and soon reached the ruin. One high tower yet stands almost perfect; and I succeeded in reaching the top, from which the lords of Aure, in former times, looked down upon their subject domain, once the scene of ravage and bloodshed,—now a quiet and happy valley.

The history of few families is more remarkable than that of the family of Armagnac. The fall of the last lord and his family originated in his crime. He became enamoured of his sister Isabella, was excommunicated by the pope in consequence, and, of course, failing in his application for a dispensation to marry her, he forged a dispensation, and celebrated the incestuous nuptials. Charles VIII., then king of France, endeavoured to recall him from his crimes, and the pope again excommunicated him; but the count Armagnac resisted kind instances and defied force; and soon afterwards, connecting himself with the insurrection of the Dauphin, he was attacked by the duke of Clermont with an army under his command. But guilty passion had effeminized his mind; and in place of resisting the invasion, he abandoned his domain, and fled with Isabella to the protection of his relative, the king of Arragon. He was then summoned by the parliament, and, having been rash enough to appear, he was arrested and imprisoned. And soon after, having succeeded in escaping from captivity, sentence of perpetual banishment was passed upon him, and his domain was forfeited: but the valley of Aure, and three other valleys, were excepted from the forfeiture, and given as a dowry to his sister.

The once powerful and proud count of Armagnac was now reduced to the deepest destitution; and impelled, as we may presume, by remorse, he begged his way to Rome, to ask an absolution for himself and his sister, which was granted, upon condition that she should retire to the monastery of Mount Sion at Barcelona, and upon conditions still harder for himself. But at this time Louis XI. ascended the French throne, and the count d'Armagnac was restored by him to his former rank, and the enjoyment of his possessions. He now married the daughter of the comte de Foix, and the past was forgotten.

But the restless and criminal count engaged in new plots against his benefactor ; and, after having twice received pardon for treasonable attempts, his repeated revolts at length drew upon him such auger of his king as was not to be pacified. The cardinal d'Alby attacked his capital : and, after a siege of two months' duration, during which the count recovered his courage, his son by Isabella, after performing prodigies of valour, was killed in a sortie, and the count surrendered ; but the same day, as he was rising from the holy communion, he was assassinated. Scenes of blood and massacre followed ; his domains were ravished, his towns pillaged, his wife, the daughter of the count de Foix, then pregnant, was thrown into prison, and poisoned. Almost all his friends perished under the axe of the executioner. The count's brother was imprisoned in the Bastille ; and not a remnant of the family of Armagnac remained.

It is a curious, and, I believe, unexplained fact, that the once guilty Isabella was in the city when it was besieged. It is no where recorded why she left the monastery, where she had buried herself, to mingle again in the active scenes of life. She was saved from the massacre ; for, a few months afterwards, previous to taking the veil in the monastery of Mount Sion, she made over to Gaston of Lyon, as a reward for having preserved her life, the territory of Aure, and the other three valleys. But the inhabitants of the valleys would not receive this sovereign ; and, putting themselves under the protection of Louis XI., the dominions of the fallen family of Armagnac were finally annexed to the French crown in 1475.

I remained about an hour among the ruins of the chateau, and then retraced my steps to the town ; and next morning I again left it for *Bagnères de Louchon*. The distance is about five leagues, and it is a mountain-path the whole way, and one of the most interesting mountain-paths I had travelled, either in the Pyrenees, or in any other country. There are few feelings more delightful, more joyous, than those which accompany us up a steep mountain-ascent ; and yet there may be some who are insensible to such enjoyment, or who may never have had an opportunity of tasting it. The cause of the sensations which we experience in climbing mountain-paths, might perhaps admit of a philosophical disquisition. Some would say, it is to be ascribed to the inclination of our nature for overcoming difficulties ; but for my own part, I believe this has little to do with the feeling of enjoyment. Perhaps the mountain-air is the more natural source of these feelings. Upon this journey, nearly half-way between Arreau and Bagnères de Louchon, the department des *Hautes Pyrénées* has its termination ; but the nominal boundary is not the limit of the high mountains ; on the contrary, all the way towards Bagnères de Louchon, the snows of the *Maladetta*—the highest mountain of the Pyrenees—rose before me. But the *Maladetta* is in Spain, and therefore could not have influenced the boundaries of the French departments.

A short time after passing this boundary, a hunter struck into the path from one of the valleys on the right, carrying an izard ; and I overtook him. He was an athletic young man, dressed in light breeches and gaiters of black cloth, and a small round hat, the shape of which he had borrowed from Catalonia. I inquired of him where

he intended carrying the izard, and was so great an epicure as to resolve upon taking up my quarters in the house to which the izard was destined. The hunter undertook to be my guide to the hotel at Bagnères. Soon after, the valley and the town appeared below ; and in less than an hour, I was seated at close quarters with an izard-steak.

The valley of Bagnères de Louchon is one of the most extensive and most beautiful of the Pyrenees. It is finely variegated with corn-fields, and meadows, and wood, and plentifully watered by the Pique, and two tributary streams. And the baths, at a little distance from the town, surrounded by fine avenues of trees, and backed by the verdant and wooded slopes of the mountains, are not the least beautiful features in the picture. Several villages, too, lie under the acclivities ; and many pretty houses and cottages dot the sides of the hills. None of the baths can boast of such perfect shade as Bagnères de Louchon. Wide umbrageous alleys lead, in different directions, from the baths ; and altogether, if I were forced to sojourn at any of the Pyrenean baths during a long period, when society as well as scenery might be an advantage, I should prefer Bagnères de Louchon either to Caunterets or to Bagnères de Bigorre. The season of the waters is from May till October ; but invalids sometimes remain during the winter, and do not cease from the use of the baths. The accommodations for strangers are only equalled by Bagnères de Bigorre, and their situation at Louchon is far more agreeable. Upwards of 1500 strangers may find apartments ; and here, there are several *tables d'hôte*, an agreeable exception to the other baths. Every week during the season there is a ball, and there is also a tolerably well-stored library.

The baths of Louchon, like many others of the Pyrenean baths, were known to the Romans. Some years ago, a monument was discovered at a little distance under ground, adorned with statues and columns in white marble, the work of the former conquerors of this country. There are nine medicinal springs at Bagnères de Louchon, all issuing from a rock at the foot of one of the adjacent mountains, and their temperature varies from 26° to 52° of Reaumur. They all contain sulphur, glauher-salt, sea-salt, soda, bitumen, and an insoluble matter, whose principle is not ascertained. All medical authorities agree in ascribing to these waters high medicinal qualities ; and, according to the best treatise which has been written upon the waters of the Pyrenees, the following is the enumeration of diseases in which they are found to be beneficial :—" Dans toutes les maladies de la peau, comme dartres de toute espèce, et dans les maladies occasionées par le lait répandu, quelque graves qu'elles soient, les rhumatismes, maladies des yeux, maladies des parties conservatrices des yeux ; lésion d'oreille, maladie du système osseux, blessures ; gale ventrée, rougeale ; maladies des articulations ; maladies des glandes salivaires ; humeurs froides ; maladies des voies urinaires ; catarrhe pulmonaire ; asthénique ; phthisie pulmonaire, lorsque le mal n'est pas parvenu au dernier degré ; obstructions des toutes sortes, et jaunisse." This is a most inspiring catalogue ; and wonderful waters they must indeed be, if they cure or alleviate one-half of the maladies enumerated. I have conversed, however, with several medical men, who, if they have not in all points subscribed to the above enumeration, did

not hesitate to ascribe to the waters extraordinary virtues. There can be no doubt, from the chemical analysis of these springs, that the mineral waters of the Pyrenees are among the most, if not the most, efficacious of the medicinal springs in Europe. In the cure of rheumatism, and in the cure of old wounds, experience has shown their decided superiority over every other bath; and the French government even has considered the mineral waters of the Pyrenees of so much importance, that it has erected them into a government establishment. Physicians say, that the waters of Barèges, and of Bagnères de Louchon, have performed the most important and radical cures; and, although a greater number of strangers resort to Bagnères de Bigorre than to any of the other baths, these are not all invalids. More invalids resort to Louchon, than either to Bagnères or Barèges, excluding privates in the army, for whom there is a separate establishment at Barèges. The access to Bagnères de Louchon is both cheap and easy. There is a mail-coach thrice a week from Thoulouse; and private vehicles are always to be had at Tarbes. But the traveller, who wishes to see the Pyrenees, must not be encumbered with a *voiture*; even a horse may be spared with advantage. There, as in every other mountainous country, pedestrianism is the only mode of travelling, for the man who wishes to extract all the pleasure that mountain-scenery can furnish, or to pick up information respecting the habits of the people among whom he journeys.

There are many objects of curiosity in the neighbourhood of Bagnères de Louchon. Of these, the most remarkable, and the most interesting, is the lake of *Seculejo*, one of the few lakes of the Pyrenees worthy of a visit. I dedicated a day to the Seculejo, and have seldom passed one more to my mind. I left Bagnères de Louchon about sunrise—the usual hour of my departure upon any excursion. The road to it is wild and pastoral, rapidly rising towards the south, and having constantly in view the majestic scenery that lies upon the Spanish frontier. There were fortunately no parties of convalescents from Louchon upon the day I had chosen, so that I had the lake all to myself; and I enjoyed this selfish pleasure like an epicure, as I am, in these matters. The lake of Seculejo is not a scene for mirth—scarcely even for society. It is wild, solitary, and sombre; and silence best accords with it. The low ripple of the water, the noise of its cataract, or the cry of a bird of prey, are the only interruptions of silence that are *in keeping* with the scene; and these were the only sounds that disturbed its tranquillity as I stood upon the margin of the water. The lake is entirely surrounded by high mountains, excepting where it finds egress; and its shores are generally bold and rugged. At the upper end, a cascade not less than 600 or 700 feet in height falls from the top of a perpendicular rock into the lake. It is impossible to make the circuit of the lake, owing to the perpendicularity of the banks in many places; but, excepting at the spot where the cascade falls, I contrived to walk round it. It is said that the trout of this lake is exquisite; but, as there is no boat upon it, they are allowed to live the full term of their natural lives.

After lingering on the margin of the Seculejo an hour or two, I climbed up the eastern bank, by a path which has almost the appearance of a ladder,

and which, indeed, bears the name^d of *Scala*. Having reached the summit of the bank, I entered a gorge, through which I passed to a hollow lying at the base of the mountain, called the Espingo; and, still proceeding to ascend the first ridges of the mountain, I reached the two lakes of Esping, which I had seen marked on the map, and had resolved to visit. These are very elevated mountain-tarns, lying almost in the region of snow. All is here sombre, melancholy, rude, and dismal—great rocks—a few stunted trees—and still, deep, dark waters, are the features of the scene. Time would not permit me to remain long here. I again returned to the Seculejo; and, after dining luxuriously upon provision I had brought from Louchon, I set out on my return, and arrived after dusk at Bagnères.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

BIERETZ.

Bayonne and its Advantages as a Residence—Travelling en Cacolet—Road to Bieretz—Situation of Bieretz—The Coast—The Bay of Biscay, in Calm and in Storm—A Perilous Situation—Views round Bieretz—Bieretz as a Sea-bathing Place—Curious Usages—Promenades in the Neighbourhood—Other Excursions—A Fête du Village—Pleasures of a Séjour at Bieretz.

In this chapter, I am about to take a liberty, which I trust the reader will pardon; and which, indeed, the title of the book almost, if not altogether, excuses. With the last twenty pages, I have interspersed some little account of the watering-places of the Pyrenees; and I purpose, in this chapter, transporting the reader 140 miles from the *Hautes Pyrénées*, to give him some account of another kind of watering-place, one of the principal sea-bathing resorts of the south of France. The name of this place is Bieretz. It is situated within two miles of Bayonne; and, although I did not visit Bieretz in the same year as that in which I travelled through the Pyrenees, there can be no impropriety in including, in an account of the south of France, some notice of a spot so much frequented, and so delightful, as Bieretz.

First of all, let me say a few words of Bayonne, which one must pass through, in order to reach Bieretz. Bayonne is a favourite city of mine. I like every thing about it. I like its clear broad rivers—reminding me of the delightful scenes through which they have travelled from their sources in the High Pyrenees. I like its environs of hill and dale—green meadows, and fertile fields, and gardens, and copses, and orchards—I like its busy streets—its open *place*, facing the river—its broad ramparts—its long wooden bridge across the Adour—its excellent *cafés*, and still more excellent hotels—its respectable and obliging inhabitants—and the neat *coiffure* of the *bourgeoises*. The neighbourhood of Bayonne I think infinitely preferable as a residence to any of those towns in the south of France which are colonized by the English. The environs of neither Pau nor Montauban are preferable to the environs of Bayonne; and with as fertile and beautiful a country on one side, Bayonne has the advantage of the sea on the other. It has also some lesser advantages; among which, one—

not a trifling advantage to a resident—is an abundant, varied, and cheap fish-market. But its great advantage is the vicinity of the sea. Over all the southern provinces of France, the heats of summer are oppressive; and every one acquainted with a mountainous country knows well, that, unless we ascend to the very elevated spots, the heat in the alpine valleys is no less intense than in the lower plains. Bagnères de Bigorre is, therefore, a very insufficient retreat from the heat of the dog-days; and even Louchon, or St. Sauveur, will bear no comparison in coolness with the shores of the Bay of Biscay. What can be more convenient than to have charming bathing-quarters within three miles of one's residence! And there is still another ground of preference to be stated in favour of Bayonne. Our neighbours, the French, with whom we English are so fond of domiciling ourselves, it must be allowed, are fond of changes—pulling down and putting up kings and governments—and playing at political games, in which life is a thing of absolutely no importance: such events, it is well known, occasion a sad commotion among the English residents, who think only of educating their children for half nothing, and of drinking French wine at one sous per bottle. Some are frightened out of their wits; others are frightened out of the country; and all are frightened into indifference about cheap education, and the luxuries of a southern climate. But if one resided at Bayonne, all these fears might be spared; because the resident has only to put his money into his pocket, lock his door, and walk into Spain; or he may step into a boat, at the bridge of the Adour, with his family and his treasures, and run into the harbour of St. Sebastian or Fontarabia before dinner. There is no disputing the advantage of Bayonne to a timid resident.

I shall now speak of Bieretz: And, first, of the manner of getting there. When you walk to the gate called the *Porte d'Espagne*, you are assailed by the cry of “*Monsieur, voulez-vous un cacolet?*” from fifty different female voices; and, looking around, you perceive, on every side, women sitting under the wall, and a number of horses standing beside them; and if you wish to go to Bieretz, you must nod your head, and you will be journeying *en cacolet* in a trice. To ride *en cacolet*, is to journey as one journeys in no part of the world—excepting at Bieretz, and on the north-eastern frontier of Spain. A wooden frame is placed across a horse's back, with two seats—one on each side—with little arms on the outside, and cushions to sit upon; and these, when unoccupied, are an equipoise. If there be one traveller, he occupies one seat; and his luggage, if he have any, is placed upon the other. If there be two travellers, each occupy a seat; or, if the traveller have no luggage, he and the female driver occupy the two seats. Every one travels in this mode; though, to one unaccustomed to it, it seems somewhat ludicrous, as well as unceremonious, to be propped upon a meagre horse, cheek-by-jowl with the female driver.

But it requires an apprenticeship to ride *en cacolet*. One cannot seat one's self with the same security *en cacolet*, as vault into a saddle; it requires the utmost precision, and the briskest action, to escape being rolled in the dust. Let it be recollected, that the seats are an equipoise, and the difficulties will be apparent. If the seats are both to

be occupied, the persons who are to occupy them must make the spring at the same instant; they must be as watchful of the mutual signal, as a file of soldiers who wait the command—“*Make ready—present—fire!*” A second's delay—a second's precipitation—proves fatal; the seat is attained; and at the same moment, up goes the opposite empty seat, and down goes the equestrian below the horse's belly. It is really a pretty art to mount *en cacolet*. If your companion be one of the drivers, the danger of a failure is less; for they understand the thing so perfectly, that they always catch the right moment; but the uninitiated must acquire the art at the expense of several *renversements*. In descending from the *cacolet*, it is still worse; because there is more hurry—more impatience on arriving at the end of a journey; and an injudicious descent does not visit its effects upon one, but upon both travellers; for unless the person who descends be extremely quick in his motions, his seat flies up before he has quite left it, and oversets him; and the opposite weight, of course, goes plump to the ground—with as fatal effects as cutting the hammock-strings of a middy's berth. My skill in the art of *cacolet*-mounting and descending, was acquired after many *flûtures*, dusted coats, and slight bruises.

But it is not only in mounting and descending that art and practice are required, but in keeping one's seat also. The cushions are seldom level; there is no support for the feet; so that if, at a steep descent, the horse trots a little harder than usual, the inexperienced in *cacolets* will probably slide forward into the road; and of course, at the same moment, the person opposite will experience a like mishap.

Morning, noon, and evening, the road between Bayonne and Bieretz is crowded with travellers *en cacolet*;—some from Bayonne, going to take a dip, or spend a day at Bieretz; some from Bieretz, going to hear the news, or spend the day at Bayonne; some removing to sea-bathing quarters; others returning to town. The expense of one transit is one franc and a half; and for going and returning, two francs; but unless a previous understanding be made, more will be charged. The horses generally belong to the women who drive them; and they realise about six francs per day upon an average; which, deducting the keep of the horses, leaves a very comfortable income. These women are generally young—many of them handsome—and most of them not remarkable for the purity of their morals. They generally speak French, Basque, and a little Spanish; and are rather intelligent than otherwise, always carrying on an unintermitting conversation during the whole of the ride. The horses are generally indifferent; they go at a small trot, and perform the *trajet* in about forty minutes. No one walks between Bayonne and Bieretz. Fortunately for the *cacolets*, the road is for the most part covered with deep sand, through which it is an intolerable labour to wade; but the country adjoining the road is agreeable—extremely fertile—sprinkled with gardens—and adorned with many country-houses.

I was much pleased with the first view of Bieretz; and it certainly improved upon acquaintance. I will endeavour to describe its situation. The coast, about half a mile in extent, is bold and rocky. Cliffs, not of great altitude—the lower part rock, the upper part grass—are washed by the sea at

high tide ; and from the shore, about half a mile out, enormous rocks are scattered, forming, near the shore, numerous sandy creeks which lie among them, and which, farther from the shore, are covered, or nearly covered, at high tide, while, at low tide, they are left almost, or altogether, dry. Many of these rocks are perforated with holes ; so that, with a high sea, and an incoming tide, and always, indeed, in some degree, when the tide flows, the water pours through these holes and rents, presenting the singular appearance of many cascades. Some of the rocks which lie close to the shore, and many of those which form the cliffs, are worn into vast caverns. In these the waves make ceaseless music—a hollow, dismal sound, like distant thunder ; and when a broad swelling wave bounds into these caverns, and breaks in some distant chamber, the shock, to one standing on the beach, is like a slight earthquake. But when a storm arises in the Bay of Biscay, and a north-west wind sweeps across the Atlantic, the scene is grand beyond the power of description. The whole space, covered with rocks which are scattered over the coast, is an expanse of foam, boiling whirlpools, and cataracts ; and the noise of the tremendous waves, rushing into these vast caverns, and lashing their inner walls, is grander a thousand times than the most terrific thunder-storm that ever burst from the sky.

I can never forget the scene that one day I beheld, or the disastrous effects of the storm. When I retired to bed it was a calm night ; but lightning, and a threatening sunset, had portended a change. About midnight I was awake by my window being forced open by the tempest. The air and the sky were pitch dark ; but a storm lights up the sea with its own glare ; and the waves, as they broke over the rocks, and rolled into the caverns, and the rushing wind, made a sublimity of sound beyond any thing that I had ever before heard. But when morning came, and dawned upon the Bay of Biscay, the sublimity of sight was added to the sublimity of sound. I contrived to make my way, with great difficulty, to a spot from which I could see the waves rush into the caverns ; but the eye could follow them but a little way. The extent of these subterranean chambers can be judged only by the ear ; for it was long after the wave had passed the porch that the shock and the thunder announced that it had reached the innermost cavern. I was here more than usually sensible of that unaccountable feeling which impels one to leap into any dreadful abyss that yawns below, and felt it necessary to draw back, from the fear that this inclination might become too strong to be resisted. While I remained watching the storm, a young gentleman, who lived in the same house with me, came out and joined me. He proposed to descend to a ledge of rocks that lay below, that he might see farther into the caverns ; but I endeavoured to dissuade him from this attempt. In order to reach this ledge, it was necessary to drop down a perpendicular rock about four feet ; and the ledge, which sloped at nearly an angle of forty-five, was about five yards across, and ended abruptly, in a descent of twenty or thirty feet, into one of the boiling cauldrons that lay before the porch of one of the caverns. My companion would not be persuaded to desist from his attempt ; and he dropped upon the ledge, but immediately slipped forward. I can never forget my sensations at that

moment. He fell upon his face, and continued to slide nearer and nearer to the edge ; but, about a yard from the extremity, some rather more rugged part of the rock arrested his progress. It was impossible for him to attempt to regain the upper part of the ledge, for the exertion might, if unsuccessful, precipitate him downward. He was a good swimmer ; but swimming could have been of no avail in such a spot, and on such a day. He would have been hurled in an instant against the porch, or into one of the caverns. I called to him to remain still, and flew, rather than ran to the house, to obtain assistance. At first no ropes were to be found, and it was necessary to send a little distance to procure them. The anxiety during this interval was horrible ; for it was possible that the slight obstacle on the rock might have been insufficient to hinder any length of time the descent of a heavy body, and that delay might prove fatal. And how doubly horrible must have been the feelings of the person suspended above the dreadful gulph, the thunder of the storm around him, and every wave shaking the rock upon which he lay ! But the rugged spot on the rock had still preserved him. He had remained without motion ; and when we reached the rock, he was precisely where I had left him. No great exertion was required to extricate him. The rope at once enabled him to ascend the ledge, and place himself above it ; and although he had lost his colour, and his appetite for breakfast that morning, he was philosopher enough to say, that he did not regret what had occurred, since he had an opportunity of knowing what are the feelings of a man whose life hangs by a thread.

But if the storm had not been the cause of death to this young man, it had unfortunately brought death elsewhere. When I returned to breakfast, I learned that a small vessel had been wrecked during the night, within two miles of Bieretz, and that all the crew had perished. What their numbers were, could not be ascertained. I walked, when the storm had a little subsided, to the spot where the catastrophe had taken place. The rocks lay about three hundred yards from shore. All that could be seen was a part of the hull fixed upon the rock ; part of the timbers, masts, &c., were thrown upon the shore ; and the bodies of three men had already been found, and carried to the nearest village.

This was the only storm that troubled the Bay of Biscay during the fortnight that I remained at Bieretz ; all the rest of the time, it was as smooth as a mill-pond. I had always been accustomed to associate with the Bay of Biscay, storms, and a broad heavy swell, ever rolling in upon the coast ; and I felt something like disappointment at the perfect tranquillity that lay upon it during the first week I resided at Bieretz. But even in calm the sea has variety at Bieretz ; for the incoming tide always occasions surf, and some swell among the rocks and cavities.

So much for the coast. Now for Bieretz itself. This charming little retreat stands upon mounts and hollows. The ground back from the cliffs is extremely rugged, and the houses are put down wherever a platform or an agreeable slope is found, and where a view of the sea may be had ; but this is not always possible to be obtained, owing to the inequality of the ground. The place is built without any order. There is no street : every one who builds, has chosen his situation without consulting

any general plan. There are altogether forty or fifty houses, all white, and generally with green verandas, and many have balconies on the roof. The accommodation is generally good, and not exorbitantly dear. Some have their tables served from the *traiteurs*, and some have dinner cooked at home. The house in which I had an apartment was the most choice in the place: it was under the light-house, which is, of course, situated upon the most elevated part of the coast. It stands upon a little level piece of ground, which forms a promontory about a hundred yards long, and half that distance across, with two sides dipping perpendicularly into the sea, the others sloping down to the rocks and caverns. The view from this promontory is magnificent. In front is the ocean, in storm or in calm: on the east, the coast of France stretches in an immense curve, white and low; while to the west, the bold outline of the Spanish coast reaches in another vast segment almost as far as the Bilbao. Looking towards the south, the picturesque line of the Pyrenees, close at hand with all their peaks, and hollows, and shadows, stretches into both France and Spain; while nearer still, the pretty white buildings of Bieretz, intermixed with tamarisk-trees, form an agreeable and picturesque foreground to the fertile country that lies between the sea and the mountains. It was a Jewess who kept the house in which I lived. My bed-room commanded the line of both the French and Spanish coasts, and was in front of the sea. I had the use of the saloon below; and breakfast, dinner, and tea were provided, all for three francs and a half per day—not half the price of a bed-room at Cauterets. I had never less than two, sometimes three kinds of fish at dinner, and always an excellent dessert. Wine was not, of course, included; but it costs about 5d. per bottle at Bayonne.

As a bathing-place, Bieretz is absolutely perfect. There is a creek about three hundred yards in depth, not above fifty yards across the mouth, but widening into a small semicircle. Rocks, four or five hundred feet high, flank both sides; and the little waves curl over upon the hardest and most beautiful sand in the world. At all times, whether at full or ebb-tide, there is sufficient depth of water in this creek for the bather; and yet the timid may find ground twenty or thirty yards within water-mark. Upon the smooth sand, a little way beyond water-mark, several *marques* are pitched for the use of bathers; and morning, noon, and evening, but especially at the warmest time of the day, this little creek presents the liveliest scene imaginable.

Both sexes bathe in this creek; but gentlemen, of course, wear drawers, which are provided by the keepers of the *marques*; and, thus attired, the water is quite a lounge, where the prettiest conversations are carried on. The persons who come to Bieretz for the sake of bathing, especially the females, pass half their time in the water. No one remains a shorter time in the sea than an hour; and I have seen the same persons bathing before breakfast, before dinner, and again in the evening. Most of the ladies wear bonnets, and never go under the water, but are provided with bladders, with which they attempt to swim, and sometimes venture out of their depth. Unless the wind blow strong from the north-west, the creek is always calm. A storm without from any other quarter, only makes a little commotion within, but no waves

or surf. The water is beautifully clear; and in sunny days, the concentrated rays, and the reflection from the sides of the creek, render it a tepid bath. I was not able to discover, that the practice of spending so much time in the water proved at all injurious to health. I particularly remarked three French ladies, who passed not less than four hours every day in the water, and they were pictures of health. This is very opposite from the practice recommended by the medical men of this country. One is not obliged at Bieretz to bathe in the creek I have been speaking of. There are many lesser retired creeks, or shelving rocks, suited to all degrees of prowess, courage, and modesty.

Many hours may be delightfully spent on the sea-shore at Bieretz. If the western headland be doubled, a fine stretch of sands extends far beyond the Spanish lines. To double the headland is indeed somewhat hazardous; for the only path that descends to these sands is a narrow track down the face of the cliffs, and a steady step is required. But the sands are well worthy of this little peril; and my evening walk was generally there. Here, too, the most timid bather may find a shelving beach, and the most retiring need fear no intrusion. Another pleasant, but more dangerous walk, is among the great masses of rock, and the various sandy creeks that lie among them, which are always left hard and dry by the ebbing tide. Curious shells are picked up; strange fishes are found in the little pools which are here and there left; and beautiful and fantastic caves and arches are discovered among the rocks. But such rambles are dangerous. In some places, the tide has accumulated sand above the surrounding level; and after having lingered in such spots for a time, one may find in returning, that the water has already flowed through all the lower channels, and that the retreat is cut off. This twice happened to myself. Once I was able to leap across the channel; the other time I was obliged to wade nearly up to the middle. One resource, however, would always remain—to climb to the summit of one of the higher rocks, which, unless in stormy weather, are not covered at high water, and wait the ebb-tide.

But a *séjour* at Bieretz may be charmingly diversified by excursions more distant than the beach. A *cacolet* is always at command to carry one to Bayonne. There is a lake about a league distant, where the amateur of wild duck shooting may amply gratify his passion. There is excellent trout-fishing in the *Nive*, and in the other lesser streams that descend from the Pyrenees; and one may make an excursion either by land or water to St. Sebastian, where one sees a new order of things, and acquires the distinction, besides, of having been in Spain; or, if a week be devoted to an excursion, the tour of Biscay may be made.

While at Bieretz, I went one afternoon to see a *fête du village* in a little town a league up the coast, but about a mile distant from the sea. I passed by the little lake I have spoken of; but being no sportsman, I did not lament the want of a gun. A *fête du village* in the south of France is worth seeing, the women are so clean and neatly dressed. In this neighbourhood, too, they dance the Basque dances, which are curious and interesting to a stranger. I resolved to return to Bieretz by the sea-shore, along the sands of which I have spoken; and, striking across some sand-hills, I soon reached

them. But long before I gained the headland, which it is necessary to climb up in order to get to Bieretz, it was dusk; and when I arrived at the foot of the rock, it was so dark that I found the greatest difficulty in discovering the point where the ascent begins. It was absolutely necessary either to ascend or retreat, because the tide was flowing in rapidly; but the utmost caution was required; for the least deviation from the path would have thrown me over a precipice. The glare of the lighthouse dazzled my eyes; and I more than once paused, doubting the possibility of finding the path, and almost resolved to descend—though this would have been almost as dangerous—and seek out some nook under the cliffs beyond water-mark. However, I had been so much accustomed to the ascent, that habit guided me out of the way of danger, and I reached the summit in safety.

I shall always recollect my *séjour* at Bieretz with the truest pleasure. How was it possible to pass one's time more agreeably than I did there? A stroll upon the grassy platform, and a breath of sea-air, created an appetite for breakfast. A ride *en cacolet* to Bayonne—a seat among the rocks—a tepid bath of an hour in the creek—pleasantly brought round the dinner-hour; and the fish were so fresh, the Pyrenean mutton so sweet, and the Jewess's puddings so excellent, that an appetite was scarcely required. Then what could be a pleasanter dessert than the conversation of two intelligent men who lived in the same house? As the evening approached, all the *élite* of Bieretz assembled on the platform; and it was a magnificent spectacle to see the sun sink in the ocean, and the coasts of France and Spain fade away in the deepening dusk. The glare of the lighthouse was the warning for tea; and a sober game at *écarté* brought the hour of repose.

I conclude this sketch of Bieretz, by advising those of my countrymen who wish to spend a few months at agreeable sea-bathing quarters, and in a delightful climate, to step into the steam-boat for Bourdeaux, without any terror of the Bay of Biscay, which in summer is oftener smooth than rough. Four-and-twenty hours from Bourdeaux, in a commodious diligence, will bring the traveller to Bayonne; and another hour will place him at Bieretz, where he may find out the Jewess who lives in the lighthouse, and spend his time as much to his satisfaction as I spent mine. In five days from Liverpool, one may be in Bieretz. I can have no doubt that this chapter will fill the house of the Jewess the ensuing summer; and I have as little doubt, that her talent in the cookery of fish, and in the manufactory of bread-pudding, will induce some to repeat their visit.

CHAPTER XXXV.

JOURNEY FROM BAGNÈRES DE LOUCHON TO PAU.

Retrospect—Journey from Bagnères de Louchon to Bagnères de Bigorre—The Garonne—A Tradition of the Holy Wars—Journey to Pau—St. Pe—Betharam and its Cavalry—French Honesty—The Province of Bearn and its Productions—Approach to Pau.

I WAS now about to bid a final farewell to the Pyrenees—to change the varied charms of mountain-

scenery for the soft fertility of the plains of Bearn; and the solitude and silence of the valleys, for the bustle and din of Bourdeaux. I entered the Pyrenees with highly-excited expectations; and they were fully and delightfully realised. The misrepresentations of the traveller and the novelist had led to grievous disappointment in the southern provinces of France; but, trusting neither to the traveller nor the novelist, because, knowing that in mountains of a certain altitude, striking and interesting scenes cannot fail to be disclosed, I felt persuaded that, among the Pyrenees, I should find the beauty which I sought after. I have endeavoured to convey to the reader some idea of the charm of Pyrenean scenery; and if, in my desire to do justice to it, my descriptions have been too much extended, I have only this apology to make, that, in comparison with the Alps, the Pyrenees are almost unknown;—that there is scarcely any record of the traveller's observations upon them, excepting the observations of those who have confined themselves chiefly to geological inquiry; and that, therefore, it was a duty to speak as fully as my limits would permit, of a country so worthy of the traveller's regards, and yet so rarely visited by him. The remainder of this volume will have more to do with men and cities than nature—themes not so much to my liking; but which must, nevertheless, occupy the page of the writer who is ambitious of conveying information, as well as of affording entertainment.

I left Bagnères de Louchon upon one of those mornings, which, to the pedestrian, are the most delightful—the dull, tranquil morning, when the sky is shrouded, not in clouds, but by a dappled veil of bluish gray—when the atmosphere, without being sultry, is mild and balmy—and when a light air comes in occasional small puffs, just enough to lift the leaves of the oak, or waft the dandelion; and which tempts one to put gloves in the pocket, and to lift the cap from the forehead. I had a journey of at least ten leagues before me; and therefore was early upon the road. I had found a conveyance the day before for my portmanteau to Pau; and I was therefore unencumbered with either horse or guide. This I call travelling luxuriously.

Two leagues and a half from Bagnères de Louchon, a little beyond the hamlet of Cierp, the road lies along the side of the river Pique; and this may still be called a mountain-road. On the east, indeed, the country is only hilly; but on the west lies a mountain-range, which is the boundary between the Low and the High Pyrenees. The Pique must be a choice trout-stream. It possesses almost all the qualifications I mentioned, when speaking of the *Gare de Cautelets*. Between Louchon and Cierp, no fewer than nine small streams, all flowing from west to east, join the Pique. These all come down little lateral valleys, which are so full of foliage, that the streams are only seen where they issue from them. At Cierp I stopped to breakfast, at a very small auberge, where, however, *café au lait* was attainable; and, after a short rest, I proceeded on my journey. Soon after leaving Cierp, the Pique mingles its waters with the more celebrated Garonne, destined to fertilize the southern plains of France—to connect the Great Canal of Languedoc and the Mediterranean with the Atlantic—and to be the channel of commerce,

and form the port, of one of the first commercial cities of Europe—*Bordeaux*.

After the junction of the two rivers, the scenery becomes softer. By one ascending from the plains, it might be called mountain-scenery; but, contrasted with the majestic scenes of the Hautes Pyrénées, its character is gentleness. All this country is well peopled. I passed numerous hamlets, and several villages; and the appearance of the land as well as of the people, announced a departure from the mountains. At a place called St. Bertrand de Comings, my path and the road no longer lay together. The road struck to the right to St. Gaudens and Thoulouse; but my direction lay to the left, up the bank of the *Neste* to *La Barthe*. I found only a foot-path by the river-side; but this was sufficient. There was no mistaking the way; and, after a pleasant walk of about three hours from St. Bertrand, I saw *La Barthe* on the opposite side of the river. There was no bridge across, and opposite to *La Barthe* the stream was not fordable; but about half a mile up the river, I found a spot, where, by wading only knee-deep, and making a few long steps from rock to rock, across deeper channels, I attained the opposite bank, and reached *La Barthe*. Here I dined, and inquired my road to *Bagnères de Bigorre*. I learned that there was no road, not even a track, and that the distance was about three leagues and a half. A peasant lad at the auberge undertook to guide me across the country; and, as I was desirous of reaching *Bagnères* that night, I had no remedy but to put myself under his protection.

Our road lay through green acclivities and sweet pastoral scenes; but, at one place, a novel and highly picturesque scene presented itself. It was a deep valley, not half a mile across, bounded by rocks; and upon the summit of the rocks, opposite to each other, stood the ruins of two castles. These were the castles of *Espeche* and *Lomine*; and the guide narrated a tradition of these places as we went along. The lords of these two castles were enemies, and constantly disputed with one another the possession of the valley that lay between their castles; but, along with this enmity, each was enamoured of the wife of the other, though the ladies themselves loved their own lords, and gave no encouragement to the enemies of their husbands. At this time the crusades were published; and both of these nobles resolved to forget private animosities for a time, and join the standard of the Cross. It so happened, however, that after travelling—the tradition does not say whether in company or not—during several days, the devil entered into both their hearts, and they both reasoned after this manner:—"My enemy has gone to the Holy Wars, and has left both his lands and his wife unprotected. I hate him, but I love his wife. What hinders me from returning, and making the most of his absence?" And so both the lord of *Espeche* and the lord of *Lomine* returned, and took the road, not to their own castles, but to the castles of each other.

But it so happened, that on the very night upon which these two nobles left their own castles, their ladies had a vision. Each was warned, in a dream, of the intention of her husband to return, and go to the castle of his enemy, that he might find his enemy's wife; and this vision being often repeated, these noble dames resolved—instigated, no doubt, by the same kind power that had sent the vision—

to seek each other, and communicate what had happened. Accordingly, these ladies left their own castles to cross the valley, and met each other by the way; and having communicated the mutual vision, they resolved upon a method of avoiding the danger, and of at the same time proving to their lords their own affection, and the Divine interposition by which they had been warned of the future. They determined to change castles; and that very day they put their resolution into effect.

Meanwhile, their lords arrived under cover of night, each at the castle of his enemy, and were greatly surprised to find that no wonder was excited by their return, for the ladies had forewarned their household of what was to be expected; but still greater was their surprise, when, upon being ushered into the castle hall, each beheld his own spouse. The explanation that followed wrought a miraculous change. Touched with the affection of their own wives, they were convinced that this reconciliation was the will of God, since its means had been miraculously revealed in a vision. They abjured their mutual enmity—swore unalterable fidelity to their own wives—and set out in company for the Holy Land.

It was nearly dark before we arrived at *Bagnères de Bigorre*, where, the reader will recollect, I have already conducted him. The distance had proved greater than it was said to be, which is always the case with unmeasured distances; and we had been several times obliged to deviate from our course, in order to find convenient fords across streams, narrow, but deep and rapid. A tired and hungry traveller cannot arrive at a better place than *Bagnères de Bigorre*, for there is nothing he desires that cannot be obtained there.

Next morning I left *Bagnères* for *Lourdes*. This is a truly charming road. It lies all the way along the foot of the Pyrenees, among the loveliest scenes, created by gentle undulations, and verdant knolls, and meadows, and cottages; and the Pyrenees, with their clefts and shadows, and scattered woods, rising on the left. Of *Lourdes*, I need add nothing to what I have already observed on my way to St. Sauveur. I left it for *Pau* the next morning; and having now descended from the mountains, and the weather being insufferably hot, I hired a *calèche* for my journey.

The banks of the Gave, along which the road lies all the way from *Lourdes* to *Pau*, are of the most picturesque description. We are no longer among mountains, but among wooded hills, generally clothed to the summit; and the green beauty of the fields that lay along the river-side, reminded me of the *Semmenhall* in Switzerland. Passing near the *Lac de Lourdes*, which I had already visited, I reached *St. Pe*; which was founded in 1032, by William duke of Gascony, because he had recovered his health in a journey which he made in these parts; and at the same time he founded and endowed a monastery of Benedictines, which he dedicated to God and St. Peter; and so the town obtained the name of *St. Pe*. The duke of Gascony filled the convent with rich offerings, which have long since been better employed. *St. Pe* contains about three thousand inhabitants; and, besides the labours of agriculture, which are limited by the quantity of forest that lies in the vicinity, they occupy themselves in the manufacture of combs and of calico, and also find employment in the iron

mines of *Loubie*. The situation of St. Pe is beautiful. Soon after passing St. Pe, we leave the department of the High Pyrenees, and enter the Low Pyrenees.

Another league brought us to *Betharam*, a place of much interest to the devotees of the neighbourhood, owing to its Mount Calvary. Here, after I had breakfasted, I walked up this hill by a zig-zag path, at every corner of which is a *station*, or little chapel, in which the most grotesque and ludicrous groups in wood represent the different circumstances in the passion of our Saviour. This was not the season of pilgrimage; but I was informed, that, in the month of September, a vast concourse of devotees come hither, to warm their devotion, and purchase holy trinkets. The sale of these is, however, never suspended. A long table is placed at the foot of the ascent, covered with rosaries, crosses, rings and amulets, all blessed at some shrine; and, as the woman who sold them assured me, some of them even blessed by his holiness himself. But the walk to the summit of this mount does not require any adventitious attraction; it is pleasant and shady, and the view from the platform is itself worth the ascent. At this place, where there are so many helps to morality, I was robbed of some trifles, the first time I ever suffered the smallest depredation in France; and I think it only just to record here, my belief in the great honesty of the French people, who cannot be charged with that disposition towards petty theft, which so disgraces the people of most other countries. This superior honesty may be partly owing to a natural virtue; but I suspect that the difference in morals, and especially in the prevalence of robbery, is, in most cases, to be attributed chiefly to the difference in the condition of the people. This sufficiently explains the difference between France and England, in a comparison of the quantity of crime in the two countries; for, in the former country, and especially in the south, where the necessities of life are so much more easily obtained than in England, there is small comparative temptation towards depredations upon the property of others. However, an exception was found at St. Pe. I left a small basket containing some trifling articles in the *calèche*, which stood at the door of the auberge while I breakfasted; and when I examined the basket, I found all that was worth stealing had been abstracted—among other things, a purse with some silver, and a quantity of copper which I had placed there, because it was too heavy to carry in any other way. The *commissaire* said he could recover the property for me; but the articles were not of sufficient value to make it worth while to delay my journey on their account.

Between Betharam and Pau, the country is beautiful, and entirely changes its character. The mountains are all left behind. We are traversing the rich vales of Bearn; every inch of land is cultivated; and the road is a constant succession of villages and houses. The principal produce of this country is fruit, wine, and Indian corn, all of which grow in great perfection. It is from this district that the prunes so much prized in England are grown and prepared; and every description of fruit that is produced in the lower parts of Bearn is excellent of its kind. Here, too, we find the vine, not as it is found in the other parts of France—an insignificant shrub covering the acclivities, and pos-

sessing not much greater beauty than a potato-field; but trained from tree to tree, as in some parts of Italy and in the Tyrol. The vine is then the most beautiful of plants, with its interlacing twigs, and broad leaves, and rich clusters.

Along great part of the road, rows of trees are planted; and the vine, trained all the way along from tree to tree, forms the most beautiful of all fences. This district, excepting the valleys of the Pyrenees, is certainly the most beautiful part of France; and although we are no longer among the Pyrenees, they are seen bounding the horizon on the south, and not at so great a distance as to deprive us of the effect of their shadows and inequalities. It was Sunday as I approached Pau; and I saw, therefore, to the greatest advantage, the peasantry of those parts dressed in their holiday-clothes, and engaged in those rural pastimes which are permitted on that day by the faith which they profess. I reached Pau before dinner, and alighted at the *hôtel de la Porte*, the best in the town.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

PAU.

Environs of Pau—Pau as a Residence—The Chateau of Henri Quatre—The King's Cradle—Journey from Pau to Bourdeaux—French Accommodation—First-rate and Inferior Inns.

PAU has always enjoyed the reputation of being one of the most interesting cities of the south of France; and altogether, I think, it deserves its reputation. It lies in one of the most beautiful and most abundant countries in Europe, in one of the finest climates; and the city itself is clean, airy, and abounds in every convenience, and in most luxuries. As for the environs of Pau, they are certainly beautiful. The Gave serpentine through the charming undulating country that surrounds the town. Grain, meadows, and vine, diversify the scenery; and innumerable country-houses are everywhere scattered around. I was particularly delighted with the number and extraordinary beauty of the weeping-willows, which ornament a beautiful slope that lies to the south of the city, and which hang also above the river. Nothing can exceed the beauty of some of the promenades in the neighbourhood of Pau. Some lie along the side of the Gave, others along the bank of the smaller river Rees; and within the town there is a large and shaded platform, which commands a magnificent view over the surrounding country. Pau is a great resort for strangers, particularly English; and with the exception of Bayonne, upon whose advantages I have already expatiated, Pau I think the most desirable of any of the towns which are selected by foreigners as a residence. There are abundance of excellent houses to be obtained at a very moderate expense; and the markets are both abundant and cheap. Meat seldom exceeds 3½d. per lb.; fowls are not more than 1s. 3d. per pair; fish from the rivers are very abundant; and fruit and vegetables are nowhere to be found in greater variety or perfection. Excellent wine is about 3d. per bottle. There are generally fifty or sixty English families in Pau and its neighbourhood, and the number, I understand, is upon the increase.

The chief interest of Pau arises from its having been the birth-place of Henry IV., and from the castle, which is still to be seen nearly in the condition in which he left it. The castle of *Henri Quatre* is of more ancient date than the town. The princes of Bearn, in former times, had their residence at Morlaas; but being obliged to make frequent head against the Saracens, who were then accustomed to make fierce inroads from Spain, they resolved upon building a chateau, that might serve at once for observation and pleasure; and to this the chateau of *Henri Quatre* owes its origin. Its name was originally *Paou*, a Bernese word for *stake*, owing to stakes having been driven in to mark the spot upon which the castle was to be erected; and this word gave the name of Pau to the city which was founded in the neighbourhood, about the middle of the tenth century. The site of the castle is finely chosen. From the towers of the castle, and even from the windows, a ravishing prospect is disclosed. The whole province of Bearn—certainly one of the most fertile in the world—lies like a map below; and the majestic range of the Pyrenees is the back-ground of this rich picture. When the atmosphere is clear, the Breche de Roland can be discovered from the summit.

I was not long in Pau before paying a visit to the castle, the birth-place of that monarch.

“ Qui fut de ses sujets le vainqueur et le père.”

Every thing remains as of old. The ancient portraits are there—the old furniture; and even the cradle of the king is seen in the chamber where he was born. The monarch alone is wanting: his statue, which stands in the vestibule, is meant to supply his place. The cradle of the king is of tortoiseshell; and during the revolution it narrowly escaped destruction. It was resolved, at the time of the revolution, by the infuriated madmen who imitated the example of the Parisians, to burn this relic as a public *fete*. But, fortunately, an inhabitant of the town, *M. de Beauregard*, was in possession of a cradle of the same material, and not unlike that preserved in the castle. This gentleman communicated with the porter of the chateau; and having secretly introduced his own cradle into the castle, it was afterwards brought out as the true cradle, and was burnt in the square by the infuriated populace; and thus the cradle of *Henri Quatre* was preserved.

But although this relic has been preserved, the castle itself suffered greatly during the time of the revolution. It was at that time used as military quarters; and the sculpture which once embellished the walls of the interior is so much mutilated and destroyed—partly perhaps intentionally, and partly by the effects of time—that the subjects of it are no longer discernible. In other respects, the castle has been repaired, and the repairs have amounted to upwards of 700,000 francs. At a short distance from the town, ascending the Gave, and turning towards the mountains, are the ruins of the chateau of Coaraze, the outer walls and one of the towers of which are yet standing. There, the early childhood of Henry IV. was passed, under the care of the baroness de Moissens, his governess. That was a fine wish of this noble-minded king, expressed in these words:—“ Je veux, que le moindre paysan mette une poule dans son pot le Dimanche.”

The inhabitants of Pau have not to travel so far as the *Hautes Pyrénées* to benefit by medicinal springs. *Les eaux bonnes* and *les eaux chaudes*, are both within eight leagues of Pau; and thither, accordingly, many inhabitants repair during “the season.” But the English generally take the longer journey to Bagnères de Bigorre, which is more fashionable. *Les eaux bonnes* and *les eaux chaudes* have long been known. In 1591, the sister of Henry IV. visited them; and previous to this time, M. de Thou, who measured the altitude of the Pyrenees, had visited them, and drank twenty-five glasses of water every day.

Having satisfied my curiosity at Pau, I left it *en diligence* for Bourdeaux. Most of this journey being performed during the night, I cannot enter much into detail; but I do not greatly err in saying, that the road from Pau to Bourdeaux lies through a rich country; and that the banks of the Garonne, which we travelled along, afford those agreeable and *riante* views, which might be expected from the magnitude of its stream, and from the southern latitude of the country through which it flows. I was greatly surprised, however, in this very fertile and abundant country, to find so great a scant of provisions in the inns. Some accident had happened to the diligence from Bourdeaux to Pau; and horses not being in readiness for us at the usual stations, we were obliged to dine, sup, and breakfast, at inns where we were not expected. It was impossible to avoid contrasting the condition of these inns with the inns of England on any of our great roads. Travelling upon any of our great roads, one could find no difficulty in obtaining a comfortable dinner at any respectable inn; but, in this journey to Bourdeaux, we were half-starved; and a few eggs, and one or two ill-fed fowls, were all that could be procured for a very numerous company; and when the diligence stopped to breakfast at a town of some considerable extent, neither coffee nor milk could be obtained at the inn; and I was obliged to run over half the town before being able to procure those articles, which, in France, are considered the chief necessities of life. I arrived in Bourdeaux about mid-day, and established myself in an excellent apartment in the *hôtel de l'Europe*—the best among the many good hotels in the city. I always go to the best hotel. There is nothing gained to economy, and a great deal lost to comfort, by going to an inferior house. All that is required on the part of the economical traveller, who goes to the first hotel, is to ask the price of his apartment. It is in this that the chief difference in expense consists; for great establishments have apartments of all *grades*.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

BOURDEAUX.

Bourdeaux little visited—Historical Sketch—Climate and Air of Bourdeaux—The Quay and Bridge—Table of the Comparative Dimensions of Bridges—The Theatre—The New Hospital—Churches—Learned Societies—Public Instruction—Antiquities—Situation and Environs—Condition of the Peasantry—The Inhabitants of the Landes—Society in Bourdeaux—The Chateau de Montesquieu.

BOURDEAUX is less visited by the traveller than any other great city in Europe, excepting the Spanish

cities ; and the reason of this it is not difficult to explain. I do not speak of mercantile men, who visit Bordeaux upon business ; but of travellers who make a *royage d'agrément*. Bordeaux is not on the road either to Vienna, or Switzerland, or Italy. If one goes to Bordeaux, it must be to see Bordeaux, and nothing else ; for to include Bordeaux in a tour to any other country, would be a *détour* of many hundred miles. And yet I know very few cities in Europe more magnificent than this maritime capital of France ; and to the English it possesses a peculiar interest, owing to its connection with that article which has become one of the chief luxuries of our English population. I trust, therefore, that a more detailed account of Bordeaux, than I am generally in the habit of giving of cities, may not be considered unacceptable.

It is not ascertained at what epoch Bordeaux was founded. Some historians have fixed the date in the days of Tarquin ;—others have supposed that it was founded by the Phœnicians, four centuries before the vulgar era. Something, I believe, is to be said in favour of each of these opinions ; but the best-founded conjecture is considered to be that which places the foundation of the city shortly after the invasion and conquest of the Gauls by Julius Cæsar. Like every other great city, its beginnings were small ; and, indeed, although often partially rebuilt and improved, its present splendour is to be dated only as far back as the reign of Louis XV. In its early years, Bordeaux was successively subject to the Visigoths, the Franks, the Saracens, and the Normans—the kings of France—the kings of Aquitania—the dukes of Guienne and Gascony—and, at length, passed under the sovereignty of Henry of Plantagenet, duke of Normandy, and count of Anjou, presumptive heir to the English crown ; and, after long protracted wars, Bordeaux, and the whole of Guienne, conquered by Charles VII., were finally annexed to the French crown.

The etymology of the ancient name *Burdigala*, or, according to Strabo, *Burdecala*, has not been explained. The modern word Bordeaux admits of an easy explanation ; for it is almost literally *bord des eaux*, or *bord d'eaux*, which is truth ; but this affords no explanation of the ancient *Burdigala*, or *Burdecala*. Bordeaux is, in fact, surrounded by waters. On the east the Garonne flows ; on the west and south, three streams, called the *Devèze*, *Peugue*, *Bègles*, are found ; and on the north are the riviulets called the *Bourde* and the *Jalle*. And, besides all these running streams, there are many large marshes at no great distance from the city.

So situated, it may be supposed that Bordeaux cannot be a healthy city. The winds which blow the most frequently are, west, south-west, and north-west ; and these, blowing over the ocean and the Landes, must necessarily be charged with humidity. Accordingly, the atmosphere of Bordeaux is most commonly moist and mild. During the winters, which are generally rainy, the thermometer seldom descends below the fifth or fourth degree of Reaumur. In summer, it ranges from twenty to twenty-five of Reaumur. This humid atmosphere, and high temperature during the summer, together with the vicinity of the marshes, is productive of frequent epidemics, and of various other maladies ; among which the most frequent

are, colds and coughs, intermittent fevers, rheumatism, and particularly those diseases which the French call *phthisie tuberculeuse des adultes*, et *phthisie pituiteuse des vieillards*. In the year 1826, there were born 1887 males, and 1890 females ; in all, 3777 births. In the same year, there were married 882 persons, and 3277 persons died.

The stranger who, for the first time, leaves his hotel, to walk through the streets of Bordeaux, is surprised with its magnificence. The spacious streets, and handsome buildings that line them, and the splendour of many of the public buildings, are scarcely to be equalled in any other city ; and I have no hesitation in affirming, that the quay or port of Bordeaux presents a *coup d'œil* more splendid and imposing than any thing that is to be seen either in London or Paris. The quay, of course, follows the curve of the river, and is considerably more than three miles in length. The whole of this vast curve is composed of an unbroken crescent of lofty, irregular, and generally handsome buildings, and is diversified by many fine towers and spires that rise behind it. The quay itself is broad ; and the river, which flows beneath, is between six and seven hundred yards in breadth. It may easily be believed, then, that viewing this scene from any opposite point from which the eye may embrace the whole extent of this magnificent arch, one cannot hesitate in according to it a decided superiority over any *coup d'œil* presented to us, in either the French or in the English metropolis.

The streets of Bordeaux are so crowded, there is so much bustle and traffic, and the inhabitants have so much of a business-air, that, in walking the streets, one is strongly reminded of London. Few loungers are to be seen. Every one walks as if he had some errand ; and waggons, carts, coaches, and even private carriages, are more frequent than in any provincial city or town that I can at this moment recollect, with the exception, perhaps, of Liverpool. I spent the whole of the first day I was in Bordeaux on the quay, and on the bridge called *Le pont de Bordeaux*. This is undoubtedly a magnificent structure ; and the *Bordelais* are justly proud of a monument which, in his own *genre*, has no rival in Europe. A bridge over the Garonne at Bordeaux was long contemplated before it was begun. It was first proposed by the *maréchal de Richelieu* ; but it was not until the return of Louis XVIII. to the throne that the work was commenced. The chief difficulties which opposed the construction of the bridge, were the depth of water, the force of the currents, and, above all, the instability of the bed of the river. The general depth of the river is from eighteen to thirty feet ; and the flow of the tide adds eighteen feet to this depth. The current, with an ebbing tide, flows at the rate of no less than nine feet per second—upwards of six miles per hour ; and the bed of the river is a loose sand, and far from a level surface.

Countries are generally proud of the length of their bridges. The English are proud of Waterloo-bridge ; the Prussians, of the bridge over the Elbe ; the French of the Pont de Bordeaux ; and it is rather a wound to national vanity, to tell an Englishman that there is a longer than Waterloo-bridge ; or a Frenchman, that the Pont de Bordeaux is not the longest in the world. For my own part, I was certainly national enough to be-

lieve, that the length and breadth of Waterloo-bridge exceeded that of any other; and did feel some little disappointment when I discovered my error. But it is an error; and I am therefore bound to rectify it. The following will show at once the comparative dimensions of the most remarkable bridges in Europe. The measurements I state in French *mètres* and hundred parts, as I obtained them from a French work:

NAMES OF BRIDGES.	Length of Bridges between the Butments.	Breadth between the Parapets.	Number of Arches.	Diameter of Arches.	Thickness of Piers.
Bridge of Bourdeaux over the Garonne }	met. c. 486 68	met. c. 14 86	17	met. c. 26 49	met. c. 4 21
Waterloo Bridge - }	377 ..	12 80	9	36 ..	6 9
Bridge of Tours over the Loire - }	434 18	14 60	15	24 40	4 87
Pont de la Guiliotiére across the Rhone }	570 ..	7 60	18	Very unequal.	Un-equal.
Bridge of Dresden across the Elbe }	441 ..	10 45	18	16 17	10 ..

From this table, then, it appears, that the Pont de Bourdeaux is one hundred and nine yards longer than Waterloo-bridge; and that the Pont de la Guiliotiére is eighty-four yards longer than the Pont de Bourdeaux. In breadth, the Pont de Bourdeaux and the Pont de Tours have both the advantage of Waterloo-bridge. But the elegance of a bridge depending chiefly upon the span of the arches, it is probable that Waterloo-bridge may still be the most beautiful, though inferior both in length and in breadth to the Pont de Bourdeaux.

But wherever the preference may be due, the bridge of Bourdeaux is a beautiful structure, and not only an ornament, but a most essential convenience to the city. This convenience is brought very forcibly before the notice of the traveller who journeys from Bourdeaux to Paris; for, after passing along the Pont de Bourdeaux at the rate at which a French diligence travels, he arrives at the Dordogne, across which there is no bridge; and although he is ferried across by a very convenient machine, the delay and discomfort of a ferry are very strongly contrasted with the convenience of a bridge.

I believe the construction of this bridge is singular, and to architects interesting. There are arched galleries between the top of the arches and the level of the bridge, through which one is able to walk from one end to the other. The whole interior is a continuation of arches; and there is, besides, an aqueduct, by which the waters which rise in the heights on the right bank of the river are conveyed to the city. The view of the quay, from about the centre of the bridge, is superb. This is the best position from which it can be viewed, excepting, perhaps, the heights that rise about a mile from the right bank of the river. I have seldom returned from a walk more gratified than from this promenade upon the quay and the bridge of Bourdeaux.

The same evening I went to the theatre, called *Le grand Théâtre*—a name it well deserves, for it is a great work in every sense of the word. There is no theatre in any other city so magnificent as the great theatre of Bourdeaux, whether its dimensions be regarded, or the beauty of its architecture. This edifice was erected in the reign of Louis XVI. Three years only were employed in

its construction, and the expense amounted to about 170,000*l.* sterling. The façade is a magnificent colonnade, in the Corinthian order. Pilasters of the same order ornament the sides. Every thing about this building is in unison with its splendid exterior. Its staircase, light and aerial, and adorned with Ionic columns—its interior, both vast and beautiful, ornamented by columns of the Composite order—its cupola, its galleries, its saloons, its cafés—all are beautiful and harmonious. There is a contrivance by which the floor of the pit is made level with the stage at pleasure; by means of which contrivance, the building serves both as a theatre and a ball-room. But beautiful as this theatre is, the people of Bourdeaux do not support it. It is often almost deserted, and is never well filled. This is certainly surprising, considering the known partiality of the French for theatrical entertainments, and in a city so wealthy as Bourdeaux. On the night when I was present, at a representation of a tragedy, the boxes were nearly empty, and the pit was not much more than half full; and although the performance was highly respectable, the audience appeared to pay very little attention to it. But the *ballet* which followed the play was much more honoured. Every one gave his serious attention to it; and the interest excited was shown in the applause also which it received. Even if there were no representation, the theatre of Bourdeaux would be worth visiting, owing to the magnificence of its interior.

But the theatre of Bourdeaux is not the only building in this city that is superior to any edifice dedicated to the same purpose in any other city. The new hospital is also upon a scale of magnificence and comfort beyond what is to be found in any other town in Europe. I dedicated the second of my days at Bourdeaux to a visit to this hospital, and was equally surprised at its extent, and delighted with the admirable arrangements that pervade every part of it. There is nothing that this hospital does not contain. It includes seven hundred and ten beds for sick persons, and eighteen chambers for the accommodation of persons who pay for the attentions they receive. It contains baths; bake-houses, courts, an apothecary's-shop, water-reservoirs, gardens, and accommodation for medical men. There are also in the hospital thirty-four reservoirs for water, as a provision against fire, containing fourteen hundred and ten hogs-heads. I need scarcely add, that, in the cleanliness of every department, the hospital is perfect; and that, in the smallest minutiae, every thing is found that can contribute either to health or to comfort. The *Bordelais* are justly proud of this noble institution.

There are many fine churches in Bourdeaux, particularly the church of St. André, whose towers, in the Gothic style, are truly beautiful. The church of St. Michael also is well worthy of a visit: but descriptions of churches are tedious, and I always avoid them if possible.

Bourdeaux possesses many societies for the encouragement of science and literature, particularly the Royal Academy, the Linnæan Society, the Royal Medical Society, and the *Musée de la Ville de Bourdeaux*, which includes the library, the cabinet of natural history, and the gallery of pictures. The library had its origin at the time of the destruction of the convents, when the libraries which belonged

to them were removed, and united into one. It contains about a hundred thousand volumes, and many rare works and manuscripts. Among the latter is the first French translation of Livy, made by order of king John, and is beautifully illuminated. There is also a copy of Montaigne's Essays, printed in Paris in the year 1588, the margins covered with corrections and notes by the author. This was intended by Montaigne as the basis of a new edition of his works, to be published under his own eye; and this intention was carried into effect, after his death, by Naigeon, who, with the assistance of this copy, published his edition in four volumes 8vo., with all the additions and corrections which Montaigne proposed to have added.

The cabinet of natural history is not without its attractions. The conchologist especially will find there a most interesting display. The gallery of pictures contains, as yet, little to attract the amateur.

Public instruction in Bourdeaux is upon the very best footing. The most important establishment for education is the Royal College of Bourdeaux, in which the following branches of knowledge are taught, gratuitously—the Latin, Greek, and French languages, natural and moral philosophy, rhetoric, natural history, geography, chronology, mythology, ancient and modern history, writing, arithmetic, and drawing. The living languages, music, drawing, and fencing, are also taught to such of the pupils as pay for instruction in them. Books, paper, &c., are all furnished to the scholars by the college; and along with mental improvement, bodily health is not neglected. There is an infirmary attached to the college, where the best medical advice, and all requisite attentions, are provided.

Besides this college, Bourdeaux possesses also a Royal Medical Academy, a School of Botany, with a garden attached to it, a Royal Institution (gratuitous) for the Deaf and Dumb, in which these unfortunates are educated, maintained, and taught whatever trade may suit their inclinations; a Gratuitous School of Design and Painting; a Commercial School, and particularly an Establishment for the Improvement of Agriculture, called *Ferme Expérimentale*. A company of persons, zealous for the adoption of the best system of husbandry, formed themselves into a society, and, in 1823, obtained a royal charter. Produce of every kind, the culture of forest and fruit-trees, and the breeding of cattle, all enter the views of the society; and parcels of land are lent to individuals who may be desirous of trying any thing novel, upon their own charges.

I could enumerate many other societies existing in Bourdeaux, having for their object the improvement of man's intellectual and moral condition; but enumerations of this kind are tedious, and convey little information, and less entertainment.

The antiquarian will find in Bourdeaux some remains of antiquity. Among others, there are the ruins of an amphitheatre, of which, however, little remains excepting the gate; the remains of the palace of the ancient dukes of Aquitania; some vestiges of a temple of Diana; of a fountain; of another temple, and of the ancient port. But it requires the mania of antiquarianism fully to enjoy these vestiges of other days.

The situation of Bourdeaux is very remarkable. Let a stranger sail down the Garonne, and so arrive in Bourdeaux, or let him descend the heights that

lie between the Dordogne and Bourdeaux, and he would say, in either case, that Bourdeaux was situated in the midst of fertility and beauty. But let him arrive in this city from the west, having traversed the *Landes*; or let him disembark near the mouth of the *Gironde*, and travel up its banks, and he will feel astonishment that a city so great and magnificent as Bourdeaux should be placed in the midst of barrenness. I know of no city whose vicinity combines, in so narrow limits, the utmost fertility and beauty, and the most cheerless barrenness. The banks of the Garonne, above Bourdeaux, are as beautiful, and more striking, than the banks of the Loire; and the heights that lie to the north-east of Bourdeaux are also beautifully broken into hill and dale, and charmingly diversified by the variety of their productions; while, on the other hand, the *Landes* present a vast and cheerless desert; and the *Dunes* of the Gironde, a wide district of sand-hills and lagunes, the most dismal of all kinds of scenery. The districts around Bourdeaux may be thus summed up:—numerous vineyards, less or more precious—stony hills—stripes of the utmost fertility lying along the rivers—dangerous and unhealthy marshes—seas of naked sand—tracts of stunted pine, and arid deserts, overflowed in winter, and burnt up in summer, strewn with heath, and to which the horizon is the only boundary;—these are the *Landes*.

The condition of the peasantry of the department is, in general, only *médiocre*. The labourer in the wine-districts, in particular, may be called poor. The vineyards of Bourdeaux are the property of large proprietors; and a country wholly a wine-country, offers fewer resources to the labourer than where the crops are varied, and husbandry more general. The price of labour is not, however, low in this department. Two francs and a half per day are sufficient to procure the comforts of life in that country; but the character of the peasantry is not marked by industry. The nature of the climate, perhaps, engenders idleness; and the cheapness of brandy, from the refuse of the wine, is an incitement to intemperance. The character of the inhabitants of Bourdeaux and its neighbourhood has always been remarkable for its greater placidity, than that which distinguishes the character of the French nation in most other parts. During the time of the Revolution, Bourdeaux was not distinguished for such acts of atrocity and outrage as disgraced the other great cities of the empire—a fact that may be partly accounted for in a city whose inhabitants chiefly live by the produce of the land and its export; for, among a population of this kind, there is always a better feeling, and a more intimate union, among the poor and the rich, than prevails in those cities which live by their manufactures.

With respect to the condition of the inhabitants of the *Landes* of Bourdeaux, many and various opinions are to be found; for my own part, although I have passed through the *Landes*, I have had but scanty opportunity of examining the condition of the people, and must therefore rely upon the authorities which are the most worthy of credit. The author of the *Etudes administratives sur les Landes*, speaking of the inhabitants of this district, says—“Affaiblis par un régime malsain, ils arrivent à l'âge où commence la faculté de réfléchir, sans l'instruction qui la prépare; sans la force physique qui sert

à son développement. . . . Des vêtements grossiers, toujours mal assortis à la température du climat, les accablent pendant l'été sans les préserver du froid pendant l'hiver. . . . Conduits par des usages, prévenus contre les innovations, guidés par un intérêt sans calcul, peu accessibles aux affections de la nature, ils semblent réserver leur sensibilité pour les animaux qui forment leur unique richesse. . . . Une nature sévère, et dont l'aspect ne varie jamais, un retour constant des mêmes occupations, un excès de misère tel qu'il émousse jusqu'au sentiment du malaise, paralysent leur intelligence, et les rendent incapables de ces pensées énergétiques qui donnent à l'homme la force nécessaire pour se roidir contre le malheur et échapper aux conditions fâcheuses de son existence." There is doubtless much truth in this picture. At the same time, although, in comparison with the inhabitants of more favoured districts, the sum of enjoyment which falls to the share of the shepherd of the *Landes* may be few, yet the accustomed usages of his class probably content him. He is miserable, no doubt, in one sense; but he is not himself aware of his own misery. He has more than enough to satisfy the wants of nature; for the inhabitant of the *Landes* is not poor. He is not accustomed to consume any foreign produce; and, by the breeding of cattle, he even amasses some fortune. I now regret, that I did not devote some time to an excursion through the *Landes*, and to some inquiry into the condition of the inhabitants; but I have perhaps a sufficient excuse in the heats of summer, under which the *Landes* were then burnt up.

The middle and highest classes of the inhabitants of Bordeaux are occupied entirely by commerce; but society is, like that in every other town of such extent as Bordeaux, divided into *coteries*. The higher class of merchants consider themselves as far above the second class, as the *exclusives* of a metropolis feel themselves superior to the highest class of merchants. There is less society in Bordeaux than might be expected in so large a town. The *grades* keep distinct, excepting at the time of the carnival, when reserve is in some degree thrown off. In Bordeaux, as in Paris, dinner-parties are rare, excepting among the few English merchants. Every *coterie* has its *soirées*, and the gentlemen have their *cafés* and their clubs.

I went, as is expected of every stranger who visits Bordeaux, to see the *Chateau de Montesquieu*. It is situated about four leagues from Bordeaux, in a fine fertile country. It is a huge and very inelegant building, surrounded by a fosse; and a long avenue of oaks leads to the gate. In the chamber which was used as a study by this great man, all the furniture has been preserved with religious care. An unadorned bed, a few easy chairs of a Gothic form, and some family portraits, are only seen. The room is wainscoted; and it appears, from the rubbed appearance of the left side of the fire-place, as if Montesquieu had been accustomed to meditate upon his work with his foot resting against the wall. This is a little matter; but there is some interest even in trifles like these. The library is interesting. Upon the back of many of his books Montesquieu has written their names. From the window of the study there is a charming view over the surrounding country. He had found pleasure in this retreat; for he says, "Je puis dire que la Brède (the name of the chateau) est un des

lieux aussi agréables qu'il y ait en France: au chateau près, la nature s'y trouve en robe de chambre, et pour ainsi dire au lever du lit." I spent a pleasant day at the Chateau de Montesquieu; for the weather was charming, the party was agreeable, and I had the prospect before me of an excellent dinner, at the house of *Monsieur Guestier*, one of the principal wine-exporters. A prospect like this adds a wonderful zest to a pleasure-excursion.

Besides the *Chateau de la Brède*, there are several other chateaux worthy of a visit. I may mention particularly, the *Chateau de Thouars*, once the residence of Charles IX.; the *Chateau de Villandraut*, where Clement V. was born, and which, not on account of its being the birth-place of a pope, but because of its situation, and the solitude and silence of its ruins, is worth visiting. There is also the fine *Chateau d'Epemon*; the *Chateau de Lafitte*; and the *Chateau-Margaux*, dear, by its very name, to the lover of claret. This reminds me, that I have an important duty to fulfil; for, however interesting Bordeaux may be as a splendid city, and on account of the many fine monuments which it contains, it is doubly interesting from its connexion with the claret-trade; and I hasten, therefore, to present the reader with a somewhat detailed account of the wines of Bordeaux.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE WINES OF BOURDEAUX.

Classification of the Wines of Bordeaux—Produce—Qualities of Grapes—First Growths—Medoc and its Wines—Chateau-Margaux, Lafitte, Latour, Hant-Brion—Produce and Value of these Vineyards—Classification of the four first Growths of Claret—St. Emilion—Export of these Wines—Errors respecting the Manufacture of Claret—Inferior Wines exported as Clarets—Other Wines of France.

THE general classification of the red wines of Bordeaux, although perhaps upon the whole correct, is nevertheless founded only on opinion, which follows change of taste and change of fashion. The classification can never be said to be perfectly, or unalterably established; for, within the last hundred years, taste and opinion in the quality of the wines of Bordeaux, have suffered material changes. Within this period, the wines of Medoc, now greatly the most esteemed, held but a secondary place in public opinion; so much so, that those proprietors who owned vineyards both in *Medoc* and *Bourg*, never sold the produce of the latter of these—the most esteemed—without imposing upon the purchaser the condition of taking off his hand a part of the produce of the former vineyard, then considered far inferior.

The quality of wines depends upon many causes. Some of these are natural causes; such as, the soil, the exposure of the vineyard, the nature and age of the vine. Others are accidental; such as, atmospheric influence, which too often frustrates the hopes of the cultivator; a culture less or more careful; the difference in the process of fermentation; and the greater or smaller degree of care in afterwards disposing of the liquor. These latter causes influencing the quality of wine, may of course lead to a change of opinion by their continued operation; but in classifying the wines, it is

supposed that the vine has not been injured by any untoward atmospheric change ; that the culture has been conducted with the utmost care ; and that, in short, nothing has been neglected that may afford the highest probability of a successful produce. The classification is perhaps, therefore, as perfect as it was possible to make it.

The whole produce of the department is estimated at 250,000 tons. From this quantity, a fifth part may be deducted for drawing, evaporation, &c. The expense of culture is estimated over head at from 45,000,000 to 46,000,000 of francs (1,800,000*l.* sterling), which, estimating the quantity of land under vineyard, is 110 francs per 448 square yards ; and this portion of land is calculated to produce two hogsheads and forty-six hundred parts of a hogshead.

A few words respecting the different grapes from which the Bourdeaux wines are produced, cannot be out of place.

These are *le Carmenet*, *le Carménère*, *le Malbeck*, *le Petit et le Gros Verdot*, *le Merlot*, and *le Massoutet*. These are the finest species ; and it is from these that the wines of Medoc are produced.

The *Carmenet* has a smooth, hairless leaf, little indented, the fruit middle-sized, nearly round, and of a bright black.

The *Carménère* grows in long clusters, and the grape is large, and also bright-coloured.

The *Malbeck* also grows in long clusters, the fruit oval, and very black, the stalk reddish, and the leaf smooth.

The *Petit et Gros Verdot* grow in short clusters ; are of a vermilion colour ; have a dusky-coloured leaf, and very many tendrils. These grapes are precisely the same ; only the one is larger than the other.

The *Merlot* is chiefly remarkable for its velvety black skin, and the thickness of its stalk. The name of this grape is taken from the word *Merle* (black-bird), because this bird is particularly fond of that grape.

These are the best grapes ; but there are many others from which an inferior wine is procured. I shall merely name them. De Maucin, le Teinturier, la Peloville, le Petit Chalosse Noir, la Persillade. It must be understood, that the names of these grapes are not the same in all the different districts where they are cultivated.

The nature of the soil, I need scarcely say, influences the quality of the same grape. The *Verdot*, so productive in the plains, does not repay the labour of cultivation upon the heights. It is worthy of remark, too, that the grape which tastes the most agreeably does not produce the best wine. The grapes last mentioned are all more agreeable to the palate than those which produce the wines of Medoc. In no other part of France, has the cultivation of the vine been carried to so great perfection as in the wines of Bourdeaux. Within the last five years, many improvements have been made ; and the academy of Bourdeaux has offered prizes for certain trials, which have in some instances proved successful.

The vines which produce the first growths are situated on the borders of the *Landes* ; the other vines are cultivated on the heights called *l'Entre-deux Mères*, and upon the plains which border the Garonne and the Dordogne. The first growths of Medoc, which technical expression means the best qualities of claret, are *Chateau-Margaux*, *Lafitte*, and *Latour*. After these, come the second, third, and

fourth growths ; and, lastly, the *vin de Paysans*, so called, because the vineyards are the property, not of the great proprietors, but of the peasantry. Many of these latter vines might probably equal the third and fourth growths of Medoc, if more pains were bestowed upon their cultivation and preparation. These wines are consumed in the country, and are not sought after for exportation. The good faith of the peasant, in maintaining the purity of his wine, it is said, is not to be depended upon ; but the exporter ought to possess so perfect a knowledge of the quality of the different vineyards, as to make it impossible that any deception should be practised upon him. But to return to the first growths of Medoc, which in England are denominated *clarets*.

Medoc is that portion of the department which lies between the *Gironde* and the Gulf of Gascony. It is in fact a tongue of land surrounded by water. Medoc is about forty-five miles long, by ten miles broad, and is generally a plain, excepting near the banks of the rivers, where some heights lie, upon which the best wine is grown. All that part of the land which produces the first growths, is a light soil, pretty thickly strewn with stones about an inch or two in diameter. About two feet below the surface, a reddish earth is found, dry, compact, and mixed with stones. The whole of the territory of Medoc is as varied in its quality as in its produce. The fields of one proprietor produce the choicest wine, while those adjoining are scarcely worth the labour of cultivation ; and even in the same fields there are bad and good spots, and veins of unproductive land run through the most esteemed vineyards. No reason can be given for the difference in the quality of the vine produced in different spots. There may be no apparent difference in the soil, none in the exposure, none in the vine, none in the treatment. One vine may come up as luxuriantly, or more luxuriantly, than another beside it, and bear similar clusters ; but one may, notwithstanding, be converted into first growths, while the other will scarcely rise above the rank of *vin du Pays*.

The culture of the vines of Medoc differs from that of the vines in other parts of the department. The shrub is low, and is supported upon a stake, which is there called *carasson*. Pine-laths, from eight to ten feet in length, are fixed laterally, and form a continued line of espeliards, about a foot and a half high. Generally speaking, the vines of Medoc are estimated to produce half a ton per 448 square yards.

I have said, that the three first growths of the wines of Medoc, are *Chateau-Margaux*, *Lafitte*, and *Latour*. These names are familiar to every claret-drinker. All these wines grow on gentle acclivities, on the left bank of the Garonne ; some nearer and some farther from the sea. *Haut Brion*, also, although not a wine of Medoc, is considered to rank with the first growths of claret.

The farm of Chateau-Margaux contains, altogether, about 800 acres ; of which quantity about 350 are occupied by the vineyards. Lafitte, which is twenty-five miles nearer the sea, contains 230 acres. The vineyards of Chateau-Margaux are not continuous, but are intermixed with other vineyards, which are less valuable by more than one-third. The farm of Latour is less extensive, and produces less than the other two first growths. The wine called *Haut Brion* is also a first growth, and ranks, at least has hitherto ranked, with the first growths of Medoc ; but I was informed that it has

lately declined in public estimation, and consequently in demand.

The produce of the vineyards of Chateau-Margaux amounts to about 150 tons—four hogsheads to the ton.

The produce of the Lafitte vineyard amounts to about 120 tons. This vineyard is rather more productive than the Chateau-Margaux, which is considerably larger.

The produce of the Latour vineyard may be taken at about 120 tons also.

Of Haut Brion, the vineyards produce from sixty to eighty tons.

The price of these first growths may be stated to be, upon an average of ten years, from 32*l.* to 63*l.*; and there is a difference of 4*l.* between every two growths; *i. e.* a first growth is 4*l.* higher in price than a second growth, and a second growth 4*l.* higher than a third growth, &c. This rule is invariable, whatever the prices may be; because the classification into first, second, third, and fourth growths, continues always the same.

From this statement, which may be considered perfectly authentic, since it was received by me from the house of *Guestier, Barton, and Co.*, at Bordeaux, it will be seen that the whole produce of the first growths of *Claret, Chateau-Margaux, Lafitte, Latour, and Haut Brion*, is no more than 1800 hogsheads; from which I leave the reader to infer, how much of the claret drunk in England is first growth. But although the first growths are limited in quantity, there is no want of inferior growths; for the whole amount of the produce of Medoc, of all growths, is estimated at no less than 32,000 tons. Now that the policy of the government has equalized the duties upon wines, it is reasonable to imagine, that the importation of clarets will be greatly increased; and perhaps it is not too uncharitable to suppose, that second growths will be passed as first growths, third growths as second growths, fourth growths as third growths, and so on. I think, therefore, I may not be communicating a piece of information altogether without its utility, if I present here the recognised classification of clarets of the first four growths, together with their estimated produce.

FIRST GROWTHS.

Chateau Margaux . . .	from 140 to 160 tons.
Chateau Lafitte . . .	120 — —
Chateau Latour . . .	120 — —
Haut Brion	60 — 80

These are the four first qualities, and are known under these names; but it must be recollected, that the second, third, and fourth growths, are also produced from the same estate as that which produces the *Chateau-Margaux* and the *Lafitte*; so that a wine being the produce of Margaux, is no proof that it is wine of a first quality.

SECOND GROWTHS.

Brane Mouton	from 120 to 140 tons.
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N.—This wine is produced on the same estate as the Lafitte.

Rauzan	from 75 to 95
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N.—This wine is produced at Margaux.

Lascombes, also from Margaux, from 25 to 35	
Durefont, ditto	18 — 24
Gorse	40 — 50
Leoville	145 — 180

N.—This is the best of the class of St. Julien, a wine well known in England, and of which there are second, third, and fourth growths.

Gruau, also à St. Julien	120 to 150 tons.
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THIRD GROWTHS.

Pickon—Longueville	from 100 to 120
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N.—This wine is produced on the same estate as the Latour.

Cos Destournel	60 to 70
Bergeron (à St. Julien)	35 — 45
Branes Arbonet (Ditto)	100 — 120
Kirwan	60 — 70
Chateau de Candale	20 — 25
Malescet (of Margaux)	10 — 15
De Loyac (Ditto)	10 — 15

FOURTH GROWTHS.

Giscours	from 40 to 60
St. Pierre (St. Julien)	50 — 70
Duluc (Ditto)	80 — 90
Mandavit (from the Lafitte estate)	60 — 90
Canet (Ditto)	150 — 200
Dinac (Ditto)	70 — 80
Lacalonie (of Margaux)	25 — 35
Ferrière (Ditto)	10 — 15
Tronquoy	80 — 100
Ducasse	80 — 90
Poujet	20 — 25
Determe	18 — 20
Boyd	40 — 50

It appears, therefore, that the amount of the first growth is 450 tons; of the second growth 602 tons; of the third growth 326 tons; and of the fourth growth 823 tons, taking the mean produce. It will also be seen, that the wines of St. Julien form a considerable part of this produce, and are distributed over all the three latter growths. The name of St. Julien, therefore, is an imperfect index by which to judge of the quality of the wine.

The wine of St. Emilion, a well-known wine in England, and generally considered a claret, is not a wine of Medoc, and ranks in quality with the fourth growths above enumerated. The wines called St. Emilion are of no fewer than twelve kinds; and it is computed, that there is exported from Bordeaux no less than 2,500 tons under the denomination of St. Emilion. It is probable, therefore, that the greater proportion of the clarets drunk in England are the different wines of St. Emilion. St. Emilion may be easily distinguished from the wines of Medoc, by the absence of the *bouquet*, and also by its more heady taste.

In good seasons, nine-tenth parts of all the first growths are exported to England; the rest to Holland, and the northern ports. In different seasons, these are exported to Holland chiefly; and, in bad seasons, they are consumed in France. The first growths are not exported to England in any other than in good years, because it is more important to maintain the character of these wines in England, than, by throwing bad wine into the market as first growths, to realise a passing advantage. This distribution of the first growths according to the season is so well understood, that the proprietor of a second growth (la Rose) hoists, upon a tower that overlooks his estate, an English flag in good years, a Dutch flag in middling years, and a French flag in bad years. The *récolte* is always made between the 1st and 30th of September; and the wine is usually kept three or four years before it is sent to

England. Until this time has elapsed, the first growths of the wines of Medoc are not considered fit for exportation.*

Some of the wines of Bourdeaux are improved by a voyage; but not the first growths of claret. These, when exported to America or India, are prepared for the voyage, by the addition of the wines of Queyries and Mont-Frenand. But the best clarets are drunk in the greatest perfection in countries the least distant from their native soil. Other wines of Bourdeaux—of which I shall immediately say a few words—intended solely for export to distant countries, are improved by the voyage, and acquire a greater delicacy and lightness; but these never equal the wines of Medoc.

It is an error to suppose, that the first growths of claret, imported for the English market, are compound wines. Generally speaking, the best clarets are pure wines. It is only inferior wines that are mixed, in order to give them strength and colour. But I have said already, that, unless in the best seasons, first growths are not imported into England as first growths; and these are never mixed with any other wine. With respect to the belief that clarets are brandied, this is not generally the case; and when brandy is added to the wines of Medoc, it is added in very small quantities. Some proprietors put one hoghead of brandy to twenty tons of wine—an eightieth part. Whether brandy be or be not added to clarets, depends en-

* Choice claret is one of the wine-drinker's chief luxuries; and, to give the reader some idea of its cost, we subjoin the following accurate information regarding the expenses attending the importation of *genuine first-growth wine* into this country, and the price at which the wine-merchant can, with a fair profit, afford to sell it to his customers. This information is from a valuable little treatise on the Wines of Bourdeaux, by M. Pagnirre, a retired wine-broker resident in that city:—

Average price charged, by the first houses at	
Bourdeaux, per hoghead, for first growth	
wine of a prime vintage	£50 0 0
Insurance and freight	1 8 6
Landing charges	0 2 6
Duty at 7s. 3d. per gallon	16 13 6
Bottles, corks, wax, &c.	4 19 0
	£73 3 6
Interest, expense of premises, &c. to time of	
sale, $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.	6 4 4
	£79 7 10

This sum (equal to about £3 10s. 6d. per doz.) is, then, what the wine actually costs the importer before he can bring it to market; but as he must have a profit on his business, he should get something more than this, even when the wine is sold immediately; and if he keeps it, to acquire age, he must, besides, be paid for his risk, and the locking up of his capital, as well as all the other charges affecting his business.

If what is here stated be just—and we think it cannot be proved to be otherwise—it must be a mere delusion in any person in this country to suppose he can get first-growth wine of a fine vintage below the rate current among respectable merchants. It is true, that, at this moment, we may purchase at Bourdeaux, from some shipping houses, warranted *Chateau-Margaux*, vintage 1825, at 1000 francs per hoghead: but as it is perfectly well known, that the whole produce of that estate was sold immediately after the vintage at very nearly that price, and that, after nearly three years' keeping, 1000 francs is a fair price for good third-growth wine, we may judge what degree of confidence can be had in such warranters and their warranty.

tirely upon the order received by the exporter; but it may be taken as an invariable rule, that, if an order from England be sent to any of the exporters of the first growths, merely requesting first, second, third, or fourth growths, without any other direction, the wine is, in that case, sent in its pure state, without the addition of any brandy. I have nothing more to add of the first growths of the wines of Medoc. But to these I have to add the *Haut Brion*, which is generally understood to rank with the second and third growth of the wines of Medoc. This is a red *Vin de Graves*; it has less bouquet than the wines of Medoc; it has somewhat more colour, and more body; and, after being kept six or eight years in wood, is scarcely to be distinguished from the other first growths. But *Haut Brion* has somewhat declined in public opinion. One or other of the accidental causes which influence the quality of wines, has probably sent into the market, as a first or second growth, a wine that ought, for the reputation of the vineyard, to have been consumed at home. Complaints have been made by consumers, to the home merchants; less has in consequence been ordered; and when the demand begins in this way to fall off, the vineyards are apt to be neglected. The demand being less, the price is not high enough to repay the cares of cultivation; and the wine continues to decline in estimation, until it falls altogether into a secondary rank. There are various qualities of *Haut Brion*. The first growth is but a very small part of the produce of the vineyard.

St. Emilion, I have already mentioned, as a wine largely imported into England, under the generic name of claret; but for which the consumer ought to pay a much lower price than for the first or second growths of the wines of Medoc. But there is also another wine which finds its way, and is now likely to find its way still more largely into the English market, as a claret. This is the wine of *Boury*, called *Bourgais*. The produce of the vineyards of *Boury* is large, amounting to no less than 800 tons; and the produce will no doubt go far towards supplying the increasing demand for French wines in England.

But the wines which I have mentioned form but a very small part of the wines of Bourdeaux. The other wines are, the *Vins de Côtes*, and the *Vins de Palus*. The former of these are cultivated upon the heights which lie upon the right bank of the Garonne, and are considered rather in the light of good *vin ordinaire*, than as *vins fins*, for export. A great proportion of these wines is exported to Holland and the Baltic; but some hundreds of hogheads are also entered for England. The wines of *Palus* are grown still more extensively. The vineyards which produce these, lie upon the fertile low lands that are found on the banks of the Garonne and the Dordogne. This is not the kind of soil best suited to the vine, which finds a stony and rocky soil more congenial than rich land. The wines of *Palus* are exported in large quantities to distant countries, and require both age and a voyage. The produce of these vineyards is very great. The *vins de Côtes*, and the *vins de Palus*, together, reach 16,000 tons; about one-third part of which quantity is exported to foreign countries. The price of these wines ranges from 200 to 400 francs, but the average may be stated at 250 francs.

This notice upon the wines of Bourdeaux has

been somewhat extended; but at a time when the new scale of duties will not only lead to a demand, but probably even to a taste, for the wines of France, the sketch I have given may not be unacceptable. Most persons are desirous of being thought to know something of wines; and yet, this knowledge cannot be otherwise than very limited. To be a connoisseur in wines, and to have a knowledge of wines, are two things very different. The former is to be acquired by experience alone; the latter only by inquiry; and, for my part, I cannot but think, that it adds something to the zest of a glass of *Chateau-Margaux*, to know a little of its history. Although not, perhaps, perfectly in place here, yet as I am upon the subject of wines, and for the reason also which I have already given why there may be, at present, more interest upon the subject than usual, I will add a very slight notice respecting the wines of France in general.

Four districts in France partake the reputation of producing the most renowned and most valuable wines—Burgundy, the *Bordelais*, Dauphiny, and Champagne; and all these four classes of wines differ essentially in their character. The wines of Burgundy are the most esteemed in France and in Germany; the wines of Bordeaux are most esteemed in England. All these wines are divided into classes; and the following is the classification of Burgundy:

FIRST CLASS OF BURGUNDY—ALL, FROM THE CÔTE D'OR.

La Romanée Conti.	Le Clos du Tart.
Le Chambertin.	Les Bonnes-Marres.
Le Richebourg.	Le Clos la Roche.
Le Clos Vaugeois.	Les Véroilles.
La Romanée de St. Vivant.	Le Clos Morjot.
La Tache.	Le Clos St. Jean.
Le Clos St. George's.	La Perrière.
Le Musigni.	

N.—Another St. George's. The St. George best known, is a wine of Provence.

Le Clos de Préméau.

Most of these wines grow in very small quantities. The first growths, indeed, are rarely met with, excepting at royal, or highly-illustrious tables.

SECOND CLASS OF BURGUNDIES.

Corton.	Chambolle.	Pitoy.
Vosne.	Morey.	Perrière.
Nuits.	Savigny.	Préaux.
Vulnay.	Meursault.	La Chainette.
Pomard.	(from the Côté d'Or.)	Mignenn.
Beaune.	Olivotes.	Chenas.

The first six of these are the Burgundies most commonly met with; and these second growths, it is said, bear exportation better than the first growths. Hitherto, but a limited quantity of Burgundy has been exported into England; partly because it has been thought to bear transport worse—and partly because the taste of the French inclining more in favour of Burgundy than the wines of Bordeaux, there is a larger demand for it at home. There can be little doubt, however, that if the removal of the duties shall tempt the proprietors of Burgundies to try the English market, the demand for claret will suffer a considerable diminution.

The French look upon it almost as a heresy, to deny to Burgundy the pre-eminence in wines; and

accordingly, the ancient title of the dukes of Burgundy was *Princes des Bons Vins*. The *Romanée Conti*, which stands at the head of the list of first-growths, has scarcely, if ever, found its way into England. The vineyard from which it is produced does not exceed seven English acres in extent. The *Clos Vaugeois* was at one time the rival of the *Romanée Conti*, and as much as twelve francs per bottle has been obtained for it by the grower; but it is now looked upon as inferior to several of the other first growths.

The only first growth of the wine of Dauphiny known in England, is *Hermitage*—of which there are four kinds, scarcely differing in quality—*Meil*, *Greffien*, *Bessac*, *Beaune*, *en Rancoulé*. The quantity of these wines is extremely small; but, as I have mentioned in another part of this volume, the adjoining vineyards contribute towards the demand.

The second growths of the wine of Dauphiny are *Tain l'Etoile*, *Drome*. *St. Peray*, an excellent white wine, is also a wine of Dauphiny.

Champagne admits the simple classification of river wines and mountain wines; *Vins de la Rivière de Marne*, and *vins de la Montagne de Reims*. The former are white, the latter red. Sillery is the most in favour among the wines of Champagne, and takes its name from the property of the marquis of Sillery, where the vineyards lie. Among the red Champagnes, St. Thierry is the most esteemed, and is said to unite the aroma of the Burgundy with the lightness of Champagne. The soil of the Champagne vineyards is an upper stratum of marl, and a substratum of chalk. Champagne of the best quality will preserve its excellence twenty years, provided it be kept in a proper temperature, which in the cellars of Epernay, is always maintained at 54°.

The following is the process of the manufacture of white sparkling Champagne: The grapes are picked with great care, the shrivelled or unripe being rejected. They are gathered early in the morning, when the dew is upon them; and it is a curious fact, that if the weather be hazy during the time of the vintage, the produce of the fermentation is increased. The grapes are then pressed. The wine that is produced by this first operation is called *vin d'élite*. When the edges of the *must* have been cut and turned into the middle, a second pressing takes place, from which is produced the *vin de taille*. The liquor is collected in vats, from which it is removed the following day into puncheons which have been sulphured. There the *must* remains till towards the end of December, by which time it has become clear. It is then raked and fined with isinglass, and six weeks afterwards, it is raked and fined a second time. In the month of March it is bottled. Six weeks after it is put in bottle, it becomes brisk; and so powerful is the fermentation, that considerable loss is sustained by the bursting of bottles. The loss upon the various operations, occasions a total loss of about 25 per cent. The chief difference between the manufacturing of white and pink Champagne consists in the grapes for the latter being first slightly trodden, and the fermentation being allowed to commence before they are pressed, in order that the solution of the colouring matter may be facilitated.

"It is well known," says a popular writer upon wines, "that the briskness of wine is the produce

of an unfinished fermentation. This quality is secured by bottling at the proper season, before fermentation is exhausted; and if in danger of excess, it is restrained or diminished by racking, or decanting, or sulphuring. But it happens not unfrequently, that it fails altogether, either from accident in the management, or a bad season, from faults in the fruit, or fermentation too far, or a weak wine exhausting itself unexpectedly. In this case, the remedy is to introduce sugar into the bottles, as well as into the casks. In the latter case, the fermentation is renewed, and the wine becomes good; but by introducing sugar into the bottles, much bad wine is produced. The sugar does not reproduce fermentation, but disengages the carbonic acid of the wine. The solid sugar is corked up in the bottle, so that the disengaged gas is retained under the pressure of the cork, ready to fly out whenever that is removed.

The *Lyonnais* produces the well-known wine known in England under the name of *Côte-Rôtie*. Of this wine I have spoken in that chapter of this volume which contains the Descent of the Rhone.

Three other districts are also celebrated for their wine;—the neighbourhood of Avignon, which produces *Côteau Brûlé*; *Bearn*, which produces *Jurançon* and *Gan*; and *Roussillon*, which produces *Bagnols* and *Cospéron*.

The following note upon the general wine trade of France (which I extract from "the Wine-drinker's Manual," taken from the French and English State Papers), will not be an unfit conclusion to this chapter:—

The land now under wine culture is estimated at 1,728,000 hectares (3,499,200 acres), yielding 40,000,000 hectolitres (800,000,000 gallons), and giving a value of 600,000,000 francs (24,000,000*l.*)

The general duties yield a total produce of 100 millions (4,000,000*l.*); the local or municipal duties, 20,000,000 francs (800,000*l.*); amounting, together, to a charge on the entire produce of more than 20 per cent. According to M. Dupin, the expense of levying the indirect duties amounts to the exorbitant sum of 20,800,000 francs, on a revenue of 138 millions; while, in England, the expense of collecting similar duties does not exceed 7 millions in 138.

The duties to which the wines, white or red, are subject in various countries, are as follow:—

In Sweden, 400 francs the pipe; in Norway, 200 francs; in Prussia, 520 francs; in Russia, 750 francs; in England (previous to the alteration of duties), 1200 francs; in the United States, 189 francs, 90 centimes.

Previous to 1789, the annual exportation of wines from Bourdeaux amounted to about 100,000 pipes. But the trade has greatly diminished since that period. The following is the amount of the annual exportations since 1819, as stated in a petition of the wine-growers to the chamber of deputies, in the spring of 1828:

PIPES.		PIPES.	
1820 . .	61,110	1824 . .	39,625
1821 . .	62,224	1825 . .	46,314
1822 . .	39,955	1826 . .	48,464
1823 . .	51,539	1827 . .	54,492

The documents laid before the chambers by the ministry, state the average value of the three years, 1787—8—9, at 32,000,000 francs, wine; and 17,000,000 francs, brandy; the mean value of the

exportation for 1825—6—7, at 48,000,000 francs in wine, and 20,000,000 francs in brandy. In France, great complaints have, therefore, been made within the last two years of the languishing and depressed state of the wine-trade; and the investigation of its actual condition has occupied much of the time and attention of the French government. A question has been raised, whether the high duties imposed on French wines in foreign countries, have brought about this stagnation and want of demand now experienced? And it has been shown, that, with the exception of England, the foreign tariffs cannot have contributed much to this effect. The remedy suggested, and indeed the only probable one, is the reduction of the internal duties. The wine-growers suffer grievously, not only from the pressure of the government taxes, or *droits généraux*, but also from the duty which wine pays on entering the barrier of a town, and from which no drawback is allowed on its exit. These town-dues are very arbitrary, and in some places so excessive, that it is by no means uncommon to find French wines dearer at home than in other European countries. The *octroi* of Paris is twenty-one francs (17*s.* 6*d.*) per hectolitre, although the quarter part of the wine consumed is not worth more than fifteen francs (12*s.* 6*d.*) the hectolitre; and it is a strange anomaly, that those who wish to get wine at a moderate price, cannot do it without stepping outside of one of the barriers of Paris.

We have stated six hundred millions of francs to be the value of the annual produce of wine in France. Of this, one hundred millions are exacted by the *droits généraux*, and twenty millions more by the *octroi*, making a total taxation of one-fifth part of the whole. The proprietors of the vineyards have repeatedly petitioned for liberation from these restrictions; and in every case where relief has been granted, the increase of consumption has surpassed expectation. At Bourdeaux, where the duty is one-half less than in Paris, twice as much wine is consumed, in proportion to the number of inhabitants, as in the French metropolis.

The consumption of French wines in France has very naturally increased with the increase of national wealth. In 1821, the quantity retailed, and, of course, chiefly consumed by the lower classes, scarcely amounted to 12,900,000 hectolitres (twenty-five gallons per hectolitre); in 1826, it exceeded 14,400,000. The quantity sold wholesale exhibits a still more strongly-marked produce; in 1818, it was 2,665,948 hectolitres; in 1826, it amounted to 3,973,486.

The quantity of French wine imported into the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in the year ending January 1829, amounted to 475,374 gallons; the amount of duty paid reached 172,000*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*; and the quantity remaining in bond was 510,816 gallons.

It is a pity that we have no popular treatise on wines, containing all that might be interesting to know about the most esteemed wines of France, Spain, Portugal, and Germany. The work of Mr. Henderson, besides being too expensive, is more a history of wines than a treatise upon their points of interest. The information that would be desirable could not be obtained, unless in the different countries where the vines are produced; and so extensive a journey, and inquiries so multitudinous, cannot be expected to be undertaken for such a

purpose. There is therefore little or no likelihood of the world being put in possession of such a treatise as I have supposed might be acceptable.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

ITINERARY OF THE LOIRE.

Nantes and its Environs—Journey to Saumur—State of the French Peasantry—Ancennis and its charming Scenery—Scenery of Bretagne—Ingrande—Angers—The Castle and its History—Environs—A Grape Diet—Saumur—The Castle of Fontevraud, and its History.

My limits will not permit me to detail my journey from Bourdeaux to Nantes, and also from Nantes up the Loire to Orleans; and as the latter part of this route is the more interesting, I shall take the liberty of transporting the reader at once from Bourdeaux to Nantes, there to commence an itinerary of the Loire, which will occupy the remainder of this volume. No part of France is so celebrated for natural beauty, as well as for the interest of the cities and towns which lie along the route, as the country bordering the Loire; and, in order that I might be able to devote some pages to a sketch of this route, I have curtailed considerably my description of Bourdeaux and its environs. I left Bourdeaux *en diligence*, and arrived in due time at Nantes.

Nantes, even to one arriving in it from Bourdeaux, is a noble city; and its situation can scarcely be excelled. It stands upon the slopes and summit of a gentle hill, half encircled by the Loire, which is broad, clear, and tolerably rapid; and its beauty is greatly increased by several islets which dot the river exactly opposite to the town, and which are covered with pretty country-houses and gardens. The Loire is extremely shallow, where it flows past Nantes; which, although rather adding to its beauty than otherwise, from the greater rapidity and clearness created by the shallows, is very detrimental to commerce. No vessel of burthen can ascend the river to the city, but is obliged to unload its cargo nine leagues distant; and the cargo is brought up the river in boats. There is a magnificent quay along the river-side; but I saw little appearance of trade.

Nantes was the ancient residence of the dukes of Bretagne; and, upon a hill to the east of the city, stands the castle of these princes. This castle was built in the beginning of the eleventh century; but the duke of Mercœur, who, during the wars of the League in the sixteenth century, made himself sovereign of this province, made many additions to it. The castle is still in excellent preservation; for, although it must have yielded to the influence of nine hundred years, the repairs which have from time to time become necessary, have been made in the original style of the building, so that there cannot exist a more perfect specimen of the architecture of these times, than is seen in the castle of Nantes. I spent one whole day in this castle and in its precincts, and was pleased with all that I saw. The recollections awakened in the contemplation of feudal castles, are more stirring, and to me more agreeable, than those which are forced upon us amid the ruins of monasteries and abbays. It is true that the inhabitants of these castles were

generally robbers—that their lives were rude and lawless—and that the scenes which their walls have witnessed have most generally been scenes of rapine and bloodshed. But in all this, and in the vices which clung to the feudal lords and their followers, there is something more stirring—even more noble than in the vices that, within a convent's walls, are forced to call in the aid of hypocrisy. In the chapel of this castle, Anne, duchess of Bretagne, gave her hand to Louis XII. in the year 1499, by which marriage this province was secured to the French crown. Almost every chamber has its story—among others, I saw the chamber in which the cardinal de Retz was confined, and from which he escaped by means of a rope, which lowered him into a boat on the Loire. The view from the summit of the castle is fine and extensive, commanding a great part of the province of Bretagne, the fine reach of the Loire above, and its descent towards the sea.

In the *Eglise des Carmes*, there is a splendid monument raised by the filial duty of Anne of Bretagne, queen of France, to the memory of her father, Francis the Second, the last duke of Bretagne. The monument is the work of Michael Columb, and does great honour to his genius. The heart of this dutiful daughter is deposited in this vault in a gold box. There is a curious inscription on the tomb. It states, that Francis, not being blessed with issue by his first wife, and despairing, after seven years of wedded life, of having his wishes realised, made a vow to the Virgin, that if her power of intercession should procure a child for him, he would dedicate to her an image of gold as heavy as himself. So magnificent an offering in reversion had its influence upon the Virgin, who blessed his prayer; and the duke did not neglect the performance of his vow. But sometime afterwards, he forgot his obligations to his benefactor—he had need of money, and melted down the image.

Nantes is a very ancient city. It is the *Civitas Namnetum* of Cæsar, and was a town of considerable consequence under the Roman prefects. Several Roman inscriptions have, from time to time, been found; and there is another ancient record that arrests the passer-by. It is a stone fixed in a wall, marking the spot where, in the reign of Charles the Seventh, Gilles, maréchal de Retz, was burnt. A story that nobody can credit is told respecting this affair. It is said, that the crimes for which this man suffered death were of a nature too horrible to be named; and that the trial of the maréchal is yet preserved sealed, in the archives of the city.

The environs of Nantes are remarkably pleasant, particularly the banks of a little stream called the Erdne. Fine oak and chesnut woods shade its margin; and gardens and pretty country-houses are thickly scattered around. There are also two ancient chateaux on the same route, within a league of Nantes; one of them called the *Chateau de la Verrière*, formerly a stronghold of the Hugonots; the other, once the residence of Peter Landais, the favourite of Francis the Second. On this side of the town, there is a considerable quantity of land in vineyard; but the wine produced from it is thin, sour, and consequently bad.

I must not omit to mention, that the duchy of Bretagne was the birth-place of Abelard, whose amours and misfortunes have given so much scope

for the genius of the poet and the novelist. He was born in a little village called *Le Palet*, situated about four leagues from Nantes.

At Nantes, I again, and for the last time in this journey, resumed my pedestrian character; and left that city, to walk up the Loire, one beautiful morning about six o'clock. The itinerary of the Loire, to the traveller who commences his journey from Nantes, begins delightfully; and after the two hundred miles of diligence-travelling from Bourdeaux, I felt as if I were almost beginning a new existence. Softness and beauty are the character of the scenery, which is chiefly a union of green meadows and wooded hills, generally clothed to the summit, and many of them adorned by the ruins of castles. I breakfasted at a little village, situated upon a gentle hill. I ought to remember the name of the village; for I still recollect the flavour of some raspberries and delicious cream, which formed an item in the breakfast, and the pleasant smile and beautiful teeth, and neat *coiffure* of *mademoiselle*, the daughter of the house, who waits upon travellers; but I have forgotten the name both of the village and of the *auberge*; so that no other traveller can divide with me the pleasure of these recollections.

All the way from Nantes to Oudon the country is populous. This is not the district of large proprietors; an orchard and a bit of meadow-land form an estate; and the cottage of the proprietor peeps out from among his forest-trees. This is a fine state of things; and, with a tolerably intimate knowledge, and distinct recollection of the lower orders in France, I am inclined to assert, that, upon the whole, the peasantry of France are the happiest peasantry of any country in Europe. Throughout the greater part of France, the climate is temperate—neither distinguished by severe cold nor extreme heat. This is no small item in the sum of happiness. Whoever has seen the effects of southern summers and northern winters, upon the condition of a people, will agree with me in this opinion. The French peasant extracts pleasure from small sources; he is a man of many shifts, and has the art of treading lightly over the rough steps in the path of life; and, besides, these are in fact fewer in France than in most other countries. France is not over-peopled. Country labour is generally to be had; and its rewards, although small, are sufficient to supply the comforts, and even the little luxuries, of a peasant's life. In France, too, a great proportion of the land is the property of the peasantry, who form a class almost unknown in England, and who are happier than the same class in other countries. The Swiss peasant is, indeed, as much a proprietor, and generally a richer proprietor, than the French peasant; but his life is a life of labour, because his climate renders labour necessary; and his character is also different. This is, after all, the most important matter, and the chief advantage which the French peasant possesses; at least, without this, his other advantages would be useless. He looks upon the sunny side of the picture; and so as the sun shines a little way around him, he does not trouble himself whether it enlightens more distant paths. He is not one of the class called "most thinking persons;"—he never thinks, excepting of himself, his family, his cottage, and his apple-trees. Neither is he of the class of reading men;—he reads his

prayer-book, and the songs and ballads of his country. Neither is he a politician;—he leaves it to the inhabitants of the cities to settle state affairs. He receives, indeed, with good-will, the blessings of political freedom when they are tendered to him, and congratulates himself upon being *un Français*; but such matters do not occupy his mind; and if the question were, whether he should attend a political meeting, or a *fête du village*, he would stick a nosegay in his breast, and a ribbon in his hat, and seek the village-green.

I found an appetite for dinner sooner than an auberge wherein to indulge it; but in this route, the want of an auberge need not prevent the traveller from satisfying his hunger. Bread, cheese, eggs, fruit, and milk, may be had in every cottage; and in every cottage he is welcome to these luxuries.

The whole of my walk this evening was beautiful in the extreme. Although the river flowed close to the road, or at least but a very small distance from it, it was only visible glancing between the trees and through the hedges; for a thick belt of wood, chiefly fruit-trees, bordered its bank, and covered the narrow meadows that lay between it and the road. Broken wooded heights lay on the other side; and shady paths, that reminded me of the English lanes, led from the river up the hills, or into the little valleys, or hollows that lay among them.

The approach to *Ancennis* is delightful. It is the perfection of forest-scenery. And here, as in our Sherwood, has many a story and balad been laid, and many a feat of archery been done; and here too fairy circles have been traced and the merry elves, "though rarely seen by mortal eye," have frisked it "in the cold moon's gleamy glance." There is no walk like a forest-walk, especially near sunset; for there is no sight in nature more beautiful than the slanting sun-beams pouring among the crowded trunks of the dark trees partially gilding the foliage, and chequering the velvet beneath with the broad masses of light and shade. Sometimes an alley, open to the west, admitted a rich blaze of light that streamed through the forest; sometimes I passed out of the shade into an open glade, that seemed clothed in a garment of light; and sometimes I skirted the denser masses of wood,

— Where not a wandering ray
Could thro' the leafy labyrinth find its way.

All this was impressive and delightful. I met not a single traveller, nor heard any sound, until some village-sounds announced that I was approaching *Ancennis*, which I soon after reached; and looking about for the sign of an auberge, I saw two adjoining each other; one, a pig; the other, a bow and arrow. It is a pleasant speculation to consider what kind of inn one may chance to find at the end of a journey; and there is always something agreeable in having a choice of more than one. The "Pig" was the larger auberge; but the "Bow and Arrow" looked the cleaner; and I walked into it. I could not have chosen better. Fried bacon, eggs, and an omelet, bread, and as good wine as one generally finds in the French inns, were all set before me with the most marvellous expedition. It is a great misfortune if a traveller in France, specially a foot-traveller, whose day's journey often conducts him to the smaller inns, should happen to dislike

omelet. It may be difficult to believe that any such person exists; but I have seen and travelled with persons so unfortunate; and when I have been enjoying an excellent meal, they have been obliged to content themselves with the purer pleasure of sympathising in my good fortune. Every where in France, even in the poorest auberge, an omelet is to be obtained: either *omelette sucrée*, *omelette gras*, or *omelette au fines herbes*. What a choice is there! One might very well begin with an *omelette gras*, make a remove of the *omelette au fines herbes*, and finish with an *omelette sucrée* by way of dessert.

Ancennis is a charming retreat: nowhere could a studious man spend a month or two more agreeably. It is very quiet, very secluded, and is surrounded by all the varieties of forest-scenery. The Loire, too, sweeps near it, broad and silvery; and the people seem simple and obliging. Let me add the recommendation of cheapness; for an admirable supper, a clean good bed, and a draught of most delicious milk next morning—not to mention kind attentions, civil words, and a world of smiles—I paid only two francs. Let the reader recollect, that all these excellent things are to be had at the sign of the "Bow and Arrow." After supper, it wanted still an hour of darkness; and I was leaving the inn to stroll about the village and its neighbourhood, when a little girl about nine years of age, the daughter of the aubergiste, offered to be my cicerone, and conduct Monsieur to the *bosquet*. I saw many pretty spots that almost tempted me to interrupt my journey by a few weeks' dreaming at Ancennis; and was led by the little girl to the promised *bosquet*, which was a labyrinth of trees, with many seats among the branches, where little games at "hide-and-seek" are played by the villagers. The little girl assured me, that the *bosquet* was *bien gentil*, and that a village fête there was *superbe*.

I left Ancennis as usual with the early sun to reach Angers. The country, this morning, did not greatly differ from that which I had passed through before reaching the forest of Ancennis; and the appearance of the peasantry rather improved than declined; they every where seemed healthy and happy; and their cottages showed no indication of poverty. I breakfasted at a small cottage which displayed the sign of a bread loaf, and which afforded milk besides; and continued my journey to Ingrande, where I only intended to have rested an hour; but one of the little accidents, which sometimes happen to pedestrians, disarranged my plan. I had bathed in the river, and in stepping along the bank, a thorn ran into my foot; and I judged it wiser to remain at Ingrande, than probably to increase the evil by attempting to reach Angers. Ingrande was not so tempting a place of residence as Ancennis; but the auberge was not despicable, and the barn-yard furnished a fowl. This is the last town in the province of Bretagne. From Ingrande to Angers, the road lies through Anjou.

Bretagne is one of the few French provinces I like. Its scenes have a character of wildness and seclusion; and are not without claims even to the merit—if it be a merit—of being romantic; and in the immediate neighbourhood of the Loire, Bretagne is beautiful, as well as romantic. There is certainly in the scenery of the Loire, a fine mingling of nature and art, such perhaps as is not elsewhere to be found; for, independently of the cultivation which assists nature in a scene where softness

is her chief characteristic, and the *maisons de plaisance* which are so numerous upon its banks, the remains of chateaux, and religious houses, which so often and so beautifully break the outline of the wooded hills, add greatly to the perfection of this union. How much is the picturesque beauty of many countries indebted to the monks of former times! The loveliest spots are adorned by the ruins of their habitations. Shelter from the winds; sunny slopes for their gardens, or vineyards; a river for fish, and a forest for game, were all considered in the choice of a site. We have no occasion to travel in order to become acquainted with the discernment of the monks in the selection of fitting spots for their abbeys. At home, we have no want of examples: Tintern, Jarvis Abbey, Furness, Woburn, Fountains Abbey, Melrose, Dryburgh, and many others in England and in Scotland, attest the good taste of the friars, and the dark ages.

I left Ingrande early, and, passing through a fertile and varied country, I reached Angers about mid-day. The situation of Angers is not so striking as some other of the cities that lie upon the Loire; it is placed in a fertile plain, rich in all the productions of Anjou—certainly one of the most fertile provinces of France. The city is divided by the little river Mayenne, into the *haute* and the *basse* town. In 1214, our king John built the walls of Angers, and they are to this day almost entire. A little later, the castle of Angers was built. It is nearly in ruins, and is a fine object, situated upon a great rock overhanging the river. It must formerly have been a place of great strength, for the walls are very massive; and the fosses, which are cut out of the rock, are wide and deep. This castle, built by St. Louis, was formerly the residence of the kings of Sicily, as dukes of Anjou.

I spent the evening of my arrival in the castle; and the next morning I dedicated to the cathedral; which, more from the recollections it awakens, than from its own intrinsic merits, is viewed with great interest. In this cathedral is the monument of the celebrated Margaret, daughter of René, king of Sicily, and wife of our Henry the Sixth. There is some romance in the history of this princess. Taken prisoner in the battle of Tewkesbury, she was sent a prisoner to the tower; and was subsequently ransomed by Louis XI., who, however, had views very different from those prompted by generosity, in his seemingly friendly interposition. Margaret was tenderly beloved by her father; and when the crafty king made the renunciation of Anjou and part of Lorraine the price of her delivery, René hesitated not to complete the transference of these provinces. Subsequently to this time, she resided at Aix, in Provence, under the protection of her father; and at his death she retired to Vannes, where she found an asylum in the house of a gentleman named Vignole, who had formerly served her father, and had received benefits from him. It was while Margaret resided here in retirement, that she was visited by Henry earl of Richmond, afterwards the conqueror at Bosworth field; and her instigations and advice fixed him in his determination to attempt the overthrow of the house of York. But Margaret did not live to witness the success of his enterprise.

Angers, in its general appearance, is mean. There is nothing attractive in it, excepting its cathedral and its castle. I never saw so great an

assemblage of wretched houses in so small compass. Every street is a street of shopkeepers ; but where the purchasers live, I cannot understand. Walls and fortifications are a sad hindrance to the beauty of a town, by limiting its extent ; but where there is a sufficiency of ground beyond the walls, and numerous fine situations, it is folly to confine a city within its ancient limits. Angers would be a cheaper place of residence than either *Tours* or *Blois* ; but it is better to live in an agreeable town, and to pay an additional penny for a pound of meat. I found the markets of Angers well supplied, and the price of provisions remarkably low. Beef and mutton were 2d. per lb. Bread, 1½d. per lb. A pair of fowls may be purchased for 1s. 2d. ; and a turkey costs no more than 3s. Fruit and vegetables are remarkably cheap. There is a pleasant wine, too, which sells at about 2½d. per bottle, called *Cham-pigny*. House-rent is also extremely moderate ; but few of the houses are agreeably situated for a residence. For 10l. per annum, a very commodious house may be obtained. But notwithstanding these advantages, I should not select Angers as a residence : and although its neighbourhood be fertile and *riante*, I saw no villas. The neighbourhood of Angers, however, has many pretty cottages standing in the midst of their gardens, whose fences are generally half composed of vines ; and these also usually cover the cottage-walls with their fantastic wreaths, bright leaves, and tempting clusters.

There are some Roman remains in Angers, particularly vestiges of an aqueduct ; but these are only interesting to the antiquarian. Angers has need of an aqueduct still ; for the water of the Mayenne, that flows through the town, is not fit for use.

Previous to the Revolution, Angers possessed a very celebrated university, which was founded so far back as the year 1246. Its academy of *Belles Lettres* was also renowned ; and its riding-school was so famous, that Peter the Great was a pupil in it. Angers suffered greatly in the wars of *La Vendée* ; and the inhabitants sustained many privations in the siege which it was obliged to maintain.

A severe and sudden storm hindered my departure on the morning of the second day, as I had intended ; and when, towards the afternoon, the storm ceased, it was too late to set out, and I devoted the evening to a walk into the adjoining country. It is mostly a country of vineyards ; and the inhabitants are, therefore, almost all *vignerons*. I rested in several of their cottages, and found them all comfortable ; and the inmates appeared, and I have no doubt were, all happy. Most of them were at supper, which consisted of bread, and fruit, and wine. It was not the season of vintage ; but then, and after that time, grapes may be said to be the staple article of subsistence. I believe every one has agreed that a grape-diet is wholesome. The inhabitants of the wine-countries have generally the appearance of health. It is not unusual for the physicians in some parts of France, and particularly, I believe, in the eastern provinces, to recommend a grape-diet wholly in many cases of debility ; and, judging from my own experience, when, in hot countries and during the vintage, I have lived almost wholly on grapes, I should think grapes in large quantities form a most wholesome article of diet. I never recollect, at any other period, of enjoying more perfect health, and of possessing so much

buoyancy of feeling, as when, during six weeks, I half-breakfasted upon grapes, half-dined upon grapes, and supped altogether upon grapes.

I now left Angers for Saumur, which is thirteen leagues from Angers. The weather was too hot to render so long a walk agreeable, and I therefore hired a cabriolet to carry me one-half of the way. Anjou, at least all that part of it which I had an opportunity of seeing, will not yield in fertility, scarcely in beauty, to any other part of France. Much of it is corn-land ; but there is a sufficient admixture of wood and meadow to rescue it entirely from the character of tameness. When my cabriolet left me, I had a delightful walk of about six leagues ; and it was nearly sunset when I reached Saumur.

Saumur is a pleasant little town, situated on the southern side of the Loire ; and it has a very long bridge, whose middle piers rest upon islands. This bridge, in the wars of the sixteenth century, was often fiercely disputed ; and the fortifications were formerly of great strength. The castle is a striking object, overlooking the town and the river. The kings of Sicily, and the dukes of the house of Valois, used formerly to reside occasionally in this castle. From its towers there is a truly charming prospect. This place I should greatly prefer as a residence to Angers ; the town is more airy and lively, the country quite as beautiful, and provisions even a shade cheaper. It struck me, too, that the inhabitants were remarkably good-looking ; and this, I think, is not to be altogether overlooked in the selection of a residence. It is almost an intellectual pleasure to look upon a beautiful countenance ; at all events, it is pain to look upon the reverse, where personal acquaintance has not taught us, by habit, to look upon ugliness with indifference. I consider it a decided objection to a residence in Switzerland, so delightful in every other respect, that the women are almost, without exception, so frightful.

The day following my arrival in Saumur, I dedicated to an excursion to the abbey of Fontevraud, the burial-place of our Henry II. and Richard I. It lies five leagues from Saumur, on the limits of Anjou, towards Touraine. The abbey is situated in a deep valley among rocky hills ; and is so surrounded by wood, that it is scarcely seen until we enter its precincts. The elms that shadow its solitary walls are particularly fine. It was in the year 1096 that this abbey was founded. Henry died at *Chinon*, in its vicinity ; and the holy reputation of this abbey was probably the cause why it was selected as his burial-place ; and Richard, as it is said, from feelings of contrition on account of his filial disobedience, requested, in his last hours, that he might be laid at his father's feet. Eleanor, the wife of one, and the mother of the other of these princes, was buried in the same tomb ; which is farther honoured by being the sepulchre of Jane, queen of Sicily, daughter of Henry II., and of Elizabeth, the queen of John, of inglorious memory. Bas-reliefs of all these great personages adorn the monument ; and the masses of centuries have, doubtless, long ago delivered their souls from purgatory. The abbey of Fontevraud has had numerous honours rendered to it. Its abbesses have been princesses ; and many illustrious personages have inhabited its walls. I lingered long in the precincts of this venerable spot ; the shade was so

deep, the coolness so agreeable, and the silence and solitariness of the place so imposing. I gathered some sweet-smelling wall-flower, and thought of that delightful little poem—of Malcolm's, I think—"The Wall-flower, the Wall-flower."* A rural dinner in a neighbouring village was an agreeable variety; and a delightful ride (for I had hired a horse) back to Saumur, was a pleasant conclusion to the day's excursion. There was nothing more to detain me in Saumur; and I left it next morning, to journey towards Tours.

CHAPTER XL.

ITINERARY OF THE LOIRE.

Journey to Tours—Condition of the Peasantry—Hints to Travellers—Langeais and its Castle—Tours—The Cathedral—Promenades—Tours as a Residence—Climate—Pleasures of Tours, and its Historic Recollections.

It was a morning of drenching rain when I left Saumur; but I had sent, by a peasant's cart, a portmanteau with sufficient change of clothing, to Planchouvy; and I felt the rain agreeable rather than otherwise. With the exception of the storm I have mentioned at Angers, but which was almost unaccompanied by rain, the weather had been constantly dry for several weeks; and rain, in that case, becomes a luxury. All that the traveller requires to attend to, in order that he may preserve himself from catching cold, is to carry his meals along with him; to breakfast and dine as he walks along; and not to rest until he reaches his haven. I, of course, followed the advice I give. Bread, cheese, fruit, and a flask of wine, I carried along with me; and although thoroughly drenched the whole of the way, I enjoyed this day's journey extremely. The weather was warm, and perfectly calm; and I need scarcely say, that at no time does nature look more lovely than under the pattering of a summer rain. The very sound is pleasing; and the brighter hue that it throws upon the woods and meadows, may well compensate for the inconvenience of getting wet—supposing this to be felt an inconvenience. Had the weather been fair, I should have stopped at a little village called *Choussay* to breakfast, about four leagues from Saumur; but this I, of course, avoided, and breakfasted from my store, after I had walked out of the village. I noticed some modern chateaux, or at least *maisons de plaisance*, in the neighbourhood, sweetly situated among woods and lawns, and little fertile hills. This is still chiefly a wine-country, at least in the neighbourhood of the river; but I saw that the more distant slopes were covered with corn-fields. The wines of the Loire are not, however, famous; they hold no rank among the *vins fins* of France, but are chiefly consumed in the country and in the neighbouring cities. Some of these wines, however, are very agreeable; and a stranger, who obtains refreshment in the cottage of a peasant—the owner of a vineyard—is always treated with some of the wine which he makes for his own use, and which is prepared with more care, and from more picked fruit, than the wine that is

drunk in the inns. It cannot be disputed, however, that the *vin du pays* of France, excepting, perhaps, in the provinces of *Bearn* and *Roussillon*, is bad, and undeserving of the commendations which the French so lavishly bestow upon it. I do not believe, however, that it is unwholesome. I have never, for my own part, found any bad effects from the very free use of the *vin du pays* of France—which I do not drink because I like it, but because its very thinness and sourness render it the more refreshing in hot weather.

I reached Planchouvy in good time. It had never ceased raining the whole day, so that I was as wet as ever; and the contents of my portmanteau were a luxury; for although it be a luxury to get wet, it is also a luxury to put off one's wet clothes. It has generally been thought, that if one's clothes get thoroughly wet, and afterwards dry in walking, that cold is likely to ensue. I have never found this. I am as subject to cold as many of my neighbours; but although it has happened to me a hundred times to be wet and dry several times in a day, I do not recollect any instance in which cold has been the result; but I believe it is laid down by the learned in these matters, that one constitution is no rule for another. At this place I met two English gentlemen, pedestrians like myself, who were travelling down the banks of the Loire; but one was foot-sore, and the other had twisted his ankle, and they were both laid up in the little auberge at Planchouvy, oppressed with *ennui*, cursing pedestrian journeys, and willing to give any price for a *calèche*, which, however, could not be got. I saw that they were travellers who could not reap sufficient enjoyment from a journey to repay them for the little inconveniences to which pedestrians are subject; and I advised them by all means to send to Saumur for a *calèche*, and they followed my advice. We passed a pleasant evening together, and fared well. For the aubergiste had a sucking-pig, which, though rather an unusual supper dish, we made no hesitation in selecting; and having ourselves superintended the cookery, it proved so delicious, that I thought of *Elia* as I munched the crackling; and a most admirable finish to this treat were a couple of bottles of *Volnay*, which the innkeeper fortunately possessed. I now began to feel the vicinity to Tours, in the expense of travelling. Here my lord Anglais was well known, with all his silly pride and ostentation. I had, of course, to redeem part of the burden left by his former extravagance. All travellers must do this; for though the travelling English are now, for the most part, economical gentlemen, who know the precise value of a franc, still those old charges are kept up, which formerly originated in the silly wastefulness and absurd vanity of the English, who flocked to the continent after the war. The pig deserved a high charge, and the Burgundy also; but a bed was charged three francs, and a cup of coffee a franc and a half.

I left my supper companions in bed next morning, waiting the arrival of their *calèche*, and took the road to *Langeais*. The rain had ceased about midnight, and the morning was lovely—how lovely after the gentle rain, and beneath the rays of the new risen sun! The scenery increased in beauty as I passed up the river; or, perhaps, it was the brighter green of the meadows and the vineyards that deceived me. As I walked slowly onward, a

* The poem will be found in one of the early volumes of the *Literary Souvenir*. It is not by Malcolm, however, but by D. M. Moir, Esq., better known as the *Della* of Blackwood's Magazine. Ed. of C. M.

countryman overtook me. He was going to work on some gentleman's property about a mile forward, and as we walked along, I questioned him as to his condition. He said he did not see how any man could be happier than himself. He had a wife and three children, and loved them all; and he had enough to give them. His wife, he said, had been the *belle* of the village, and she made as good a wife as if she had never had an admirer. He was employed in field-labour every day till three o'clock, and received twenty-five or thirty sous, according to the species of the labour. When he returned home, he looked after his own little kingdom, for he possessed as much land as supplied him with bread, and sufficed to keep a cow, and a couple of pigs. In fact, said he, "*J'ai tout ce que je désire.*" Contentment like this is rarely found in England; but the man I have no doubt spoke as he felt. I asked him if he were contented with the government? All governments, he said, were alike to him, so as they kept at peace, and allowed him to live at home.

It was a very short journey from Planchouvy to Langeais; but I liked the appearance of the place, and resolved to remain there the remainder of the day. Above all things let a traveller avoid, if he possibly can, being "hurried for time," to use an improper, but common expression; it is better to be limited in money than in time, though it is still better to be limited in neither. Half the pleasure of a journey consists in taking it at one's ease, lingering where one pleases, stopping a day here and a day there, just as fancy wills it. One's humour should be the sole dictator on a journey. There ought to be no pleadings allowed on the part of time or money; the former, at all events, ought to have no voice. How many charming recollections would have been lost to me, if I had travelled with a watch in my hand—if I had not always had it in my power to say, "Here is a charming retreat—this is an enchanting spot—I will remain here until I tire of it!"

Langeais is celebrated for two things—its melons, and its castle. Most of the melons used in France—all that are used in Paris—are grown here. But it was not the melon season; and I had no opportunity, therefore, of judging of their merits. The castle of Langeais is a fine object, and is celebrated as the place where the nuptials between Charles VIII. and Anne of Bretagne were performed. The castle is in ruins; but these are yet noble, and show its former extent. I passed the greater part of the evening in its solitary precincts, and at sunset descended to the bank of the river, where I wandered till after dusk. The auberge was not tempting, for I had gone to an indifferent house by mistake; however, upon my return I found an omelet and some excellent trout.

Langeais is only seven leagues from Tours—a pleasant walk to dinner; and I left the former place about my usual hour, and, passing through a succession of delightful scenery, I reached Tours about two o'clock.

Tours is well known as one of the favourite retreats of our absentees; and they certainly show their good taste in the spot they have selected. The situation of Tours can scarcely find a rival. One of the most charming little plains that imagination can conceive, surrounds the town. The river, broad and limpid, sweeps past it; and the city itself would

be agreeable, even if its neighbourhood were somewhat less fertile in attractions. Great part of the town is new; and the streets, several of which are spacious, and the houses clean, substantial, and many of them elegant, give to the town an air of ease, pleasure, and abundance, which few other cities in France possess. The beauty of Tours has arisen since the Revolution, and has, indeed, sprung out of it, for great part of it was rebuilt upon an improved plan. One of the gates of the city is called Hugon Gate, derived from the name of an old count of Tours named Hugo; and historians, both *De Thou* and *Darila*, say, that the party of Hugonots originated in Tours, and derived their name from this gate, which was a term of reproach; because this old count Hugo, in the popular legends of the place, was represented as a fiend.

I of course visited the cathedral of Tours, which, in the interior, is not remarkable for its beauty; and the expectations being somewhat excited by its beautiful towers, one feels consequent disappointment. There is a curious collection of manuscripts attached to the cathedral, which, however, I did not see. I was told it contains a very ancient copy of the Pentateuch; and also a copy of the Evangelists, not a century later than Constantine. I also visited the church of St. Martin, which is large and ugly. St. Martin is said to be buried here. His tomb, at all events, is shown; and in former times it was the custom for the kings of France to put up prayers beside this tomb before setting out on any perilous expedition; and the cloak of the saint was used as a banner.

The promenades round Tours are truly charming. Among these, the Elm Avenue is the most conspicuous, and the most shady. And here, on Sunday, all the inhabitants may be seen *en holiday*. The quay is also a pleasant promenade; and, being broader and larger than is required for business, there is plenty of room upon it for the lounge. Tours is, indeed, scarcely at all a place of commerce; but the environs of the city furnish the most agreeable walks, and these, too, are the most frequented. Innumerable little paths lead in every direction through the fields, and among the knolls and copses. These walks are, however, very unsociable, for they are only wide enough for one. But this was explained to me, by a French *demoiselle*, to be better; "because," said she, "if *Monsieur* who is behind says a gallant thing, we may either hear or not as we please; and in case we blush, nobody sees it." I confessed that the reasoning was irresistible. The neighbourhood of Tours is chequered by villas and monasteries; and among the latter is the well-known monastery of Marmontier, from which John duke of Burgundy, surnamed *Sans Peur*, carried off Isabella, queen of Bavaria.

Tours, fifteen years ago, was as cheap a residence as any other place on the Loire; but a great advance in the prices of every thing, and particularly house-rent, has naturally followed the approbation of Tours by the English. Good villas are not now easy to be found—almost all those which are the most desirable being already occupied. I was told, that, immediately after the war, a large house, with every possible convenience, and a garden of two or three acres, might be had for 20*l.* per annum. I believe this sum may now be more than doubled. Provisions are still moderate in price; and wood is

less expensive here than in most other parts of France. There is good society, both French and English, at Tours. It is one of the places resorted to by those of the French who are in independent circumstances, and yet who cannot afford the expense of a residence in the metropolis; and the number of English now constantly residing in Tours, forms a sufficient circle, exclusive of any other. I should certainly prefer Tours to Lausanne as a residence, supposing them to be upon an equality in expense. The climate of this part of France is greatly superior to that of Switzerland; and the luxuries which depend upon climate, are therefore more easily attainable at Tours. The greater vicinity also of Tours to a great city, Paris, as well as its vicinity to England, are advantages which seem to cast the balance in its favour.

Tours was formerly much celebrated for its silk manufactories; and as many as three thousand hands were employed in them. The flowered damasks of Tours were considered the most beautiful in the world; but the manufactories have declined; and Tours appears, at present, to be almost wholly a city of pleasure.

The second day after my arrival in Tours, I visited the celebrated castle of *Plessis les Tours*, which lies about a mile from the city. This castle was built by that tyrant Louis XI., and he lived there the greater part of his life; and there also he died. Who is there that does not remember the graphic picture of the death of this monarch, presented to us in the page of Philip de Comines? The castle of Plessis les Tours is constructed of brick, but is handsome, notwithstanding its materials and its age; and looks majestic, surrounded as it is by embowering woods. The only part of the castle worth the notice of the stranger, is the chapel, where there is a portrait of the cruel king, dressed in armour. The picture represents him taking off his helmet with his right hand, as he is in the act of saluting the Virgin Mary and the infant. The painter has endeavoured to infuse into his repulsive countenance a look of benignity, and a complacent smile, in which he has certainly succeeded; but the expression of the execrable tyrant is still to be discovered behind. Some have supposed, that, in the figures of the Virgin and Child, it was intended to represent his queen, Charlotte of Savoy, and his son, Charles the Eighth; and this supposition is favoured by the head of the female being adorned with a diadem, and her habit being regal. It is also pretended, that a resemblance to the king can be discovered in the child.

There are no pleasing recollections awakened in walking through the courts of this castle. It was the lair of a wild beast—the habitation of one of the most detestable of royal tyrants. Still, it vividly recalls many passages in history; and the record of all that has been plotted, said and done, in this pleasure-palace of a man whose heart never knew real pleasure, rises before us, when we feel ourselves within its walls.

I resolved to prolong my stay in this neighbourhood two or three days, that I might visit the castle of Loches, one of the most celebrated in French history, and which lies nearly nine leagues from Tours. I devoted two days to this excursion; and hired a cabriolet, that I might have more time to bestow upon Loches. The country between Tours and Loches I found scarcely inferior to that which

lies along the Loire; it is watered into fertility and beauty by the Cher and the Indre, and by numerous tributary streams. Who was the founder of the castle of Loches, or at what precise epoch it was built, are alike unknown; but it has evidently been enlarged at various times subsequent to its erection. In the days of tyranny and violence, the castle of Loches was a frequent state-prison for persons of the highest rank; and princes, cardinals, and dukes, have inhabited many of its gloomy chambers. The iron cage in which cardinal *De la Balue* was many years confined by Louis XI. is to be seen in one of the apartments. It is not quite eleven feet square. What happiness it is, that the days have passed utterly away, when monsters like Louis XI. could reign, and live!

One of the most interesting chambers in this castle, is that in which the execrable Ludovico Sforza was imprisoned by Louis XI. during ten years. The chamber is at least thirty feet long, vaulted, and contains one window, through which the sun shines every day for some time about noon. Tradition says, that Sforza formed upon the opposite wall a sun-dial, by which he might mark the hours of captivity. The remains of this dial may yet be traced. There is a multitude of inscriptions and strange characters upon the walls; but these are altogether illegible.

I also visited the vaults below, or dungeons, called *Oubliettes*, well named for places destined for the reception of those who were to be for ever forgotten. These dungeons are entirely without light. They are hollowed out of the earth, and are guarded by doors of iron. Even so lately as the year 1790, state prisoners were confined in the castle of Loches, though not in these dungeons.

The principal church of Loches is also worth visiting, for it contains the monument of Agnes Soreille, mistress of Charles VII. The bas-relief represents a very beautiful and delicate personage; the figure is symmetrical, and the countenance sweet and feminine. She is represented lying upon a cushion, simply attired, and two lambs lie at her feet; but all this is fast falling into decay. Agnes Soreille was a noble-minded woman; and many traditions are yet to be found expressive of her charms and her high character. I was also conducted to *La Tour de la Belle Agnès*, where it is said Charles used to confine his mistress when he went to the chase, because he was afraid to trust her elsewhere. Agnes died in the abbey of Jumièges in Normandy; but her body was brought to Loches at her own express request.

It has been said, that Ludovico Sforza was interred in the chancel of this church; but I believe this is an error. The figure of a warrior in prayer has been usually said to be the portrait of Sforza; but it is now believed to be that of the duke of d'Epemon.

I had now seen all that was interesting in and about the very interesting city of Tours; and the day after returning from Loches, I left that city for Amboise, a distance of only twenty miles. The beauty of France certainly reposes upon Touraine; and although I have been obliged to speak harshly, though truly, of many other parts of France, I am willing to allow most ample praise to this charming country. Here alone is *La Belle France* to be found; and here have been laid the legends of the troubadours, and the fairy mythology of France. In no part

of France is the climate better than in Touraine. The heats are not oppressive, and they do not continue above six weeks ; and although some days of sharp frost occasionally occur in winter, there are no fogs ; and spring "comes up that way" in the beginning of March.

It was a delightful country through which I passed towards Amboise. I gathered by the way-side abundance of thyme and lavender ; and many of the slopes were covered with the juniper. *Mont Louis* is a strange village. The habitations of the people are excavations out of the chalk-hills ; but houses of a better construction are beginning to be erected. There would be a sameness in the descriptions, were I to detail my journey to Amboise, where I arrived to an early dinner.

Amboise, like all the towns lying upon the Loire, is finely situated ; but the town itself is mean, and poorly built. It has been rendered of some consequence, however, owing to the place it holds in the page of history, as the scene of the protestant conspiracy in 1560. The castle stands upon a lofty rock, which dips perpendicularly into the Loire, and was formerly considered inaccessible. It is of great antiquity ; and although built prior to the days of Francis I. and Charles VIII., it was altered and enlarged by both of these monarchs. Charles VIII. always resided in this castle ; and he was born there, and died there. There is a place in this castle called the Oratory of Louis XI., the descent to which is by a winding staircase, leading below the foundations of the castle. It is said, that in this dismal place Louis XI. was wont to perform his devotions—a tradition that is not impossible, when we recollect the gloomy character of this execrable king. There is nothing in this dungeon but an image of Christ.

Some remnants are still seen of the cruelties practised by the Guises upon the prisoners who came under their power, at the time the conspiracy was discovered. Iron hooks, and remnants of chains, are attached to the walls ; and from these were suspended the bodies of the prisoners.

I walked in the evening to Chauteloup, the castle of the duke of Choiseul, which is situated about half a league from Amboise. The site is not particularly well chosen, and the interior presents nothing very remarkable.

CHAPTER XLI.

ITINERARY OF THE LOIRE.

Journey to Blois—Scenery of the Loire—Chaumont—Blois—The Castle, and its Histories—The Chateau de Chambord—Francis I.—Journey to Orleans—Clery, and Louis XI.—Orleans—The Maid of Orleans—The Cathedral—Conclusion.

THE country between Amboise and Blois is generally considered to be the most charming part of the country bordering upon the Loire. But I am not of this opinion. It is, perhaps, the most beautiful ; but it is not, in my opinion, the most attractive. I like better the scenery of Bretagne ; though, by most persons, it is probable that Touraine may be preferred. In the scenery of the Loire, between Amboise and Blois, all is soft—beauty is its characteristic. There is nothing romantic—nothing wild.

The banks of the river are never bold—scarcely elevated. A noble river, gliding in an ample smooth current, flows through a rich and highly-cultivated and well-peopled country. The hills are smooth and rounded ; fine meadows lie along the river-side ; copses are scattered over the meadows and the slopes ; and cottages, villages, and villas, ornament and give life to this gay and *riante* scene. Almost all the land is the property of the peasant who cultivates it ; that property is small, but it is enough for his wants.

I breakfasted at the village of Ecures, and then continued my journey to Chouisi. All this road is finely shaded by walnut-trees ; and, besides the usual crops of corn and wine, and the meadows that adorn all this country, much Indian corn is grown in this part of Touraine ; and there is no crop more imposing than this—none more beautiful ; and, with the corn and the grass, the bright green of the flax that in little patches grew around the cottages was charmingly blended. I was sorry to see women so much employed in country-labour ; for this is a sad destroyer of female beauty. I believe few things have contributed more to maintain the reputation of the female peasantry of England for good looks, than their abstinence from field-labour.

Upon a little promontory of land, about twelve miles before arriving at Blois, is the castle of Chaumont. It was built in the middle of the fifteenth century by the family of Amboise, and within its walls was born the cardinal of that name, the upright minister of Louis XII. This castle was presented by Henry II. to his mistress, the duchess of Valentinois, and by her it was much improved. Upon the death of her protector, the mistress of the castle renounced it in favour of Catherine of Medicis, who, in return, presented her with the palace of Chenonceaux-sur-Cher. I reached Blois a little before sunset.

The city of Blois is, from its historic recollections, one of the most remarkable and most interesting cities of France. Its situation is striking and beautiful ; I prefer it even to the situation of Tours. It lies upon the slope of an acclivity that ascends from the river-side. Upon the opposite bank of the river, connected by a bridge, a handsome suburb is built ; and the views on every hand are of the richest and most varied character. The inside of the town does not, however, correspond with the impression made in approaching it. It is ill-built ; and, in comparison with Tours, has a mean appearance. Within the town there are but few houses of a superior order.

It is the castle of Blois that gives to this city its peculiar claim upon the notice of the traveller. How many events in history start to memory when we enter the courts of this castle ! for of how many has it been the witness ! Here was born Louis the Twelfth—Louis the Good ; here Margaret of Valois was married ; here Mary of Medicis was imprisoned ; here the duke of Guise was assassinated ; and here Catherine of Medicis expired. It is difficult to analyse or account for the feelings of reverence with which we tread the courts of such places as these. It is certainly not a reverence for crowned heads that engenders the feeling with which we regard their ancient habitations. It is partly the solemnity of antiquity, which, in its even silent interpreters, finds its way to almost every heart ; and

it is partly the contrast between the decay, and gloom, and stillness, that now prevail, and the "pomp and circumstance" of kingly life, that in other days filled its courts, and blazed from its towers. Vestiges of many monarchs are seen here. On several parts of the walls may be noticed the "salamander" of Francis I.—the "porcupine" of Louis XII.—the "crescent" of Henry II.; for all these kings were concerned in the erection and adornment of the castle of Blois.

The original castle, of which only the ruins of one great tower now remain, was built by the ancient counts of Blois, who usually resided there. The castle was sold by the last count of the house of Chatillon to the duke of Orleans, brother of Charles VI. of France; and in this way it descended to the line of kings. The south and east fronts were, as it is believed, built by Louis XII., while the northern front was the work of Francis I. These are very different in their architecture. The former is Gothic, gloomy, and dark; the latter more light and graceful, apparently constructed when the Gothic was giving way to a taste for the Greek and Roman styles. It has been remarked, and with justice, that the style of architecture of that part of the castle built by Louis XII. throws no small light upon the manners of that age, and leads us to form a very unfavourable idea of the delicacy and refinement of the days of doughty deeds and chivalrous feeling. The windows are in many places supported by the most grossly indecent figures; and these, standing in the most exposed places in the front of the castle, not only impress us with a strong belief in the want of refinement prevalent in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but also seem to imply a strange contradiction in the character of Anne of Bretagne, whose manners are represented to have been so reserved, and whose morals were so rigid.

In the interior of the castle, the same differences in style are perceptible. Small dark rooms are found in that part which was erected by Louis XII.; while, in the part built by Francis I., the apartments are lofty, light, and spacious. One of the most renowned spots within the castle to which a stranger is first conducted, is the chamber wherein the duke of Guise was assassinated, in the year 1588. It was in passing from the antechamber into another apartment that the duke met his fate. Henry III., who instigated the assassination, is said to have entered the room where the body lay, and to have exclaimed, "How great a man lies there!" At the western corner of the castle is the tower called the tower of *Chateau Regneud*, in which the cardinal of Guise, brother of the duke, was imprisoned the same day upon which the other was assassinated. I visited the dungeon where this proud and ambitious prelate passed the night previous to his execution. It is a gloomy chamber, with one small window iron-grated; and in the middle of the apartment is a hole, about the diameter of a man's body, which leads to another dungeon; and, still lower, are two other ranges of these dungeons, one below the other, and communicating also by holes. The cardinal was murdered in the uppermost of these—the martyr of his wrong-headed presumption and inordinate ambition.

The *Salle des Etats* lies at the eastern extremity of the building. Here the states-general were twice assembled during the distracted reign of Henry III.

It is a spacious and lofty hall, but dismantled, and falling into decay. It is said, that in this hall the bodies of the duke and the cardinal were burned, the day following their assassination. If this be true, it is difficult to assign a reason for so unusual an act. A fine saying, connected with these events, is reported of the mother of the Guises. She was sent to Amboise by Henry, after the murder of her sons; and as she embarked upon the Loire, she turned towards the castle, and thus addressed the statue of Louis XII., her ancestor, which stood before the gate: "Ah grand Roi, avez-vous fait batir ce chateau, pour y faire mourir les enfans de votre petite fille!"

The western front of the castle was constructed by the direction of Gaston, duke of Orleans, son of Henry IV., and brother to Louis XIII. It is a fine specimen of the genius of the architect, but was never completed, owing to the death of his patron; and partly, also, because the sum required for its completion could not be raised. It is now sadly decayed; and Gaston, near his last hour, with reference to the ruin of the castle, is reported to have said, "Domus mea, domus desolationis in æternum!"

Once the gardens of the castle of Blois were magnificent, and of vast extent. Henry IV. constructed a superb gallery to divide the upper from the lower gardens; but it is now only visible in its ruins. The avenue of Catherine de Medicis, however, still remains.

I dedicated a day to an excursion to the Chateau de Chambord, the favourite palace of Francis I. The country between Blois and Chambord is remarkably pleasing; but, as we approach the castle, the scene changes and becomes sombre; and, in its immediate neighbourhood, all is melancholy, and even dismal, little in accordance with the character of the gay and gallant Francis. The castle is buried in deep woods. Its situation is low and damp; and a lazy stream, called the Cousson, dark and sedgy, slowly creeps in front of the building. The castle itself is noble. It is in the Gothic style, but full of elegance, surmounted by many turrets, and towers, and minarets, most of which have been touched by the finger of decay; and, if placed in a commanding situation, would be one of the most imposing remains of other days. It is said, that in the construction of this edifice, eighteen hundred workmen were employed during twelve years. When we remark the gloomy character of this building, and call to mind the character of the royal builder, we must not forget the precise date at which it was erected. If Francis had built a palace before the battle of Pavia, it would probably have been a different kind of structure; but it was after the captivity of Francis in Spain, that the castle of Chambord was built. The chivalrous king was then an altered man; and, independently of his own misfortunes and long imprisonment, the character of all that he had seen in Spain had doubtless communicated to his mind a tinge of sadness and gloom, which seemed to have been the presiding deities in the erection of Chambord.

A curious staircase leads to the upper apartments. It is so contrived that persons may pass up and down at the same time, without either meeting or seeing each other. The interior of the castle has much of magnificence in it. There are some fine ceilings; and all is in excellent proportion,

especially those apartments which were the residence of marshal Saxe, who lived a great part of his life and died in this castle. He is said to have resided here in great splendour; and to have maintained a body of 1500 horse. Every one who visits Chambord is shown the cross-beams that disfigure many of the rooms, and is informed that they were so placed by direction of Catherine of Medicis, who had been told by an astrologer, that her death would be occasioned by the fall of a house, and who thus endeavoured to disappoint the prediction; but nothing is more common than cross-beams in Gothic rooms; and therefore, in all probability, the story is but a story. It is said in old books, that two lines of poetry, the production of Francis, are written with a diamond, upon a small glass window in a closet near the chapel; but they are not now to be seen. The lines were said to have been—

“Toute femme varie
Mal habil qui s’y fie!”—

An expression of pique, no doubt arising from the caprice of his mistress. So that window-panes are scribbled by the hands of kings, as well as by those of London apprentices.

It was in this castle of Chambord, that Francis entertained his designing and treacherous rival Charles V. in 1540, with all that liberality and magnificence which accorded with the character of the French monarch. The device of Francis, “the salamander,” is to be discovered in many parts of the building. Chambord has been going into decay ever since the death of marshal Saxe. Several times during the reign of Louis XIV., that monarch visited it, and enjoyed the diversion of hunting in its neighbourhood; but none of his royal successors have followed his example; most of them have been worse employed. I spent the greater part of the day in the precincts of this gloomy but magnificent structure. “C’est un endroit bien triste,” said the man who walked over the castle with me; and the solemn expression of his face showed that he had caught the infection of the place. One is more inclined to linger in the precincts of a sad than of a gay spot; and it was almost dusk before I could leave Chambord to return to Blois. I shall not speedily forget the day I spent at Chambord.

After such objects as the castle of Blois and Chambord, the traveller looks with comparatively little interest upon the lesser objects which Blois contains. They ought not, however, to be passed over; and in order to admire them, it is only necessary to visit them first. There is a college, a church, and two fine monuments; one commemorating Gaston, duke of Orleans; the other, a daughter of that prince. There is a building, used as a court of justice, as old as the ancient counts of Blois; and there is an aqueduct, said of course to be a work of the Romans.

Blois and its neighbourhood are colonized by English, as well as Tours. In expenses, I believe Blois has rather the advantage; in society, it is inferior to Tours; and that is just the reason why it is somewhat cheaper as a residence. The environs of Blois are as attractive as the neighbourhood of Tours; and Blois has the advantage of being a day’s journey nearer Paris. I left Blois to journey to Orleans, the morning after my return to Chambord.

The country between Blois and Orleans is of the same character as that lying between Amboise and Blois. Beauty and softness are its characteristics, and these are never wanting. I think, however, that the country of the Loire is more interesting, from the historic recollections with which it abounds, and from those records of past days, that so freshly recall these recollections, than from the charm of the scenery. I know that, upon matters of this kind, men’s opinions differ according to the complexion of their minds; and no man, in speaking of the merits of a landscape, can do more than record the impression which it has made upon his own mind. I prefer the scenery of several rivers to the scenery of the Loire. The Rhine, the Rhone, and the Danube all excel it, and the Meuse greatly surpasses it. I know of nothing upon the Loire that will bear the least comparison with the views in descending the Meuse from Namur to Liège.

At Beaugency, where there is a bridge across the Loire, lies the seat of the renowned Madame de Pompadour. I spent an hour or two in rambling there, and enjoyed much the delightful prospect that the heights above the river commanded. It is as rich and varied a landscape as I ever recollect to have seen. Madame de Pompadour left this charming place to her brother, the marquis de Marigny, who much improved and greatly beautified it; and Louis XV. was liberal in his presents of statues to adorn the grounds. I have seen no *maison de plaisance* whose site I prefer to this.

I spent two days upon the road from Blois to Orleans. This was not necessary on account of the distance, but I wished to devote a little time to Clery, where Louis XI. was interred. The church of *Notre Dame de Clery* was built by Louis XI., who dedicated it to the Virgin Mary, who was always the object of this wicked king’s devotion; and from the same feeling of devotion, he desired that his body should be interred in a tomb in that church erected by his own orders. During the wars of the Hugonots, his tomb was broken open, and his bones scattered; but Louis XIII. erected the present monument in 1622. It is of white marble; and the king is represented in bas-relief kneeling, and in the attitude of prayer. The monument has been considerably defaced, as might be expected, from the hatred which must ever pursue the memory of this detestable tyrant. The heart of Charles VIII. is preserved in the same tomb.

Clery has lost its character for sanctity. Formerly, it attracted the feet of numerous pilgrims; for *Notre Dame de Clery* was particularly celebrated for the protection which she afforded to travellers by land and sea. Any one who found himself in danger, had only to vow a pilgrimage to Clery. Immediately, though a thousand miles distant, the bell at Clery tolled of its own accord, signifying that the vow was accepted; and by-and-by, the pilgrim appeared to pay his adorations.

I remained at Clery all night; and next morning walked to Orleans, where I arrived early.

Orleans is a large, but not a beautiful city; and its environs, though rich and highly-cultivated, are less agreeable than the country around Tours or Blois. The city itself contains few good streets; but there is one, spacious and elegant, terminating in a noble bridge. The great square is also mag-

nificent. In the principal street, stands the monument of the Maid of Orleans, whose history is too well known to render any explanation necessary. The monument represents our Saviour lying on the lap of the Virgin ; and Charles VII. and the Maid of Orleans are kneeling before the body. The king's helmet lies on the ground ; and the maid and the monarch kneel opposite to each other. This monument was erected by command of Charles VII., in commemoration of his victories over the English, and of their expulsion from France. The figures in this monument are in iron. No one can visit Orleans without looking with interest upon this relic. The figure of the Maid of Orleans strongly resembles her portrait, which is preserved in the *hôtel de Ville*. It is a full-length portrait, and represents a countenance of much beauty ; and in which also dignity and melancholy are blended. Her head is covered with a bonnet, from which a white plume depends ; and her hair falls over her neck. There is also a necklace, a sort of chain, upon her breast : an embroidered girdle encircles her waist, and she holds a sword in her hand. The memory of the Maid of Orleans is cherished with great veneration by the French ; and this is scarcely to be wondered at. It was a critical juncture in which she appeared. She was young, beautiful, and unknown—her exertions were successful—and her sentence was unjust and barbarous. In all this there was a tinge of the marvellous ; and we cannot therefore feel surprise, that relics and mementos of this extraordinary woman should be preserved in that city where her enterprise was projected.

The cathedral of Orleans is a fine structure ; it was begun in the year 1287, but it was three centuries later before it was finished. Part of it was subsequently destroyed by the Hugonots ; but it was rebuilt by command of Henry IV. There is some good workmanship upon the altars and panels, which are of oak, from the hand of *Baptiste Tubi*, an Italian master. Louis XV. built the two western towers, which are in the most gorgeous taste. I ascended to the summit, and found myself well repaid for the labour of the ascent. The *Orleannais* is a beautiful country to look down upon ; but it is too level to possess the same interest to the tra-

veller who journeys through it, as Bretagne or Touraine.

La Source, a villa at no great distance from Orleans, is interesting to Englishmen, as having been once the residence of Henry St. John, lord Bolingbroke, who here lived in retirement during the greater part of his exile. The spot has received its name from a little hollow, in which a fine fountain gushes out of the earth. The character of the place, I believe, has been greatly altered since it was the abode of lord Bolingbroke. French taste has given to it an *apprêté* air ; and pert improvements have destroyed the sanctity of the spot.

I conclude this short sketch of the country bordering upon the Loire, with this advice, that no English tourist shall leave Paris without taking his seat in the *coupé* or the *banquette* of the diligence for Orleans ; and, travelling down the bank of the Loire as far as Nantes, either *en calèche*, *à cheval*, or *à pied*, as his strength or his fancy may suggest. From Nantes, he may reach St. Malo in two days ; and in three days more he may be in Portsmouth, having seen Jersey and Guernsey by the way. This is better than joining the colony at Tours. I have travelled some little in my day ; and I never yet saw the place over-seas where I could say, here I will live and die. My steps have been arrested by beautiful spots—by savage spots—by great and luxurious cities ;—a week, a month, I could spend in many—a year in some, and spend it happily ; but not life—not all my days. This may be prejudice ; I believe it is ; but it is the only prejudice I have no wish to part with. I know of no pleasure that will compare with going abroad, excepting one—returning home. I pity English colonists wherever I find them—whether at Tours, or Pau, or Lausanne, or Brussels, or Nice, or Florence. They all talk of the delightful climate, and delicious wines, and cheap living, and excellent society ; and yet I believe there may be but two or one among them all whose words come from the heart—but two or one among them all, who, if they dared to appear poor, would not turn their backs upon the climate, and wines, and society of foreign lands, and seek the shores of England. Travelling is a charming recreation ; but, after all, England—to an Englishman—is the only country to live in.

APPENDIX.

THE SLIDE OF ALPNACH.

THE following description of this extraordinary undertaking is from the pen of the late professor Playfair:

"On the south side of Pilatus, a considerable mountain near Lucerne, are great forests of spruce-fir, consisting of the finest timber, but in a situation which the height, the steepness, and the ruggedness of the ground, seemed to render inaccessible. They had rarely been visited but by the chamois-hunters; and it was from them, indeed, that the first information concerning the size of the trees and the extent of the forest appears to have been received. These woods are in the Canton of Unterwalden, one of those in which the ancient spirit of the Swiss republics is the best preserved; where the manners are extremely simple, the occupations of the people mostly those of agriculture; where there are no manufactures, little accumulation of capital, and no commercial enterprise. In the possession of such masters, the lofty firs of Pilatus were likely to remain long the ornaments of their native mountain.

"A few years ago, however, Mr. Rupp, a native of Wirtemberg, and a skilful engineer, in which profession he had been educated, indignant at the political changes effected in his own country, was induced to take refuge among a free people, and came to settle in the Canton of Schwytz, on the opposite side of the lake of Lucerne. The accounts which he heard there of the forest just mentioned determined him to visit it; and he was so much struck by its appearance, that, long and rugged as the descent was, he conceived the bold project of bringing down the trees, by no other force than their own weight, into the lake of Lucerne, from which the conveyance to the German Ocean was easy and expeditious. A more accurate survey of the ground convinced him of the practicability of the project.

"He had, by this time, resided long enough in Switzerland, to have both his talents and integrity in such estimation, that he was able to prevail on a number of the proprietors to form a company, with a joint stock, to be laid out in the purchase of the forest, and in the construction of the road along which it was intended that the trees should slide down into the lake of Lucerne; an arm or gulf of which fortunately approaches quite near to the bottom of the mountain. The sum required for this purpose was very considerable for that country, amounting to 9,000*l.* or 10,000*l.*; 3,000*l.* to be laid out on the purchase of the forest, from the community of Alpnaach, the proprietors of it, and the rest being necessary for the construction of the singular railway by which the trees were to be brought down. In a country where there is little enterprise, few capitalists, and where he was himself a stranger, this was not the least difficult part of Mr. Rupp's undertaking.

"The distance which the trees had to be conveyed is about three of the leagues of that country, or, more exactly, 46,000 feet. The medium height of the forest is about 2500 feet (which measure I took from general Plyffer's model of the Alps, and not from any actual measurement of my own). The horizontal distance just mentioned, when reduced to English measure, making allowance for the Swiss foot, is 44,252 feet—eight English miles and about three furlongs. The declivity is therefore one foot in 17·68; the medium angle of elevation $3^{\circ} 14' 20''$.

"This declivity, though so moderate on the whole, is, in many places, very rapid. At the beginning the inclination is about one-fourth of a right angle, or about $22^{\circ} 30'$; in many places it is 20° , but nowhere greater than the angle first mentioned, $22^{\circ} 30'$. The inclination continues of this quantity for about 500 feet, after which the way is less steep, and often considerably circuitous, according to the directions which the ruggedness of the ground forces it to take.

"Along this line the trees descend in a sort of trough built in a cradle form, and extending from the forest to the edge of the lake. Three trees squared, and laid side by side, form the bottom of the trough; the tree in the middle having its surface hollowed, so that a rill of water, received from distance to distance over the side of the trough, may be conveyed along the bottom, and preserve it moist. Adjoining to the central part (of the trough), other trees, also squared, are laid parallel to the former, in such a manner as to form a trough rounded in the interior, and of such dimensions as to allow the largest trees to lie or to move quite readily. When the direction of the trough turns, or has any bending, of which there are many, its sides are made higher and stronger, especially on the convex side, or that from which it bends, so as to provide against the trees bolting or flying out, which they sometimes do in spite of every precaution. In general, the trough is from five to six feet wide at top, and from three to four in depth; varying, however, in different places, according to circumstances.

"This singular road has been constructed at considerable expense; though, as it goes almost for its whole length through a forest, the materials of construction were at hand, and of small value. It contains, we are told, 30,000 trees; it is, in general, supported on cross-timbers, that are themselves supported by uprights fixed in the ground; and these cross-timbers are sometimes close to the surface: they are occasionally under it, and sometimes elevated to a great height above it. It crosses in its way three great ravines: one at the height of 64 feet, another at the height of 103, and the third, where it goes along the face of a rock, at that of 157. In two places it is conveyed under ground. It was finished in 1812.

"The trees which descend by this conveyance are spruce-firs, very straight, and of great size. All their branches are lopped off; they are stripped of the bark; and the surface, of course, made tolerably smooth. The trees or logs, of which the trough is built, are dressed with the axe, but without much care.

"All being thus prepared, the tree is launched with the root end foremost into the steep part of the trough, and in a few seconds acquires such a velocity as enables it to reach the lake in the short space of six minutes; a result altogether astonishing, when it is considered that the distance is more than eight miles, that the average declivity is but one foot in seventeen, and that the route which the trees have to follow is often circuitous, and in some places almost horizontal.

"Where large bodies are moved with such velocity as has now been described, and so tremendous a force of course produced, every thing had need to be done with the utmost regularity, every obstacle carefully removed that can obstruct the motion, or that might suffer by so fearful a collision. Every thing, accordingly, with regard to launching off the trees, is directed by telegraphic signals. All along the slide men are stationed at different distances, from half a mile to three-quarters, or more; but so that every station may be seen from the next, both above and below. At each of these stations, also, is a telegraph, consisting of a large board like a door, that turns at its middle on a horizontal axle. When the board is placed upright, it is seen from the two adjacent stations; when it is turned horizontally, or rather parallel to the surface of the ground, it is invisible from both. When the tree is launched from the top, a signal is made by turning the board upright; the same is followed by the rest; and thus the information is conveyed, almost instantaneously, all along the slide, that a tree is now on its way. By-and-by, to any one that is stationed on the side, even to those at a great distance, the same is announced by the roaring of the tree itself, which becomes always louder and louder; the tree comes in sight, when it is perhaps half a mile distant, and, in an instant after, shoots past with the noise of thunder and the rapidity of lightning. As soon as it has reached the bottom, the lowest telegraph is turned down, the signal passes along all the station, and the workmen at the top are informed that the tree has arrived in safety. Another is set off as expeditiously as possible; the moment is announced as before; and the same process is repeated, till the trees that have been got in readiness for that day have been sent down into the lake.

"When a tree sticks by accident, or when it flies out, a signal is made from the nearest station, by half depressing the board, and the workmen from above and below come to assist in getting out the tree that has stuck, or correcting any thing that is wrong in the slide from the springing of a beam in the slide; and thus the interruption to the work is rendered as short as possible.

"We saw five trees come down. The place where we stood was near the lower end, and the declivity was inconsiderable (the bottom of the

slide nearly resting on the surface), yet the trees passed with astonishing rapidity. The greatest of them was a spruce-fir 100 feet long, four feet in diameter at the lower end, and one at the upper. The greatest trees are those that descend with the greatest rapidity; and the velocity, as well as the roaring of this one, was evidently greater than the rest. A tree must be very large to descend at all in this manner. A tree, Mr. Rupp informed us, that was only half the dimensions of the preceding, and therefore only an eighth part of its weight, would not be able to make its way from the top to the bottom. One of the trees that we saw, broke by some accident into two; the lighter part stopped almost immediately, and the remaining part came to rest soon after. This is a valuable fact: it appears from it, that the friction is not in proportion to the weight, but becomes relatively less as the weight increases, contrary to the opinion that is generally received.

"In viewing the descent of the trees, my nephew and I stood quite close to the edge of the trough, not being more interested about any thing than to experience the impression which the near view of so singular an object must make on a spectator. The noise, the rapidity of the motion, the magnitude of the moving body, and the force with which it seemed to shake the trough as it passed, were altogether very formidable, and conveyed an idea of danger much greater than the reality. Our guide refused to partake of our amusement; he retreated behind a tree at some distance, where he had the consolation to be assured by Mr. Rupp, that he was no safer than we were, as a tree, when it happened to bolt from the trough, would often cut the standing trees clear over. During the whole time the slide has existed, there have been three or four fatal accidents; and one instance was the consequence of excessive temerity.

"I have mentioned, that a provision was made for keeping the bottom of the trough wet. This is a very useful precaution; the friction is greatly diminished, and the swiftness is greatly increased by that means. In rainy weather, the trees move much faster than in dry. We were assured, that when the trough was everywhere in its most perfect condition, the weather wet, and the trees very large, the descent was sometimes made in as short a time as three minutes.

"The trees thus brought down into the lake of Lucerne, are formed into rafts, and floated down the very rapid stream of the Reuss, by which the lake discharges its water—first into the Aar, and then into the Rhine. By this conveyance, which is all of it in streams of great rapidity, the trees sometimes reach Basil in a few days after they have left Lucerne; and there the intermediate concern of the Alpnaeh company terminated. They still continue to be navigated down the Rhine in rafts to Holland, and are afloat in the German Ocean in less than a month from having descended from the side of Pilatus, a very inland mountain, not less than a thousand miles distant. The late emperor of France had made a contract for all the timber thus brought down."—*Professor Playfair's Works, Vol. I., Edinburgh, 1822.*

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OF THE

LIFE AND WRITINGS OF JOHN STOW.

If it were given to the reader to wield for a brief space the staff of Prospero, with power to conjure up a vision of London as it existed in some former period, there can be little doubt but that he would so employ his art that the London of Shakspeare should stand revealed before him. Happily, although Prospero's staff is broken, the conjuration and the mighty magic necessary to call up this busy pageant were lodged in the untiring pen of honest John Stow.

Fortunate indeed was it for the London of that age that one, born and bred within her walls, undertook as a labour of love a Survey which has enabled after generations

"to view the manners of the town,
Peruse the traders, gaze upon the buildings;"

and acquire a knowledge of Queen Elizabeth's capital more intimate than we possess of the same city at any other period, or of any other city in any age of the world. How well, how faithfully, this worthy citizen performed the task his patriotism selected, one glance at his straight-forward, quaint, and most picturesque of narratives will serve to show. In every page of the Survey of London we meet with evidence of an unwearied patience, a devoted love of truth, and a kindly feeling towards his fellow men—qualities which, after the lapse of more than two centuries, have won for its author the honourable and well-deserved epithet of the Venerable Stow.

The merits of our author, and the value of his interesting work, are too well known and too highly appreciated to call for further eulogy upon this occasion; yet it seems but a proper tribute to the memory of John Stow, that the readers of this edition of his Survey of London should be presented with some notice of a life and labours devoted to preserve the memory of every thing which he thought likely to interest posterity.

John Stow was born in London, in the parish of St. Michael, Cornhill, in the year 1525. His father and his grandfather were likewise citizens and residents in that parish.

There can be little doubt of the supposition, that Stow followed the trade of a tailor, being well founded; since we not only find him so described in a letter written by Grindal, then bishop of London, to the Privy Council, but in a complaint made by Stow himself to the magistrates against one William Ditcher and his wife for abusing him, he states that the offenders reflected upon his Chronicles and his trade as a tailor, and called him Prick-louse knave; an epithet exclusively applied to those who follow the calling of honest Robin Starveling, who "played Thisbe's mother *."

Let his calling however have been what it may, his life was devoted not to the busy pursuit of wealth, but to the study of his country's history; and therefore, like that of any other student, it exhibits few incidents calculated to startle or surprise the reader. Indeed, the principal events of it may almost be related in the words of the worthy antiquary himself—from the autobiographical fragments scattered throughout his works.

Thus, after describing the abbey of nuns, of the order of St. Clare, called the Minories, he furnishes

* Ben Jonson likewise calls him so (see note, page xii.); and if further evidence were necessary, we have that of Sir Henry Spelman, as recorded by Aubrey. "He said to Sir William Dugdale, we are beholden to Mr. Speed and Stowe for stitching up for us our English history. It seems they were both tailors."

us with an anecdote of his boyish days, telling us,—“Near adjoining to this abbey, on the south side thereof, was sometime a farm belonging to the said nunnery ; at the which farm I myself, in my youth, have fetched many a halfpenny worth of milk, and never had less than three ale pints for a halfpenny in the summer, nor less than one ale quart for a halfpenny in the winter, always hot from the kine, as the same was milked and strained. One Trolop, and afterwards Goodman, were farmers there, and had thirty or forty kine to the pail. Goodman’s son, being heir to his father’s purchase, let out the ground first for grazing of horses, and then for garden-plots, and lived like a gentleman thereby.”

In another passage we are presented with an instance of overbearing conduct on the part of Cromwell, —Walsey’s “good Cromwell”—towards Stow’s father, which it is impossible to read without indignation :

“On the south side, and at the west end of this church [of the Augustine Friars] many fair houses are built ; namely, in Throgmorton street, one very large and spacious, built in the place of old and small tenements by Thomas Cromwell, master of the king’s jewel-house, after that master of the rolls, then Lord Cromwell, knight, lord privy seal, vicar-general, Earl of Essex, high chamberlain of England, &c. This house being finished, and having some reasonable plot of ground left for a garden, he caused the pales of the gardens adjoining to the north part thereof on a sudden to be taken down ; twenty-two feet to be measured forth right into the north of every man’s ground ; a line there to be drawn, a trench to be cast, a foundation laid, and a high brick wall to be built. My father had a garden there, and a house standing close to his south pale ; this house they loosed from the ground, and bare upon rollers into my father’s garden twenty-two feet, ere my father heard thereof ; no warning was given him, nor other answer, when he spake to the surveyors of that work, but that their master Sir Thomas commanded them so to do ; no man durst go to argue the matter, but each man lost his land, and my father paid his whole rent, which was 6*s.* 6*d.* the year, for that half which was left. Thus much of mine own knowledge have I thought good to note, that the sudden rising of some men causeth them to forget themselves.”

From a third (vide page 55), we learn that in 1549 he was dwelling near the well within Aldgate ; the bailiff of Romford, who there suffered the penalty of the law, having, to use Stow’s words, been “executed upon the pavement of my door where I then kept house.”

He afterwards removed to Lime street ward, where he continued to reside until his death ; and where, in the year 1585, when the city furnished Elizabeth with four thousand men and their arms, Stow acted as one of the collectors of the charges for the same. This appointment, which was probably bestowed upon him in return for those exertions in resisting the encroachments of Billingsgate ward, which he relates at page 61 of this volume, affords at least satisfactory proof that he was esteemed by his neighbours to be trustworthy.

From other passages scattered throughout his works, it is evident that he suffered from the charges of false and perjured enemies ; and his indignation against such slanderers is vented whenever an opportunity of alluding to their malice and wickedness presents itself.

In 1544 he appears, according to Strype, to have been greatly endangered by a false accusation made against him by a priest, who, upon the discovery of his perjury, was adjudged in the Star chamber to stand upon the pillory, and to have the letters F. A. (for False Accuser) branded on his cheek.

In 1568 he being, to use the words of Strype, “an admirer of antiquity in religion, as well as in history,” was reported to the queen’s council as a suspicious person, with many dangerous and superstitious books in his possession. Upon this Grindal, bishop of London, caused Watts his chaplain, Bedel, clerk to the Ecclesiastical commission, and a divine, named Williams, to search our antiquary’s study *. Whether Stow was subjected to any other inconvenience upon this occasion is not known ; but two years afterwards, namely, in 1570, he was again accused before the Ecclesiastical commission by one

* The following is Strype’s Account of the Report which they made to the Bishop, as the result of their search :—

“That he had great collections of his own for the English Chronicles, wherein, as Watts signified to the bishop, he seemed to have bestowed much travel. They found also a great sort of old books printed ; some fabulous, as of Sir Gregory Triamour, &c., and a great parcel of old MS. Chronicles, both in parchment and paper. And that besides he had Miscellaneous Tracts touching Physick, Surgery, and Herbs, and Medical Recipes ; and also fantastical Popish books, printed in old time ; and also others written in old English, in parchment. But another sort of books he had more modern ; of which the said searchers thought fit to take an inventory, as likely most to touch him ; and they were books lately set forth in the realm or beyond sea in defence of Popistry. Which books, as the Chaplain said, declared him a great fanitor of that religion. Some of these books, the lists whereof so taken and sent to the bishop, were these :—*A Parliament of Christ*, made by Thomas Heskins ; *The Hatchet of Heresy*, set out by Shacklock ; *Exposition of the Creed, Ten Commandments, Paternoster and Ave Maria*, by Bishop Bonner ; *Certain Sermons*, set forth in print by Edgeworth, D.D. ; *The Maner of the List of Saints*, an old printed book ; *Five Homilies*, made by Leonard Pollard, Prebendary of Worcester ; *A Proof of certain Articles of Religion denied by W. Juell* ; A Book made by Dorman (? Dolman) ; with a great many more of that kind.

who, when in his service, had despoiled him of his goods, and, what must have added to the bitterness of his grief, was his own brother. Stow escaped the danger which upon this occasion threatened to deprive him of liberty, perhaps of life; but the impression it made upon his mind was too great for him to avoid frequent allusion to it*.

But great as these troubles must have been, and seriously as they must have interrupted the quiet tenor of his studies, they did not induce him to abandon the useful and honourable career which he had proposed to himself; nor prevent the publication of those various works which have secured for him the affectionate remembrance of all lovers of English history, and of which we now propose to render some account to our readers.

His first publication was his *Summary of English Chronicles*, published originally in 1561; but of which there is a long series of editions, probably one for every year, all now however of exceeding rarity.

A copy of the first edition, supposed to be unique, is in the valuable library of the Right Hon. Thomas Grenville; while the British Museum possesses copies of five editions, namely, those of 1567, 1573, 1587, 1598, and 1604. These all differ somewhat from one another, and are severally dedicated to the Lord Mayor of London for the time being (by name †), to the aldermen his brethren, and to the commoners of the same city. The following dedication, which is prefixed to the edition of 1567, and addressed to Roger Martin ‡, is here reprinted, as being one of the earliest specimens of Stow's writing §:—

"Although, ryght honorable and worshipful, I was myself very ready to dedicate this my small travayle of English Chronicles unto you, to the intent that through your protection it might pass the snarlings of the malicious, which are always ready to hinder the good meanings of laborious men and studious writers; yet considering the occasions necessarily unto me offered, and dutifully to be considered, I thought good to begin with the right honorable the Earl of Leicester. For speakyng nothing of my own duty, the commodity of my own countrymen moved me hereunto, seeing they were deceived through his authority by the furnishing of a friculous abridgment in the fronture with his noble name, I thought good, and that after amendment promised and not performed, at vacant times, to take me to my old delectable studies, and after a Summary of Engliche Chronicles, faithfully collected, to acquire his Lordship's authority to the defence of that, wherein another had both abused his lordship and deceived the expectation of the common people. But nowe, at the request of the Printer and other of my loving friends, having brought the same into a newe forme, such as may both ease the purse and the carriage, and yet nothing omitted convenient to be known; and besides all this, having example before my face to change my Patron (reserving still my Printer, as careful of his advantage rather than mine own), I am bold to submit it unto your honour and worship's protections together, that through the thundering noise of empty tonnes and unfruitful graftes of Monnus' offspring it be not (as it is pretended), defaced, and overthrowne. Truth's quarrel it is, I lay before you, the which hath been (if not hitherto wholly pretermitted) truly miserably handled, mangled I should say, and such an hotche pottle made of truth and lies together, that of the ignorant in histories the one could not be discerned of the other. A strange case it is, and negligence shall I call it, In the Epistle or ignorance, that he, that was moved to write even for pity's sake, to restore the truth to her Dedictory. integrity, should commit so great errors, and so many, that he himself had need of a cor-

* Vide his *Annals* under the years 1556 and 1576, and *Survey of London*, pages 96, 143, and 159, of this edition.

† Thus the edition of 1567 is dedicated to Roger Martin; that of 1573 to Lionel Duckett; that of 1587 to Sir George Barne; that of 1598 to Sir Richard Saltinstow; and that of 1604 to Sir Thomas Bennet, knight.

‡ The following is the title of this edition:—*The Summary of English Chronicles (lately collected and published), abridged and continued til this present Month of November, in the yeare of our Lord God 1567, by J. S. Imprinted at London in Flete Strete, nere to St. Dunstone's Church, by Thomas Marsha.*

§ From these addresses we may get an insight into Stow's study, and gather many little hints as to his literary history.

Thus in the edition of 1573, after stating that those who "to their great costes and charges have brought hidden histories from dusky darkness to the sight of the world," &c., "deserve at least thanks for their paines, and to be misreported of none, seeing they have laboured for all," he proceeds, "I write not this to complaine of some men's ingratitude towards me, although justlye I mighte;" adding, "It is now eight yeares since I, seeing the confused order of our late English Chronicles, and the ignorant handling of ancient affaires (leaving mine own peculiar gaines), consecrated myself to the search of our famous antiquities," &c.

In 1587, he speaks of it "being now fully twenty-three years" since he so consecrated himself, and in 1598 of its being "now 36 yeares;" while in the edition of 1604 the passage runs as follows:—"It is now nigh 45 yeares since I seeing the confused order of our late English Chronicles, and the ignorant handling of ancient affaires, as also (by occasion being persuaded by the Earle of Leicester);" and in a side-note he adds, "I gave him a booke compiled by his grandfather Edmond Dudley" ("leaving mine owne peculiar gaines), consecrated myself to the search of our famous antiquities. What I have done in them, the former editions of my Summaries, Chronicles, and Annales, with my Survey of the Cities of London, Westminster, and Borough of Southwarke, may well testify," &c.

rector, and truth of a new labourer. For me a heap of old monuments, witnesses of times, and bright beams of the truth, can testify that I have not swerved from the truth; the which, as I am ready at all times to show for mine own safe conduct against the adversaries, so am I most certain that he that pretendeth most hath had very small store of authors for himself before time, and now hath fraught his mannery Manuell with such merchandize (as to you it shall be most manifest at your conference), that by the buying of my Summary he scoured newly, or cleanly altered his old Abridgment. What pre-occupation or what insolence is it then to transfer that unto me that am farthest from such dealing. And yet having much better precedents before mine eyes (even that excellent learned Dr. Cooper, that I name no ancients, whose order and devise privately he condemneth, and yet openly transformeth into his own Abridgment), hee accuseth of counterfeiting his volume and order, whereas it might be well said unto him, "What hast thou that thou hast not received of me."

But that I be not against my nature angry with my undeserved adversary, I will here surcease to trouble you any further at this time, most earnestly requiring your honour and worships all, once again to take the tuition of this little book upon you. The which, if I may perceive to be taken thankfully, and fruitfully used to the amendment of such gross errors as hitherto have been in The Great Abridgments, and presently are in the Manuell of the Chronicles of Englande, in The abridged Abridgement, in The briefe Collection of Histories committed, I shall be encouraged to perfect that labour I have begun, and for a trifle. such worthy works of ancient authors that I have with great pains gathered together, and partly performed in M. Chaucer and other, I shall be much incensed by your gentleness to publish to the commodity of all the Queen's Majesty's loving subjects.

"Your most humble,
"JOHN STOW."

By the "thundering noise of empty tonnes and unfruitful graffes of Momus' offspring," in the foregoing Dedication, Stow alludes to the labours of his contemporary, Richard Grafton, whose *Abridgement*, published in 1563, or *Manual*, as it was called in the edition of 1567, was a rival work to the Summary of our author.

Grafton was no less ready than Stow at a punning and slighting allusion to the work of his brother chronicler, and accordingly sneered at "the memories of superstitious foundations fables, and lyes foolishly Stowed together." As may be supposed, the quarrel was "a very pretty quarrel," and how hot it waxed may be gathered from the following address "To the Reader," inserted by Stow in the edition of his Summary, published in 1573:—

"TO THE READER.

"Calling to memory (gentle reader) with what diligence (to my great cost and charges) I have travailed in my late Summary of the Chronicles, as also the dishonest dealings of somebody towards me (whereof I have long since sufficiently written and exhibited to the learned and honorable), I persuaded with myself to have Setting (as it were) surceased from this kind of travail wherein another hath used to reap the fruit of my his mark on another man's vessel. labors. But now for divers causes thereto moving me, I have once again briefly run over this small abridgment, placing the yeare of our Lord, the yeare of the Kings, with the Sheriffs and Mayors of London, in a far more perfect and plain order than heretofore hath been published.

"Touching Ri. Grafton his slanderous Epistle, though the same with other his abusing of me was answered by the learned and honorable, and by them forbidden to be reprinted, he hath since that time in his second impression placed his former lying preface, wherein he hath these words:—Gentle reader, this one thing offendeth me so much, that I am enforced to purge myself thereof, and show my simple and plain dealing therein. One John Stow, of whom I will say none evil on, hath published a booke, and therein hath charged mee bitterly, but chiefly with two things. The one that I have made E. Hall's Chronicle my Chronicle, but not without mangling, and (as he saith) without any ingenuous and plain declaration thereof. The other thing that he chargeth me withal is, that a Chronicle of Harding which he hath, doth much differ from the Chronicle which under the said Harding's name was printed by me, as though I had falsified Harding's Chronicle, &c.

* I leave his simple and plain dealing to the judgment of others.

† In commendating mine authors.

"For answer, I say* the offence by me committed requireth no such forced purgation. I have not so bitterly charged him as he hath plainly accused himself. † My words be these. Some body (without any ingenuous and plain declaration (thereof) hathe published, but not without mangling, Master Halles booke for his own.* I named not Grafton. This is the first. The second is thus:—

*I say not I have
such a Chronicle as
J. Harding, &c.*

"John Harding, &c. exhibited a Chronicle of England, with a Map or Description of Scotland, to King Henry the Sixth, which Chronicle doth almost altogether differ from that which under his name was imprinted by Ri. Grafton.

"After this, in the same preface, he braggeth to have a Chronicle of John Harding's, written in the Latin tongue, which he assured himself I never saw, and doubteth whether I understand. If he have any such book, it is like he would allege it, as he hath done many other authors, whereof I am better assured he*

*† Ri. Grafton never
saw Robert de Aves-
berye, Tho. Walsing-
ham, H. of Leices-
ter, Register of
Berke, and many
other which he
allegeth, for that he
findeth them alleged
my Summary.*

hath never seen so much as the outside of their books†. If there be no such Chronicle of John Harding's, as he braggeth on, it is like I have not seen it, and must needs be hard to under-stand it.

"Then he saith my latter Summary differeth cleane from the rest. To this I answer, I have not changed either work or title, but have corrected my first book as I have found better authors. But he himself hath made his last abridgment not only cleane contrary to his first, but the two impressions contrary the one to the other, and every one contrary to his meere history. For his true alleging of authors let men judge by those which are common in our vulgar tongue, as Policonicon, R. Fabian, Ed. Hall, Doctor Cooper. Look those authors in those years, and peradventure ye shall find no such matter. Try, and then trust."

But as the limits assigned to us will not admit of our entering into many such details as these, we must content ourselves by referring those desirous of becoming acquainted with the history of this literary squabble, to the pages of Ames' *Typographical Dictionary*, wherein it will be found duly set forth at pages 422—427 of the third volume of Dibdin's edition, and proceed to notice Stow's other claims to the gratitude of posterity.

Of his "*Annales*" Stow published four editions, viz. in 1580, 1592, 1601, and 1605; the last, which is the same as that of 1601, having only one sheet (Qqqq) reprinted, and the rest added being continued down to the 26th of March, 1605, only ten days before the author's death; thus proving how he persevered in his labours even in the midst of poverty, sickness, and old age. The "*Annales*" are now generally known by the name of Stow's *Chronicle*, having been re-edited under that title by Edmond Howes in folio, 1615 and 1631.

In addition to these publications illustrative of the general history of England, for which we are indebted to John Stow, it must be remembered that he caused the *Flores Historiarum*, compiled by Matthew of Westminster, to be printed in 1567, the *Chronicle* of Matthew Paris in 1571, and that of Thomas Walsingham in 1574, being strongly encouraged to this good work by the liberal patronage of Archbishop Parker; and, lastly, that he himself had compiled "a farre larger volume," which as we learn from his continuator Howes, he "purposed if hee had lived but one yeare longer to have put in print, but being prevented by death, left the same in his studie orderly written, readie for the presse, but it came to nothing."

Of this unpublished Chronicle, described in his *Annales* (edit. 1592, p. 1295.) as a "larger volume and historie of this iland," "readie for the presse," he thus speaks, at the conclusion of the edition of that work published in 1605, and which, as we have already observed, is continued down to within ten days of his death.

"Thus, good reader, I desire thee to take these and other my labours in good part, like as I have painfully (to my great cost and charges) out of old hidden histories and records of antiquitie brought the same to light, and for thy great commoditie bestowed them upon thee; so shalt thou encourage me (if God permit me life) to publish or leave to posterity a farre larger volume, long since by me laboured, at the request and commandement of the Reverend Father, Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury; but he then deceasing, my worke was prevented, by printing and reprinting (without warrant or well-liking) of *Raigne Wolfes* Collection, and other late commers, by the name of *Raphaell Holinshed* his Chronicle."

The manuscript of this work, which, as we have seen, was "orderly written," is not known to be now in existence; but it has been suggested that the book entitled, "*The Successions of the History of England*," by John Stow, folio, 1638, and of which an account will be found in Lowndes' *Bibliographer's Manual*, was a portion of this work.

Among those works indirectly illustrative of English history, which owed their appearance to Stow's talents, industry, and good judgment, the *Works of Chaucer* must not be forgotten; nor can the good service he rendered to the Father of English Poetry be better described than in his own words:—"His

works" (he says, vide p. 171 of this volume) were partly published in print by William Caxton, in the reign of Henry VI., increased by William Thynne, esquire, in the reign of Henry VIII.; corrected and twice increased through mine own painful labours, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, to wit, in the year 1561; and again beautified with notes by me, collected out of divers records and monuments, which I delivered to my loving friend, Thomas Speght; and he having drawn the same into a good form and method, as also explained the old and obscure words, &c. hath published them in anno 1597."

As the works of Chaucer were twice increased through our author's own painful labours, so was that one to which he is perhaps indebted for the larger portion of his reputation, and which is now reprinted, *The Survey of London*.

This work, which has been pronounced by a late writer as being "now perfectly invaluable," was first published by him in 1598 (some copies have the date of 1599 on the title page), and again in 1603. From that time to the present the simple text of Stow has never been reprinted. A third edition of the work, with numerous additions, but no amendments, was published by Anthony Munday, who says he had the use of Stow's papers, in 1618, in quarto, as the others had been. A fourth edition by Munday and Dyson appeared in 1633. This was in folio. The fifth edition, edited by Strype, in two volumes, was published in 1720, and the sixth and last, by the same editor, appeared in 1754.

The want of an edition of Stow's work in its original state, with its simple unadorned picture of London at the close of the sixteenth and commencement of the seventeenth century, has long been felt; and the present is an attempt to supply such an edition of our author's admirable work, accompanied simply by such notes illustrative of early manners, or explanatory of obsolete terms and usages, as might serve to bring Stow's vivid portraiture of London life distinctly beneath the eye of the general reader; for it is to be remembered, that for such, and not for the mere student of antiquities, this reprint is intended*.

On this principle the editor has felt it right to modernize the orthography, and instead of encumbering the volume with notes explanatory of the numerous minute variations of the text to be found between the two editions, take as the basis of the present work the edition of 1603, and give in the notes, the corresponding passages in the edition of 1598, wherever such variation gives a different version of the facts.

One other point for which the memory of John Stow is to be honoured, remains to be mentioned—his care in preserving for posterity the labour of his predecessors. Thus, when Hearne undertook to print Leland, much of the original, which had been lost, was supplied by a transcript made by our author. This was, no doubt, the transcript alluded to by him at page 130 of the present work, and which he sold to Camden for an annuity of eight pounds a year.

"The fate and final disposal of Stow's Manuscript Collections," says one of his recent biographers †, "have never been exactly traced. It is satisfactory to know, that many of them have, in various ways, found a resting place in the British Museum ‡, where the historical inquirer, who meets with his uncommonly neat hand-writting, may rejoice for a time, as in a pleasant pasture, disencumbered of the briars and thistles of the court and current hands in which many of the manuscripts of the same period are disguised. In the Harleian MS. 367, are several papers more immediately relating to Stow's private affairs, his quarrel with Grafton, his petition for relief, &c., many of them bearing the marks of having been retained for a considerable time in the old chronicler's pocket."

* An accomplished friend of the editor of this volume, John Gough Nichols, Esq. F.S.A., has it in contemplation to put forth, for the use of the antiquarian reader, an edition of Stow's text, formed, as this has been, by a comparison of the first and second editions. When he does so, we trust he will accompany it by the notes which his extensive acquaintance with all matters connected with historical and genealogical literature would enable him to append: and by that life of John Stow which Mr. Bolton Corney has promised at his hands, and which, to use the language of that gentleman, his "hereditary love of research, and minute acquaintance with our national antiquities, peculiarly qualify him to undertake."

† In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for January, 1837, pp. 48—52, accompanying a fac simile of a contemporary engraving of Stow's portrait, in which he is designated "*Antiquarius Angliæ*," which was found pasted to the back of the title of the "*Survey*," edit. 1603. Until this print was discovered, no other portrait of him was known besides the terra cotta effigy on his monument.

‡ Chiefly through the Collections of Sir Symond D'Ewes, among whose manuscripts, No. 245, was "*Giraldus Cambrensis*, translated by Mr. Stow, and wrote with his own hand." No. 146, *Florentius Wigorniensis*, a Continuation of him from 900 to 1001; *Aluredus Rievallensis*, and *Nicholas Trivet*, all also translated and written by Stow. Smith's Cat. MSS. Ang. ii. 387. These are now Nos. 551, 563. of the Harleian Collection, and many others may be traced in the Catalogue: see the index.

To this it may be added, that the Harleian MS. No. 543, contains a volume of Stow's transcripts, from the third of which, *The Restoration of Edward the Fourth*, the first publication of the Camden Society was derived.

Such is a brief record of Stow's various works, printed and manuscript—the busy labours of a long and well-spent life—works, which, to use his own words, had “cost him many a weary mile's travel, many a hard-earned penny and pound, and many a cold winter's night's study.” What think you then, reader, was the fate of him who travelled thus assiduously to preserve the history of his country's greatness? It was—to be honoured when living by the esteem of the good and of the learned, by the patronage and favour of Archbishop Parker, by the friendship of Lambarde, by the respect of Camden; yet, as in the pursuit of his favourite study he had neglected his worldly calling, the result was—but the sad story shall be told in the words of one of his most enthusiastic admirers*.

“Stow passed a prolonged life in the *love-making or wooing of truth*†; and never had truth a more faithful admirer. England is indebted to him for the most elaborate coeval picture of the brilliant era of Elizabeth: and London, for the traces of her growth during six centuries; but neither the nation nor the metropolis did him justice. Poverty was the unmeet companion of his latter years; and when his claims were represented to the British Solomon, the British Solomon, in *recompense* of the toil of near half a century, and as an encouragement to others, graciously permitted him to become a MENDICANT! Behold, in proof, one of the Curiosities of Literature!—

‘James, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all our well-beloved Subjects greeting.

‘Whereas our loving Subject John Stowe (a very aged and worthy member of our city of London) this five and forty years hath to his great charge, and with neglect of his ordinary means of maintenance (for the generall good, as well of posteritie as of the present age) compiled and published diverse necessary bookes, and Chronicles; and therefore we, in recompense of these his painful labours, and for encouragement to the like, have in our royall inclination ben pleased to graunt our Letters Patents under our great seale of England, dated the eighth of March, 1603, thereby authorizing him, the sayd John Stowe, and his deputies, to collect amongst our loving subjects, theyr voluntary contribution and kinde gratuities; as by the sayd Letters Patents more at large may appeare: Now, seeing that our sayd Patents (being but one in themselves) cannot be shewed forth in diverse places or parishes at once (as the occasions of his speedy putting them in execution may require) we have therefore thought expedient in this unusuall manner, to recommend his cause unto you; having already, in our owne person, and of our speciall grace, begun the largesse for the example of others. Given at our palace at Westminster.’

“The true date of the Letters Patent cited in this document is the 8th of March, 1604. Stow was then on the verge of his eightieth year, and closed a life of labour on the 6th of April 1605, leaving a name which still acts as a charm on the lovers of English history.”

He lies buried in the church of St. Andrew Undershaft, where the affection of his widow erected a monument to his memory, which exhibits a *terra cotta* figure of him sitting in a chair and reading‡. When the Great Fire of London committed so many ravages, among the noble relics of foregone ages which then adorned that city, the devouring element, as if pitying his fate, and honouring his labours, spared the monument of him who had so carefully preserved the history of London's greatness.

I am indebted to the kindness of my friend, Mr. J. Payne Collier, for directing my attention to an allusion to Stow's poverty, written obviously in the interval between his death and the erection of his monument, which has hitherto escaped the notice of his biographers.

It is contained in Warner's *Albion's England*, which was originally published in 1586, and printed again in 1592, 1597, 1606, and 1612. In 1602 was added for the first time, “an Epitome of the whole history of England in prose;” and in 1606 was published “a Continuance of Albion's England,” dedicated to Lord Chief Justice Coke. Some lines “To the Reader,” which are prefixed to this

* Bolton Corney, in his *Curiosities of Literature Illustrated*, p. 55.

† “As early as 1565,” observes Mr. Bolton Corney, “he thus announced his views on the subject of historical composition, ‘in hystories the chiefe thyng that is to be desyred is truthe;’ and he added this caution on phrase-makers—

“Of smoothe and flatteryng speache, remember to take hede;

For trouthe in playn wordes may be tolde, of craft a lye hath nede.”

‡ We are sorry,” says Chalmers in his *Biographical Dictionary*, “to add a very disgraceful circumstance to this account, which was not known to the editors of the edition of 1754, and which we have upon the authority of Maitland. After noticing this monument, and paying a just compliment to the deceased's character, Maitland adds, ‘that neither that nor any other consideration was sufficient to protect his repository from being spoiled of his injured remains by certain men in the year 1732, who removed his corpse to make way for another.’”

"Continuance," make interesting mention of the poverty of Spenser and Stow at the time of their deaths, though the passage in some places is rather obscure.

"The *Musists*, though themselves they please,
 Their dotage els finds meede nor ease.
 Vouch Spencer, in that rank prefer'd,
Per accident only interr'd.
 Nigh Venerable Chaucer, lost,
 Had not kind Bingham rear'd him cost;
 Found next the doore, church-outed neare,
 And yet a knight, arch-laureat heere.
 Add Stow's late antiquarian pen,
 That annal'd for ungrateful men.
 Next-chronicler, omit it not,
 His licenc't Basons little got;
 Lived poorely where he trophies gave,
 Lies poorely there in notelesse grave."

But though, as we have seen, the world smiled not upon Stow, though his toil and study brought him no higher reward than the esteem of good men, and the approval of his own conscience, Providence, in its mercy, had gifted him with a humble, lowly, and religious spirit. He knew full well that "gain" was not "godliness," but that "godliness with content is great riches;" and that knowledge deprived his poverty of its sting, and his old age of its fretfulness, and enabled him to live not merely a cheerful but a "merry old man."

Ben Jonson, in his *Conversations with Drummond of Hawthornden*, has told how he jested with his own poverty, asking two mendicants whom they met what they would have to take him to their order*; and Holland's *Monumenta Sepulchra Sancti Pauli* (1614) furnishes another illustration of his lively temper:—"Sir Philip Sidney and Sir Francis Walsingham have no tombes; whereupon John Stow, saith a merry poet, wrote thus:—

'Philip and Francis have no tombe,
 For great Christopher takes all the roome.'

And no doubt but the merry poet was *the merry old man Stow himself*†.

But it is time to bring this notice to an end; and we cannot find a better conclusion to it than the interesting sketch of his person and character, which has been handed down to us by his literary executor, Edmond Howes.

"He was tall of stature, leane of body and face, his eyes small and chrystaline, of a pleasant and cheerefull countenance; his sight and memory very good; very sober, mild, and courteous to any that required his instructions; and retained the true use of all his senses unto the day of his death, being of an excellent memory. He alwaies protested never to have written any thing either for malice, feare, or favour, nor to seeke his owne particular gaine or vaine glory; and that his only paines and care was to write *truth*. He could never ride, but travelled on foote unto divers cathedral churches, and other chiefe places of the land, to search records. He was very carelesse of scoffers, backbiters, and detractors. He lived peacefully, and died of the stone collicke, being four score yeares of age, and was buried the 8th of April, 1605, in his parish church of Saint Andrewes Undershaft; whose mural monument neere unto his grave was there set up at the charges of Elizabeth his wife."

PEACE TO HIS MEMORY.

* "John Stow had monstrous observations in his Chronicle, and was of his craft a tailor. He and I walking alone, he asked two cripples what they would have to take him to their order."—*Notes of Ben Jonson's Conversations with William Drummond of Hawthornden*, edited by David Laing, Esq., for the Shakespeare Society.

† It should have been stated in the note to this couplet at p. 126, that it was written by Stow himself.

A
S V R V A Y O F
LONDON.

Conteyning the Originall, Antiquity,
Increase, Moderne estate, and description of that
City, written in the yeare 1598, by Iohn Stow
Citizen of London.

Since by the same Author increased,
with diuers rare notes of Antiquity, and
published in the yeare,
1603.

Also an Apologie (or defence) against the
opinion of some men, concerning that Citie,
the greatnesse thereof.

VVith an Appendix, contayning in Latine
Libellum de situ & nobilitate Londini: Written by
William Fitzstephen, in the raigne of
Henry the second.

Imprinted by Iohn Windet, Printer to the hono-
rable Citie of London.

1603.

THE FIVE

CHAPTER

It was a very fine day, and the sun was shining brightly. The children were playing in the garden, and the mother was sitting on the bench, looking at them. She was very happy to see them so happy.

The children were playing for hours, and the mother was watching them. She was very proud of them, and she was very happy to see them so happy.

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The children were playing for hours, and the mother was watching them. She was very proud of them, and she was very happy to see them so happy.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE ROBERT LEE,

LORD MAYOR OF THE CITY OF LONDON,

TO THE COMMONALTY AND CITIZENS OF THE SAME,

JOHN STOW, CITIZEN, WISHETH LONG HEALTH AND FELICITY.

SINCE the first publishing of the perambulation of Kent by that learned gentleman, William Lambert, Esq., I have heard of sundry other able persons to have (according to the desire of that author) essayed to do somewhat for the particular shires and counties where they were born or dwelt ; of which none that I know (saving John Norden, for the counties of Middlesex and Hertford) have vouchsafed their labour to the common good in that behalf. And, therefore, concurring with the first, in the same desire to have drawn together such special descriptions of each place, as might not only make up a whole body of the English chorography amongst ourselves, but also might give occasion and courage to M. Camden to increase and beautify his singular work of the whole, to the view of the learned that be abroad, I have attempted the discovery of London, my native soil and country, at the desire and persuation of some of my good friends, as well because I have seen sundry antiquities myself touching that place, as also for that through search of records to other purposes, divers written helps are come to my hands, which few others have fortun'd to meet withall ; it is a service that most agreeth with my professed travels ; it is a duty that I willingly owe to my native mother and country, and an office that of right I hold myself bound in love to bestow upon the politic body and members of the same. What London hath been of ancient time men may here see, as what it is now every man doth behold. I know that the argument, being of the chief and principal city of the land, required the pen of some excellent artizan, but fearing that none would attempt and finish it, as few have essayed any, I chose rather (amongst other my labours) to handle it after my plain manner, than to leave it unperformed. Touching the dedication, I am not doubtful where to seek my patron, since you be a politic estate of the city, as the walls and buildings be the material parts of the same. To you, therefore, do I address this my whole labour, as well that by your authority I may be protected, as warranted by your own skill and understanding of that which I have written. I confess that I lacked my desire to the accomplishment of some special parts *, which some other of better ability promised to perform ; but as I then professed, have since out of mine old store-house added to this work many rare notes of antiquity, as may appear to the reader, which I do afford in all duty, and recommend to your view, my labours to your consideration, and myself to your service, during life, in this or any other.

* The Dedication of the first edition is precisely the same, except in the concluding paragraph, which there stands as follows :—

“ I confess that I lacked my desire to the accomplishment of some special partes : but I trust hereafter that shal be supplied, and I professe (if more touching this worke come unto me) to afforde it, in all dutie. In the meantime I recommend this to your view, my laboures to your consideration, and myself to your service (as I have professed during life) in this or any other.”

A TABLE

OF THE

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THE SURVEY OF LONDON;

CONTAINING

THE ORIGINAL, ANTIQUITY, INCREASE, MODERN ESTATE, AND
DESCRIPTION OF THAT CITY.

As the Roman writers *, to glorify the city of Rome, derive the original thereof from gods and demi-gods, by the Trojan progeny, so Geoffrey of Monmouth, the Welsh historian, deduceth the foundation of this famous city of London, for the greater glory thereof, and emulation of Rome, from the very same original †. For he reporteth that Brute, lineally descended from the demi-god Æneas, the son of Venus, daughter of Jupiter, about the year of the world 2855, and 1108 before the nativity of Christ, built this city near unto the river now called Thames, and named it Troynovant, or Trenovant. But herein, as Livy, the most famous historiographer of the Romans, writeth, an-

* How careful and painstaking Stow was in the revision of his Survey of London, and how great were the alterations and additions he made to the second edition of it, may be judged from the manner in which he re-composed and enlarged this introductory paragraph, which in the edition of 1598 is as follows:—

“As Rome, the chiefe citie of the world, to glorifie it selfe, drew her originall from the gods, goddesses, and demy gods, by the Trojan progeny, so this famous citie of London for greater glorie, and in emulation of Rome, deriveth itselfe from the very same originall. For, as Jeffreie of Monmoth, the Welche historian, reporteth, Brute descended from the demy god Eneas, the sonne of Venus, daughter of Jupiter, aboute the yeare of the world 2855, the yeare before Christe's nativitie, 1108, builded a citie neare unto a river now called Thames, and named it Troynovant, or Trenovant.”

And here it may be observed, that in every case in which the edition of 1598 gives a different *version of facts*, such variation will be found pointed out in the notes to the present edition.

† Though Geoffrey of Monmouth is responsible for this fabulous story of the foundation of Trinovantum by Brute, which he has preserved in the 17th chapter of the 1st book of his *British History* (see Thompson's translation, p. 37); the tradition of the descent of the Britons from Brute rests on much earlier authority; that of the *Historia Britonum*, ascribed to Nennius, vide p. 9, of the edition published by the English Historical Society, under the editorship of Mr. Stevenson.

tiquity is pardonable, and hath an especial privilege, by interlacing divine matters with human, to make the first foundation of cities more honourable, more sacred, and, as it were, of greater majesty.

King Lud (as the aforesaid Geoffrey of Monmouth noteth) afterwards not only repaired this city, but also increased the same with fair buildings, towers, and walls, and after his own name called it Caire-Lud *, as Lud's town; and the strong gate which he built in the west part of the city he likewise, for his own honour, named Lnd-gate.

This Lud had issue two sons, Androgeus and Theomantius, who being not of age to govern at the death of their father, their uncle Cassibelan took upon him the crown; about the eighth year of whose reign, Julius Cæsar arrived in this land with a great power of Romans to conquer it; the manner of which conquest I will summarily set down out of his own Commentaries, which are of far better credit than the relations of Geoffrey Monmouth.

The chief government of the Britons, and ordering of the wars, was then by common advice committed to Cassibelan, whose seigniory was separated from the cities towards the sea-coast by the river called Thames, about fourscore miles from the sea. This Cassibelan, in times past, had made continual war upon the cities adjoining; but the Britons being moved with the Roman invasion, had resolved in that necessity to make him their sovereign, and general of the wars (which continued hot between the Romans and them); but in the mean while the Troynovants, which was then the strongest city well near of all those countries (and out of which city a young gentleman, called Mandubrace, upon confidence of Cæsar's help, came unto him into the main-land of Gallia, now called France, and thereby escaped death, which he should have suf-

* *Cair Lundein*, in the list of ancient British cities, preserved in Nennius.

ferred at Cassibelan's hand), sent their ambassadors to Cæsar, promising to yield unto him, and to do what he should command them instantly, desiring him to protect Mandubrace from the furious tyranny of Cassibelan, and to send him into their city with authority to take the government thereof upon him. Cæsar accepted the offer, and appointed them to give unto him forty hostages, and withal to find him grain for his army; and so sent he Mandubrace unto them.

When others saw that Cæsar had not only defended the Trinobantes against Cassibelan, but had also saved them harmless from the pillage of his own soldiers, then did the Conimagues, Segontians, Ancalitis, Bibrokes, and Cassians, likewise submit themselves unto him; and by them he learned that not far from thence was Cassibelan's town, fortified with woods and marsh ground, into the which he had gathered a great number both of men and cattle.

For the Britons call that a town (saith Cæsar), when they have fortified a cumbersome wood with a ditch and rampart, and thither they resort to abide the approach of their enemies; to this place therefore marched Cæsar with his legions; he found it excellently fortified, both of nature and by man's advice; nevertheless, he resolved to assault it in two several places at once, whereupon the Britons, being not able to endure the force of the Romans, fled out at another part, and left the town unto him: a great number of cattle he found there, and many of the Britons he slew, and others he took in the chase.

Whilst these things were doing in these quarters, Cassibelan sent messengers into Kent, which lieth upon the sea, in which there reigned then four particular kings, named Cingetorex, Carvill, Taximagull, and Segonax, whom he commanded to raise all their forces, and suddenly to set upon and assault the Romans in their trenches by the sea-side; the which, when the Romans perceived, they sallied out upon them, slew a great sort of them, and taking Cingetorex their noble captain prisoner, retired themselves to their camp in good safety.

When Cassibelan heard of this, and had formerly taken many other losses, and found his country sore wasted, and himself left almost alone by the defection of the other cities, he sent ambassadors by Comius of Arras to Cæsar, to intreat with him concerning his own submission; the which Cæsar did accept, and taking hostages, assessed the realm of Britain to a yearly tribute, to be paid to the people of Rome, giving strait charge to Cassibelan that he should not seek any revenge upon Mandubrace or the Trinobantes, and so withdrew his army to the sea again.

Thus far out of Cæsar's Commentaries concerning this history, which happened in the year before Christ's Nativity, 54. In all which process there is for this purpose to be noted, that Cæsar nameth the city of Trinobantes, which hath a resemblance with Troynova, or Trinobantum, having no greater difference in the orthography than changing b into v, and yet maketh an error whereof I will not argue; only this I will note, that divers learned men do not think "*civitas Trinobantum*" to be well and truly translated, "the city of the Trinobantes;" but it should rather be the state, commonalty, or seigniory of the Trinobantes; for that Cæsar in

his Commentaries useth the word *civitas*, only for a people living under one and the selfsame prince and law; but certain it is that the cities of the Britons were in those days neither artificially built with houses, nor strongly walled with stone, but were only thick and cumbersome woods, plashed within and trenched about. And the like in effect do other the Roman and Greek authors directly affirm, as Strabo, Pomponius Mela, and Dion a senator of Rome, which flourished in the several reigns of the Roman emperors, Tiberius, Claudius, Domitian, and Severus; to wit, that before the arrival of the Romans the Britons had no towns, but called that a town which had a thick entangled wood, defended, as I said, with a ditch and bank, the like whereof, the Irishmen, our next neighbours, do at this day call Fastness*. But after that these hither parts of Britain were reduced into the form of a province by the Romans, who sowed the seeds of civility over all Europe; this city, whatsoever it was before, began to be renowned, and of fame. For Tacitus, who first of all authors nameth it Londinum, saith, that in the 62nd year after Christ, it was, albeit no colony of the Romans, yet most famous for the great multitude of merchants, provision, and intercourse. At which time, in that notable revolt of the Britons from Nero, in which 70,000 Romans and their confederates were slain, this city, with Verulam, near St. Albans, and Maldon, in Essex, then all famous, were ransacked and spoiled. For Suetonius Paulinus, then lieutenant for the Romans in this isle, abandoned it, as not then fortified, and left it to the spoil.

Shortly after, Julius Agricola, the Roman lieutenant, in the time of Domitian, was the first that by adhorting the Britons publicly, and helping them privately, won them to build houses for themselves, temples for the gods, and courts for justice, to bring up the noblemen's children in good letters and humanity, and to apparel themselves Roman like, whereas before (for the most part) they went naked, painting their bodies, &c. as all the Roman writers have observed.

True it is, I confess, that afterwards many cities and towns in Britain, under the government of the Romans, were walled with stone, and baked bricks or tiles, as Richborough or Ryptacester †, in the Isle of Thanet, until the channel altered his course, beside Sandwich in Kent; Verulamium ‡ beside St. Albans, in Hertfordshire; Cilester § in Hampshire; Wroxester || in Shropshire; Kencester ¶ in

* "The like whereof the Irishmen, our next neighbours, doe at this day call *paces*." 1st edit. p. 4.

A distinguished Irish antiquary, to whom I applied for an explanation of this passage, informs me that the word "*paces*" is not Irish. nor is its meaning known to him.

† Richborough, about one mile and a half from Sandwich, the *Rutupium* of the Romans, was a place of great importance until destroyed by the Danes in 1010.

‡ On the banks of the river Verlam, opposite to St. Alban's, which is supposed to have arisen out of its ruin.

§ Silchester, in Hampshire, seven miles from Basingstoke; the *Caer Segont* of the Britons, and *Segontium* of the Romans, and *Silcester* of the Saxons. Leland states its walls to have been two miles in compass.

|| Wroxeter, five miles from Shrewsbury. Its walls are stated to have been three yards in thickness, and to have extended for a circumference of three miles.

¶ Kenchester, three miles from Hereford, supposed to be the *Ariconium* of the Romans.

Herefordshire, three miles from Hereford town; Ribchester*, seven miles above Preston, on the water of Ribble; Aldburgh†, a mile from Boroughbridge, or Watling Street, on Ure river, and others; and no doubt but this city of London was also walled with stone, in the time of the Roman government here, but yet very lately, for it seemeth not to have been walled in the year of our Lord 296, because in that year, when Alectus the tyrant was slain in the field, the Franks easily entered London, and had sacked the same, had not God, of his great favour, at the very instant, brought along the river of Thames, certain bands of Roman soldiers, who slew those Franks in every street of the city‡.

WALL ABOUT THE CITY OF LONDON.

IN few years after, as Simeon of Durham, an ancient writer, reporteth, Helen, the mother of

* Ribchester, six miles from Blackburn, in Lancashire, supposed to be the *Rego-dunum* of the Romans.

† Aldborough, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, the *Isurium Brigantium* of the Romans.

‡ The following letter on the subject of "Roman Remains in London," appeared in the *Times* of the 14th of July, 1835, and as it deserves to be reprinted, not only on account of the information it contains, but for the sound antiquarian views of the writer (Mr. Akerman, author of the *Numismatic Manual*), we avail ourselves of it, as a fitting commentary upon Stow's narrative.

"The discovery of animal remains beneath the foundation of the White Tower, to which your correspondent alludes, is well deserving the attention of the antiquary and local historian; and it is to be regretted, that those who have written on the antiquities of London have frequently neglected to avail themselves of such facts. Not only the city, but the borough of Southwark, and many other parts of the suburbs of the metropolis, abound in remains which clearly belong to the period when the Romans held dominion in this island. Tessellated pavements, urns, utensils, coins, and other objects, are repeatedly discovered during the progress of excavations in London; even within these few days past similar relics have been disinterred in St. Olave's parish by the workmen employed on the London and Greenwich Railway. During the formation of the great sewer in King William-street, previous to the opening of the new bridge, numerous Roman remains were disinterred. On the side of Crooked-lane, near the church, a large quantity of tessellated pavement, in good preservation, but of rude construction, was discovered, together with various articles of pottery, consisting of amphoræ, pateræ, and others, to which it would be difficult to assign a name and purpose. Two glass vessels, resembling those which our antiquaries term lachrymatories, were found at this spot, many feet below the foundations of the houses. Coins of Nero, Vespasian, Nerva, and Trajan, were found between Crooked-lane and Eastcheap; and near the walls of St. Michael's church a deep cavity, resembling a well, was crammed with fragments of pottery and the bones and horns of animals, in all probability the remains of sacrifices during the Roman possession. From the latter circumstance, there appear to be strong grounds for conjecture, that a temple to some deity had once occupied the spot upon which the church lately stood. Our English antiquaries inform us that St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey stand on the sites of temples to the Roman deities; and it is not unworthy of remark, that excavations in the neighbourhood of our London churches have very frequently led to the discovery of the bones and horns of animals, mingled with fragments of Roman pottery. Thus it would appear, that upon the introduction of Christianity in England, the Pagan temples were in some cases either appropriated to the true worship, or destroyed to make room for more becoming structures. I may safely affirm, that a full description of all

Constantine the Great, was the first that inwalled this city, about the year of Christ, 306; but however those walls of stone might have been built by Helen, yet the Britons, I know, had no skill of building with stone, as it may appear by that which followeth, about the year of Christ 399, when Arcadius and Honorius, the sons of Theodosius Magnus, governed the empire, the one in the east, the other in the west; for Honorius having received Britain, the city of Rome was invaded and destroyed by the Goths, after which time the Romans left to rule in Britain, as being employed in defence of their territories nearer home, whereupon the Britons, not able to defend themselves against the invasions of their enemies, were many years together under the oppression of two most cruel nations, the Scots and Picts, and at the length were forced to send their ambassadors with letters and lamentable supplications to Rome, requiring aid and succour from thence, upon promise of their continual fealty, so that the Romans would rescue them out of the hands of their enemies. Hereupon the Romans sent unto them a legion of armed soldiers, which coming into this island, and encountering with the enemies, overthrew a great number of them, and drove the rest out of the frontiers of the country; and so setting the Britons at liberty, counselled them to make a wall, extending all along between the two seas, which might be of force to keep out their evil neighbours, and then returned home with great triumph. The Britons wanting masons built that wall, not of stone as they were advised, but made it of turf, and that so slender, that it served little or nothing at all for their defence, and the enemy perceiving that the Roman legion was returned home, forthwith arrived out of their boats, invaded the borders, overcame the country, and, as it were, bore down all that was before them.

Whereupon ambassadors were eftssoon dispatched to Rome, lamentably beseeching that they would not suffer their miserable country to be utterly destroyed: then again another legion was sent, which coming upon a sudden, made a great slaughter of the enemy, and chased him home, even to his own country. These Romans at their departure, told the Britons plainly, that it was not for their ease or leisure to take upon them any more such long and laborious journeys for their defence, and therefore bade them practise the use of armour and weapons, and learn to withstand their enemies, whom nothing else did make so

the Roman remains which have been brought to light in this city during the last twenty years would occupy a good sized volume; and yet, strange to say, the Corporation of London have no museum as a depository for such relics! I cannot conclude these hasty remarks without allusion to a remarkable fact; namely, that while we have but few vestiges of the antiquities of our ancestors, innumerable relics of a people, whose seat of empire was far distant from this island, are perpetually discovered, to the delight of the antiquary and the confusion of the sceptical, who assert that the histories of past times are built on fable and conjecture."

Mr. Akerman's opinion, that "on the introduction of Christianity into England, the Pagan temples were appropriated to the true worship, or destroyed for the purpose of raising fitter structures upon their sites," is one which is likewise entertained by the learned Dr. Jacob Grimm. See his *Deutsche Mythologie*, Introd. p. 31.

strong as their faint heart and cowardice ; and for so much as they thought that it would be no small help and encouragement unto their tributary friends whom they were now forced to forsake *, they built for them a wall of hard stone from the west sea to the east sea, right between those two cities, which were there made to keep out the enemy, in the self-same place where Severus before had cast his trench. The Britons also putting to their helping hands as labourers.

This wall they built eight feet thick in breadth, and twelve feet in height, right, as it were by a line, from east to west, as the ruins thereof remaining in many places until this day do make to appear.

Which work, thus perfected, they give the people strait charge to look well to themselves, they teach them to handle their weapons, and they instruct them in warlike feats. And lest by the sea-side southwards, where their ships lay at harbour, the enemy should come on land, they made up sundry bulwarks, each somewhat distant from the other, and so bid them farewell, as minding no more to return. This happened in the days of the Emperor Theodosius the younger, almost 500 years after the first arrival of the Romans here, about the year after Christ's incarnation, 434.

The Britons after this, continuing a lingering and doubtful war with the Scots and Picts, made choice of Vortigern to be their king and leader, which man (as saith Malmesbury †) was neither valorous of courage, nor wise of counsel, but wholly given over to the unlawful lusts of his flesh ; the people likewise, in short time, being grown to some quietness, gave themselves to gluttony and drunkenness, pride, contention, envy, and such other vices, casting from them the yoke of Christ. In the mean season, a bitter plague fell among them, consuming in short time such a multitude, that the quick were not sufficient to bury the dead ; and yet the remnant remained so hardened in sin, that neither death of their friends, nor fear of their own danger, could cure the mortality of their souls, whereupon a greater stroke of vengeance ensued upon the whole sinful nation. For being now again infested with their old neighbours the Scots and Picts, they consult with their king Vortigern ‡, and send for the Saxons, who shortly after arrived here in Britain, where, saith Bede, they were received as friends ; but as it proved, they minded to destroy the country as enemies ; for after that they had driven out the Scots and Picts, they also drove the Britons, some over the seas, some into the waste mountains of Wales and Cornwall, and divided the country into divers kingdoms amongst themselves.

These Saxons were likewise ignorant of building with stone until the year 680 ; for then it is affirmed that Benet, abbot of Wirral §, master to the reverend Bede, first brought artificers of stone houses and glass windows into this island amongst the Saxons, arts before that time unto them unknown, and therefore used they but wooden buildings. And to this accordeth Policroicon, who says, " that then had ye wooden churches, nay wooden

chalties and golden priests, but since golden chalties and wooden priests." And to knit up this argument, king Edgar in his charter to the abbey of Malmesbury, dated the year of Christ 974, hath words to this effect : " All the monasteries in my realm, to the outward sight, are nothing but worm-eaten and rotten timber and boards, and that worse is, within they are almost empty, and void of Divine service."

Thus much be said for walling, not only in respect of this city, but generally also of the first within the realm. Now to return to our Trinobant (as Cæsar hath it), the same is since by Tacitus, Ptolemæus, and Antoninus, called Londinium, Longidinum ; of Ammianus, Lundinum, and Augusta, who calleth it an ancient city ; of our Britons, Lundayne ; of the old Saxons, Lundenceaster, Lundenbrig, Londennir ; of strangers Londra and Londres ; of the inhabitants, London ; whereof you may read a more large and learned discourse, and how it took the name, in that work of my loving friend, Master Camden, now Clarencieux, which is called " Britannia."

This city of London having been destroyed and burnt by the Danes and other Pagan enemies, about the year of Christ, 839, was by Alfred, king of the West Saxons, in the year 886, repaired, honourably restored, and made again habitable. Who also committed the custody thereof unto his son-in-law, Ethelred, Earl of Mercia, unto whom before he had given his daughter Ethelfled.

And that this city was then strongly walled may appear by divers accidents, whereof William of Malmesbury hath, that about the year of Christ 994, the Londoners shut up their gates, and defended their king Ethelred within their walls against the Danes.

In the year 1016 *, Edmund Ironsides reigning over the West Saxons, Canute the Dane bringing his navy into the west part of the bridge, cast a trench about the city of London, and then attempted to have won it by assault, but the citizens repulsed him, and drove them from their walls.

Also, in the year 1052, Earl Goodwin, with his navy, sailed up by the south end of the bridge, and so assailed the walls of this city.

William Fitzstephen, in the reign of King Henry II., writing of the walls of this city, hath these words : " The wall is high and great, well towered on the north side, with due distances between the towers. On the south side also the city was walled and towered, but the fishful river of Thames, with his ebbing and flowing, hath long since subverted them."

By the north side, he meaneth from the river of Thames in the east to the river of Thames in the west, for so stretched the wall in his time, and the city being far more in length from east to west than in breadth from south to north, and also narrower at both ends than in the midst, is therefore compassed with the wall on the land side, in form of a bow, except denting in betwixt Cripple-gate and Aldersgate ; but the wall on the south side, along by the river of Thames, was straight as the string of a bow, and all furnished with towers or bulwarks (as we now term them) in due distance every one from other, as witnesseth our author, and

* Whitchendus. Whitchind, a monk of Corvay, who died about the year 1000, wrote a History of the Saxons down to 973, which was published at Basle by Hervagius in 1532.

† Malmesbury, Bede.

‡ Whitchendus, Bede.

§ Benedict, abbot of Wearmouth.

* Asser, Marianus, Florentius.

ourselves may behold from the land side. This may suffice for proof of a wall, and form thereof, about this city, and the same to have been of great antiquity as any other within this realm.

And now touching the maintenance and repairing the said wall. I read, that in the year 1215, the 16th of King John*, the barons, entering the city by Aldgate, first took assurance of the citizens, then brake into the Jews' houses, searched their coffers to fill their own purses, and after with great diligence repaired the walls and gates of the city with stones taken from the Jews' broken houses. In the year 1257, Henry III. caused the walls of this city, which were sore decayed and destitute of towers, to be repaired in more seemly wise than before, at the common charges of the city. Also in the year 1282 †, King Edward I. having granted to Robert Kilwarby, archbishop of Canterbury, license for the enlarging of the Blackfriars' church, to break and take down a part of the wall of the city, from Ludgate to the river of Thames; he also granted to Henry Wales, mayor, and the citizens of London, the favour to take, toward the making of the wall and enclosure of the city, certain customs or toll, as appeareth by his grant. This wall was then to be made from Ludgate west to Fleet bridge along behind the houses, and along by the water of the Fleet unto the river of Thames. Moreover, in the year 1310, Edward II. commanded the citizens to make up the wall already begun, and the tower at the end of the same wall, within the water of Thames near unto the Blackfriars, &c. 1328, the 2nd of Edward III., the walls of this city were repaired. It was also granted by King Richard II. in the tenth year of his reign, that a toll should be taken of the wares sold by land or by water for ten years, towards the repairing of the walls, and cleansing of the ditch about London. In the 17th of Edward IV. Ralph Joceline, mayor, caused part of the wall about the city of London to be repaired; to wit, betwixt Aldgate and Aldersgate ‡. He also caused Moorfield to be searched for clay, and brick thereof to be made and burnt; he likewise caused chalk to be brought out of Kent, and to be burnt into lime in the same Moorfield, for more furtherance of the work. Then the Skinners to begin in the east made that part of the wall betwixt Aldgate and Bevis Marks, towards Bishopsgate, as may appear by their arms in three places fixed there: the mayor, with his company of the Drapers, made all that part betwixt Bishopsgate

and Allhallows church, and from Allhallows towards the postern called Moorgate. A great part of the same wall was repaired by the executors of Sir John Crosby, late alderman, as may appear by his arms in two places there fixed: and other companies repaired the rest of the wall to the postern of Cripplegate. The Goldsmiths repaired from Cripplegate towards Aldersgate, and there the work ceased. The circuit of the wall of London on the land side, to wit, from the tower of London in the east unto Aldgate, is 82 perches; from Aldgate to Bishopsgate, 86 perches; from Bishopsgate in the north to the postern of Cripplegate, 162 perches; from Cripplegate to Aldersgate, 75 perches; from Aldersgate to Newgate, 66 perches; from Newgate in the west to Ludgate, 42 perches; in all, 513 perches of assize. From Ludgate to the Fleet-dike west, about 60 perches; from Fleet-bridge south to the river Thames, about 70 perches; and so the total of these perches amounteth to 643, every perch consisting of five yards and a half, which do yield 3536 yards and a half, containing 10,608 feet, which make up two English miles and more by 608 feet.

OF ANCIENT AND PRESENT RIVERS, BROOKS, BOURNS, POOLS, WELLS, AND CONDUITS OF FRESH WATER, SERVING THE CITY, AS ALSO OF THE DITCH COMPASSING THE WALL OF THE SAME FOR DEFENCE THEREOF.

ANCIENTLY, until the Conqueror's time, and two hundred years after, the city of London was watered, besides the famous river of Thames on the south part, with the river of Wells, as it was then called, on the west; with the water called Walbrooke running through the midst of the city in the river of Thames, serving the heart thereof; and with a fourth water or bourn, which ran within the city through Langborne ward, watering that part in the east. In the west suburbs was also another great water, called Oldborne, which had its fall into the river of Wells; then were there three principal fountains, or wells, in the other suburbs; to wit, Holy well, Clement's well, and Clarke's well. Near unto this last-named fountain were divers other wells, to wit, Skinners' well, Fags' well, Tode well, Loder's well, and Radwell. All which said wells, having the fall of their overflowing in the aforesaid river, much increased the stream, and in that place gave it the name of Well. In West Smithfield there was a pool, in records called Horsepoole, and one other pool near unto the parish church of St. Giles without Cripplegate. Besides all which, they had in every street and lane of the city divers fair wells and fresh springs; and after this manner was this city then served with sweet and fresh waters, which being since decayed, other means have been sought to supply the want, as shall be shown. But first of the aforementioned rivers and other waters is to be said, as following:

Thames, the most famous river of this island, beginneth a little above a village called Winchcombe, in Oxfordshire; and still increasing, passeth first by the University of Oxford, and so with a marvellous quiet course to London, and thence breaketh into the French ocean by main tides, which twice in twenty-four hours' space doth ebb and flow more than sixty miles in length, to the great commodity of travellers, by which all kind of

* Roger of Wendover, Matthew Paris, Ranulph Coggeshall.
† Matt. Paris.

‡ The reader desirous of information touching the old wall of the city, and indeed of its Roman remains generally, is referred to a very agreeable paper by Mr. Craik, entitled "Roman London," in *Knight's London*, vol. i. p. 145, et seq.; and to the communications made to the *Archæologia*, on the subject of the Roman Remains which have been discovered during the great alterations and improvements which the city has undergone of late years, by Mr. C. Roach Smith, F.S.A., a gentleman, who adds to great ability for conducting similar inquiries, a spirit of perseverance which leads to the most satisfactory results. The perusal of these papers can scarcely fail to establish in the mind of the reader the very curious fact, that "even during the period of the Roman occupation, the original Roman London had been in great part superseded by a new city built over it, and out of its ruins." See also the note on Aldersgate, p. 14.

merchandise be easily conveyed to London, the principal store-house and staple of all commodities within this realm; so that, omitting to speak of great ships and other vessels of burthen, there pertaineth to the cities of London, Westminster, and borough of Southwark, above the number, as is supposed, of 2000 wherries and other small boats, whereby 3000 poor men, at the least, be set on work and maintained.

That the river of Wells, in the west part of the city, was of old so called of the wells, it may be proved thus:—William the Conqueror, in his charter to the college of St. Marten le Grand, in London, hath these words: "I do give and grant to the same church all the land and the moor without the postern, which is called Cripplegate, on either part of the postern; that is to say, from the north corner of the wall, as the river of the Wells, there near running, departeth the same moor from the wall, unto the running water which entereth the city *." This water hath long since been called the river of the Wells, which name of river continued; and it was so called in the reign of Edward I., as shall be shown, with also the decay of the said river. In a fair book of parliament records, now lately restored to the Tower, it appeareth † that a parliament being holden at Carlisle in the year 1307, the 35th of Edward I., "Henry Lacy, earl of Lincoln, complained, that whereas in times past the course of water, running at London under Oldeborne bridge and Fleete bridge into the Thames, had been of such breadth and depth, that ten or twelve ships navies at once, with merchandise, were wont to come to the foresaid bridge of Fleete, and some of them to Oldborne bridge: now the same course, by filth of the tanners and such others, was sore decayed; also by raising of wharfs; but especially, by a diversion of the water made by them of the new Temple, for their mills standing without Baynardes Castle, in the first year of King John ‡, and divers others impediments, so as the said ships could not enter as they were wont, and as they ought: wherefore he desired that the mayor of London with the sheriffs and other discreet aldermen, might be appointed to view the course of the said water; and that by the oaths of good men, all the aforesaid hindrances might be removed, and it to be made as it was wont of old. Whereupon Roger le Brabason, the constable of the Tower, with the mayor and sheriffs, were assigned to take with them honest and discreet men, and to make diligent search and enquiry how the said river was in old time, and that they leave nothing that may hurt or stop it, but keep it in the same state that it was wont to be." So far the record. Whereupon it followed that the said river was at that time cleansed, these mills removed, and other things done for the preservation of the course thereof, notwithstanding never brought to the old depth and breadth; whereupon the name of river ceased, and it was since called a brook, namely, Turnmill or Tremill brook, for that divers mills were erected upon it, as appeareth by a fair register-book, containing the foundation of the

priory at Clarkenwell, and donation of the lands thereunto belonging, as also by divers other records.

This brook hath been divers times since cleansed, namely, and last of all to any effect, in the year 1502, the 17th of Henry VII., the whole course of Fleete dike, then so called, was scowered, I say, down to the Thames, so that boats with fish and fuel were rowed to Fleete bridge, and to Oldborne bridge, as they of old time had been accustomed, which was a great commodity to all the inhabitants in that part of the city.

In the year 1589 was granted a fifteenth, by a common council of the city, for the cleansing of this brook or dike; the money, amounting to a thousand marks, was collected, and it was undertaken, that by drawing divers springs about Hampstead heath into one head and course, both the city should be served of fresh water in all places of want; and also, that by such a follower, as men call it, the channel of this brook should be scowered into the river of Thames; but much money being therein spent, the effect failed, so that the brook, by means of continual encroachments upon the banks getting over the water, and casting of soilage into the stream, is now become worse cloyed and choked than ever it was before.

The running water, so called by William the Conqueror in his said charter, which entereth the city, &c. (before there was any ditch) between Bishopsgate and the late made postern called Moor-gate, entered the wall, and was truly of the wall called Walbrooke, not of Gualo, as some have far fetched: it ran through the city with divers windings from the north towards the south into the river of Thames, and had over the same divers bridges along the streets and lanes through which it passed. I have read in a book * entitled the Customs of London †, that the prior of the Holy Trinity within Aldgate ought to make over Walbrooke in the ward of Brodstreet, against the stone wall of the city, viz. the same bridge that is next the Church of All Saints, at the wall. Also that the prior of the new hospital, St. Mary Spittle without Bishopsgate, ought to make the middle part of one other bridge next to the said bridge towards the north: and that in the twenty-eighth year of Edward I. it was by inquisition found before the mayor of London, that the parish of St. Stephen upon Walbrooke ought of right to scour the course of the said brook, and therefore the sheriffs were commanded to distrain the said parishioners so to do, in the year 1300. The keepers of those bridges at that time were William Jordan and John de Bever. This water-course, having divers bridges, was afterwards vaulted over with brick, and paved level with the streets and lanes where through it passed; and since that, also houses have been built thereon, so that the course of Walbrooke is now hidden under ground, and thereby hardly known.

Langborne water, so called of the length thereof, was a great stream breaking out of the ground in Fenchurch-street, which ran down with a swift course, west, through that street, athwart Gra-street, and down Lombard street, to the west end of

* "This water hath been since that time called Turne mill brooke; yet then called the river of the Wells, which name of river," &c.—1st edition, p. 11.

† Parliament record.

‡ Patent record.

* "In an old writing book."—1st edition, p. 14.

† Liber Custom.

St. Mary Wolnothes church, and then turning the course down Shareborne lane, so termed of sharing or dividing, it brake into divers rills or rillets to the river of Thames: of this bourn that ward took the name, and is till this day called Langborne ward. This bourn also is long since stopped up at the head, and the rest of the course filled up and paved over, so that no sign thereof remaineth more than the names aforesaid.

Oldborne, or Hilborne, was the like water, breaking out about the place where now the bars do stand, and it ran down the whole street till Oldborne bridge, and into the river of the Wells, or Turnemill brook. This bourn was likewise long since stopped up at the head, and in other places where the same hath broken out, but yet till this day the said street is there called High Oldborne hill, and both the sides thereof, together with all the grounds adjoining, that lie betwixt it and the river of Thames, remain full of springs, so that water is there found at hand, and hard to be stopped in every house.

There are (saith Fitzstephen) near London, on the north side, special wells in the suburbs, sweet, wholesome, and clear; amongst which Holy well, Clarkes' well, and Clement's well, are most famous, and frequented by scholars and youths of the city in summer evenings, when they walk forth to take the air.

The first, to wit, Holy well, is much decayed and marred with filthiness purposely laid there, for the heightening of the ground for garden-plots.

The fountain called St. Clement's well, north from the parish church of St. Clements, and near unto an inn of Chancerie called Clement's Inn, is fair curbed square with hard stone, kept clean for common use, and is always full.

The third is called Clarkes' well, or Clarkenwell, and is curbed about square with hard stone, not far from the west end of Clarkenwell church, but close without the wall that incloseth it. The said church took the name of the well, and the well took the name of the parish clerks in London, who of old time were accustomed there yearly to assemble, and to play some large history of Holy Scripture*. And for example, of later time, to wit, in the year 1390, the 14th of Richard II., I read, the parish clerks of London, on the 18th of July, played interludes at Skinners' well, near unto Clarkes' well, which play continued three days together; the king, queen, and nobles being present. Also in the year 1409, the 10th of Henry IV., they played a play at the Skinners' well, which lasted eight days, and was of matter from the creation of the world. There were to see the same the most part of the nobles and gentles in England, &c.

Other smaller wells were many near unto Clarkes

well, namely, Skinners' well, so called for that the skinners of London held there certain plays yearly, played of Holy Scripture, &c. In place whereof the wrestlings have of later years been kept, and is in part continued at Bartholomew tide.

Then there was Faggess well, near unto Smithfield by the Charterhouse, now lately dammed up, Todwell, Loder's well, and Radwell, all decayed, and so filled up, that their places are hardly now discerned.

Somewhat north from Holywell is one other well curved square with stone, and is called Dame Annis the clear, and not far from it, but somewhat west, is also one other clear water called Perillous pond, because divers youths, by swimming therein, have been drowned; and thus much be said for fountains and wells.

Horsepoole, in West Smithfield, was some time a great water; and because the inhabitants in that part of the city did there water their horses, the same was in old records called Horsepoole; it is now much decayed, the springs being stopped up, and the land water falling into the small bottom, remaining inclosed with brick, is called Smithfield pond*.

By St. Giles' churchyard was a large water called a Pool. I read in the year 1244 that Anne of Lodburie was drowned therein; this pool is now for the most part stopped up, but the spring is preserved, and was coped about with stone by the executors of Richard Wittington.

The said river of the Wells, the running water of Walbrooke, the bourns aforesaid, and other the fresh waters that were in and about this city, being in process of time, by incroachment for build-ings and heightenings of grounds, utterly decayed, and the number of citizens mightily increased, they were forced to seek sweet waters abroad; whereof some, at the request of King Henry III., in the twenty-first year of his reign†, were, for the profit of the city, and good of the whole realm, thither repairing, to wit, for the poor to drink, and the rich to dress their meat, granted to the citizens and their successors, by one Gilbert Sanforde, with liberty to convey water from the town of Teyborne by pipes of lead into their city.

The first cistern of lead, castellated with stone in the city of London, was called the great Conduit in West Cheape, which was begun to be built in the year 1285, Henry Wales being then mayor. The water-course from Paddington to James head hath 510 rods; from James head on the hill to the Mewsgate, 102 rods; from the Mewsgate to the Cross in Cheape, 484 rods.

The tun upon Cornhill was cisterned in the year 1401; John Shadworth then being mayor.

Bosses of water at Belingsgate, by Powle's wharf, and by St. Giles' church without Cripplegate, made about the year 1423.

Water conveyed to the gaols of Newgate and Ludgate, 1432.

Water was first procured to the Standard in West Cheape about the year 1285, which Standard was again new built by the executors of John Welles, as shall be shown in another place. King

* This precise definition of the nature of the performances of the parish clerks, "some large hystorie of Holy Scripture," does not occur in the first edition of the Survey, and has consequently escaped the notice of Mr. Collier, the accomplished Editor of Shakspeare, who, in his valuable *Annals of the Stage* (I. 19), after quoting the more particular account of these dramatic performances given by Stow in his *Chronicle* (p. 549, ed. 1615), adds, "The expression used by Stow, that the great play was 'of matter from the creation of the world,' indicates sufficiently clearly that the performances were a series of dramatic representations founded upon Scripture."

* "Is but fowle, and is called Smithfield Pond."—1st edition, p. 15.

† Patent, 123.

Henry VI. in the year 1442 granted to John Hatherley, mayor, license to take up two hundred fadders of lead for the building of conduits, of a common garnery, and of a new cross in West Cheape, for the honour of the city.

The Conduit in West Cheape, by Powle's gate, was built about the year 1442; one thousand marks were granted by common council for the building thereof, and repairing of the other conduits.

The Conduit in Aldermanbury, and the Standard in Fleet street, were made and finished by the executors of Sir William Eastfield in the year 1471; a cistern was added to the Standard in Fleete street, and a cistern was made at Fleethbridge, and one other without Cripplegate, in the year 1478.

Conduit in Grastreet, in the year 1491.

Conduit at Oldbourne cross about 1498; again new made by William Lambe 1577.

Little conduit by the Stockes market, about 1500.

Conduit at Bishopsgate, about 1513.

Conduit at London wall, about 1528.

Conduit at Aldgate without, about 1535.

Conduit in Lothbury, and in Coleman street, 1546.

Conduit of Thames water at Dowgate, 1568.

Thames water, conveyed into men's houses by pipes of lead from a most artificial forrier standing near unto London bridge, and made by Peter Moris, Dutchman, in the year 1582, for service of the city, on the east part thereof.

Conduits of Thames water, by the parish churches of St. Mary Magdalen, and St. Nicolas Colde Abbey near unto old Fish street, in the year 1583.

One other new forrier was made near to Broken wharfe, to convey Thames water into men's houses of West Cheape, about Powle's, Fleete street, &c. by an English gentleman named Bevis Bulmer, in the year 1594. Thus much for waters serving this city; first by rivers, brooks, bourns, fountains, pools, &c.; and since by conduits, partly made by good and charitable citizens, and otherwise by charges of the commonalty, as shall be shown in description of wards wherein they be placed. And now some benefactors to these conduits shall be remembered.

In the year 1236 certain merchant strangers of cities beyond the seas, to wit, Amiens, Corby, and Nele, for privileges which they enjoyed in this city, gave one hundred pounds towards the charges of conveying water from the town of Teyborne. Robert Large, mayor, 1439, gave to the new water conduits then in hand forty marks, and towards the vaulting over of Walbrooke near to the parish church of St. Margaret in Lothbery, two hundred marks.

Sir William Eastfield, mayor, 1438, conveyed water from Teyborne to Fleete street, to Aldermanbury, and from Highbery to Cripplegate.

William Combes, sheriff, 1441, gave to the work of the conduits ten pounds.

Richard Rawson, one of the sheriffs, 1476, gave twenty pounds.

Robert Revell, one of the sheriffs, 1490, gave ten pounds.

John Mathew, mayor, 1490, gave twenty pounds.

William Bucke, tailor, in the year 1494, towards repairing of conduits, gave one hundred marks.

Dame Thomason, widow, late wife to John Percivall Taylor, mayor, in the year 1498 gave toward the conduit in Oldbourne twenty marks.

Richard Shore, one of the sheriffs, 1505, gave to the conduit in Oldbourne ten pounds.

The Lady Ascue, widow to Sir Christopher Ascue, 1543, gave towards the conduits one hundred pounds.

David Wodrooffe, sheriff, 1554, gave towards the conduit at Bishopsgate twenty pounds.

Edward Jackman, one of the sheriffs, 1564, gave toward the conduits one hundred pounds.

Barnard Randolph, common sergeant of the city, 1583, gave to the water conduits nine hundred pounds*.

Thus much for the conduits of fresh water to this city.

THE TOWN DITCH WITHOUT THE WALL OF THE CITY.

THE ditch, which partly now remaineth, and compassed the wall of the city, was begun to be made by the Londoners in the year 1211†, and was finished in the year 1213, the 15th of King John. This ditch being then made of 200 feet broad, caused no small hinderance to the canons of the Holy Trinity, whose church stood near unto Aldgate; for that the said ditch passed through their ground from the Tower of London unto Bishopsgate. This ditch, being originally made for the defence of the city, was also long together carefully cleansed and maintained, as need required; but now of late neglected and forced either to a very narrow, and the same a filthy channel, or altogether stopped up for gardens planted, and houses built thereon; even to the very wall, and in many places upon both ditch and wall houses to be built; to what danger of the city, I leave to wiser consideration, and can but wish that reformation might be had.

In the year of Christ 1354, the 28th of Edward III., the ditch of this city flowing over the bank into the Tower ditch, the king commanded the said ditch of the city to be cleansed, and so ordered, that the overflowing thereof should not force any filth into the Tower ditch.

Anno 1379, John Philpot, mayor of London, caused this ditch to be cleansed, and every householder to pay five pence, which was for a day's work towards the charges thereof. Richard II., in the 10th of his reign, granted a toll to be taken of wares sold by water or by land, for ten years, towards repairing of the wall and cleansing of the ditch.

Thomas Falconer, mayor, 1414, caused the ditch to be cleansed.

Ralph Joceline, mayor, 1477, caused the whole ditch to be cast and cleansed, and so from time to time it was cleansed, and otherwise reformed, namely, in 1519, the 10th of Henry VIII., for cleansing and scowering the common ditch between Aldgate and the postern next the Tower ditch. The chief ditcher had by the day seven pence, the second ditcher six pence, the other ditchers five pence. And every vagabond (for so were they termed) one penny the day, meat and drink, at charges of the city. £95. 3s. 4d.

* In the first edition, Barnard Randolph's gift is stated to be 700*l*. only.

† Lib. Dunstable. Lib. Trinitat.

In my remembrance also the same was cleansed, namely the Moore ditch, when Sir William Hollies was mayor, in the year 1540, and not long before, from the Tower of London to Aldgate.

It was again cleansed in the year 1549, Henry Amcotes being mayor, at the charges of the companies. And again, 1569, the 11th of Queen Elizabeth, for cleansing the same ditch between Aldgate and the postern, and making a new sewer, and wharf of timber, from the head of the postern into the town ditch, £814. 15s. 8d. Before the which time the said ditch lay open, without wall or pale, having therein great store of very good fish, of divers sorts, as many men yet living, who have taken and tasted them, can well witness; but now no such matter: the charge of cleansing is spared, and great profit made by letting out the banks, with the spoil of the whole ditch.

I am not ignorant of two fifteenths granted by a common council in the year 1595, for the reformation of this ditch, and that a small portion thereof, to wit, betwixt Bishopsgate and the postern called Mooregate, was cleansed, and made somewhat broader; but filling again very fast, by reason of overraising the ground near adjoining, therefore never the better: and I will so leave it, for I cannot help it.

BRIDGES OF THIS CITY.

THE original foundation of London bridge, by report of Bartholomew Linsted, alias Fowle, last prior of St. Mary Overies church in Southwark, was this: A ferry being kept in place where now the bridge is built, at length the ferryman and his wife deceasing, left the same ferry to their only daughter, a maiden named Mary, which with the goods left by her parents, and also with the profits arising of the said ferry, built a house of Sisters, in place where now standeth the east part of St. Mary Overies church, above the choir, where she was buried, unto which house she gave the oversight and profits of the ferry; but afterwards the said house of Sisters being converted into a college of priests, the priests built the bridge (of timber) as all the other the great bridges of this land were, and from time to time kept the same in good reparations, till at length, considering the great charges of repairing the same, there was, by aid of the citizens of London, and others, a bridge built with arches of stone, as shall be shown.

But first of the timber bridge, the antiquity thereof being great, but uncertain; I remember to have read*, that in the year of Christ 994, Sweyn, king of Denmark, besieging the city of London, both by water and by land, the citizens manfully defended themselves, and their king Ethelred, so as part of their enemies were slain in battle, and part of them were drowned in the river of Thames, because in their hasty rage they took no heed of the bridge†.

* Will. Malmshury.

† The statement of William of Malmshury referred to by Stow, and which may be found, vol. i. p. 290, of the edition of the "*Gesta Regum Anglorum*," edited by Mr. Hardy, for the English Historical Society, only proves the existence of a bridge at London at the commencement of the eleventh century; but from a passage in Mr. Kemble's Introduction (p. lix.) to the first vol. of his "*Codex Diplomaticus Ævi*

Moreover, in the year 1016, Canute the Dane, with a great navy, came up to London, and on the south of the Thames caused a trench to be cast, through the which his ships were towed into the west side of the bridge, and then with a deep trench, and straight siege, he compassed the city round about.

Also, in the year 1052, Earl Goodwin, with the like navy, taking his course up the river of Thames, and finding none that offered to resist on the bridge, he sailed up the south side of the said river. Furthermore, about the year 1067, William the Conqueror, in his charter to the church of St. Peter at Westminster, confirmed to the monks serving God there, a gate in London, then called Buttolph's gate, with a wharf which was at the head of London bridge.

We read likewise, that in the year 1114, the 14th of Henry I., the river of Thames was so dried up, and such want of water there, that between the Tower of London and the bridge, and under the bridge, not only with horse, but also a great number of men, women, and children, did wade over on foot*.

In the year 1122, the 22nd of Henry I., Thomas Arden gave the monks of Bermondsey the church of St. George, in Southwark, and five shillings rent by the year, out of the land pertaining to London bridge.

I also have seen a charter under seal to the effect following:—"Henry king of England, to Ralfe B. of Chichester, and all the ministers of Sussex, sendeth greeting, know ye, &c. I command by my kingly authority, that the manor called Alcestone, which my father gave, with other lands, to the abbey of Battle, be free and quiet from shires and hundreds, and all other customs of earthly servitude, as my father held the same, most freely and quietly, and namely, from the work of London bridge, and the work of the castle at Pevensey: and this I command upon my forfeiture. Witness, William de Pontlearche, at Byrry." The which charter, with the seal very fair, remaineth in the custody of Joseph Holland, gentleman.

In the year 1136, the 1st of king Stephen†, a fire began in the house of one Ailewarde, near unto London stone, which consumed east to Aldgate, and west to St. Erkenwald's shrine, in Powle's church; the bridge of timber over the river of Thames was also burnt, &c. but afterwards again repaired. For Fitzstephen writes, that in the reign of King Stephen and of Henry II., when pastimes were showed on the river of Thames, men stood in great number on the bridge, wharfs, and houses, to behold.

Now in the year 1163, the same bridge was not

Saxonici," in which he speaks of a woman, who being condemned to death for aiming at the life of a nobleman, by means of witchcraft, and the sticking pins into a waxen image, was executed by drowning at London bridge, it is shown that a bridge was in existence there in the middle of the preceding century. While Mr. C. Roach Smith, in a paper on "Roman Remains recently found in London," (*Archæologia*, xxix. 145.) has lately produced some most satisfactory arguments in support of the opinion of a bridge having existed on the site of the present London bridge during the settlement of the Romans in Britain.

* Lib. Bermon.

† Lib. Trinitat.

only repaired, but newly made of timber as before, by Peter of Cole Church, priest and chaplain.

Thus much for the old timber bridge, maintained partly by the proper lands thereof, partly by the liberality of divers persons, and partly by taxations in divers shires, have I proved for the space of 215 years before the bridge of stone was built.

Now touching the foundation of the stone bridge, it followeth:—About the year 1176, the stone bridge over the river of Thames, at London, was begun to be founded by the aforesaid Peter of Cole Church, near unto the bridge of timber, but somewhat more towards the west, for I read, that Buttolfe wharf was, in the Conqueror's time, at the head of London bridge*. The king assisted this work: a cardinal then being legate here; and Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, gave one thousand marks towards the foundation; the course of the river, for the time, was turned another way about, by a trench cast for that purpose, beginning, as is supposed, east about Radcliffe, and ending in the west about Patricksey, now termed Batersay. This work, to wit, the arches, chapel and stone bridge, over the river of Thames, at London, having been thirty-three years in building, was in the year 1209 finished by the worthy merchants of London, Serle Mercer, William Almaine, and Benedict Botewrite, principal masters of that work, for Peter of Colechurch deceased four years before, and was buried in the chapel on the bridge, in the year 1205†.

King John gave certain void places in London to build upon, the profits thereof to remain towards the charges of building and repairing the same bridge: a mason being master workman of the bridge, builded from the foundation the large chapel on that bridge of his own charges, which chapel was then endowed for two priests, four clerks, &c. besides chantries since founded for John Hatfield and other‡. After the finishing of this chapel, which was the first building upon those arches, sundry houses at times were erected, and many charitable men gave lands, tenements, or sums of money, towards maintenance thereof, all which was sometime noted and in a table fair written for posterity remaining in the chapel, until the same chapel was turned into a dwelling house, and then removed to the bridge house, the effect of which table I was willing to have published in this book, if I could have obtained the sight thereof. But making the shorter work, I find by the account of William Mariner and Christopher Eliot, wardens of London bridge from Michaelmas, in the 22d of Henry VII., unto Michaelmas next ensuing, by one whole year, that all the payments and allowances came to £815. 17s. 2½d., as there is shown by particulars, by which account then made, may be partly guessed the great charges and discharges of that bridge at this day, when things be stretched to so great a price. And now to actions on this bridge.

* Liber Waverley.

† "For Peter of Colechurch deceased foure years before this worke was finished, and was buried in the chappell builded on the same bridge, in the year 1205."—1st edition, p. 21.

‡ "So that in the years 23 of Henrie the 6. there was 4 chaplens in the said chappell."—1st edition, p. 21.

The first action to be noted was lamentable; for within four* years after the finishing thereof, to wit, in the year 1212, on the 10th of July, at night †, the borough of Southwark, upon the south side the river of Thames, as also the church of our Lady of the Canons there, being on fire, and an exceeding great multitude of people passing the bridge, either to extinguish and quench it, or else to gaze at and behold it, suddenly the north part, by blowing of the south wind was also set on fire, and the people which were even now passing the bridge, perceiving the same, would have returned, but were stopped by fire; and it came to pass, that as they stayed or protracted time, the other end of the bridge also, namely, the south end, was fired, so that the people thronging themselves between the two fires, did nothing else but expect present death; then came there to aid them many ships and vessels, into the which the multitude so unadvisedly rushed, that the ships being drowned, they all perished‡. It was said, that through the fire and shipwreck there were destroyed about three thousand persons, whose bodies were found in part, or half burnt, besides those that were wholly burnt to ashes, and could not be found.

About the year 1282, through a great frost and deep snow, five arches of London bridge were borne down and carried away.

In the year 1289, the bridge was so sore decayed for want of reparations, that men were afraid to pass thereon, and a subsidy was granted towards the amendment thereof §, Sir John Britain being custos of London. 1381, a great collection or gathering was made of all archbishops, bishops, and other ecclesiastical persons, for the reparations of London bridge. 1381, Wat Tyler, and other rebels of Kent, by this bridge entered the city, as ye may read in my Summary and Annals.

In the year 1395, on St. George's day, was a great justing on London bridge, betwixt David Earl of Crawford of Scotland, and the Lord Wells of England; in the which the Lord Wells was at the third course borne out of the saddle: which history proveth, that at that time the bridge being coped on either side, was not replenished with houses built thereupon, as it hath since been, and now is. The next year, on the 13th of November, the young queen Isabell, commonly called the little, for she was but eight years old, was conveyed from Kenington besides Lamhith, through Southwark to the Tower of London, and such a multitude of people went out to see her, that on London bridge nine persons were crowded to death, of whom the prior of Tiptree, a place in Essex, was one, and a matron on Cornhill was another.

The Tower on London bridge at the north end of the draw-bridge, (for that bridge was then readily to be drawn up, as well to give passage for ships to Quenchhithe, as for the resistance of any foreign force,) was begun to be built in the year 1426, John Rainwell being mayor.

Another tower there is on the said bridge over the gate at the south end towards Southwarke, whereof in another place shall be spoken.

* "Within 3 yeres."—1st edition.

† "A marvellous terrible chance happened for the citie of London, upon the south side of the river of Thames."—1bid.

‡ Liber Dunmow. Walter Covent. W. Packenton.

§ Patent of Edward II.

In the year 1450, Jack Cade, and other rebels of Kent, by this bridge entered the city: he struck his sword on London Stone, and said himself then to be lord of the city, but were by the citizens overcome on the same bridge, and put to flight, as in my Annals.

In the year 1471, Thomas, the bastard Fawconbridge, besieged this bridge, burnt the gate, and all the houses to the draw-bridge, that time thirteen in number.

In the year 1481, a house called the common siege on London bridge fell down into the Thames; through the fall whereof five men were drowned.

In the year 1553, the 3rd of February, Sir Thomas Wyatt, and the Kentish men, marched from Depeford towards London; after knowledge whereof, forthwith the draw-bridge was cut down, and the bridge gates shut. Wyatt and his people entered Southwarke, where they lay till the 6th of February, but could get no entry of the city by the bridge, the same was then so well defended by the citizens, the Lord William Howard assisting, wherefore he removed towards Kingstone, &c. as in my Annals.

To conclude of this bridge over the said river of Thames, I affirm, as in other my descriptions, that it is a work very rare, having with the draw-bridge twenty arches made of squared stone, of height sixty feet, and in breadth thirty feet, distant one from another twenty feet, compact and joined together with vaults and cellars; upon both sides be houses built, so that it seemeth rather a continual street than a bridge; for the fortifying whereof against the incessant assaults of the river, it hath overseers and officers, viz. wardens, as aforesaid, and others.

Fleete bridge in the west without Ludgate, a bridge of stone, fair coped on either side with iron pikes; on the which, towards the south, be also certain lanterns of stone, for lights to be placed in the winter evenings, for commodity of travellers. Under this bridge runneth a water, sometimes called, as I have said, the river of the Wels, since Turnemill brooke, now Fleete dike, because it runneth by the Fleete, and sometime about the Fleete, so under Fleete bridge into the river of Thames. This bridge hath been far greater in times past, but lessened, as the water course hath been narrowed. It seemeth this last bridge to be made or repaired at the charges of John Wels, mayor, in the year 1431, for on the coping is engraven Wels embraced by angels, like as on the standard in Cheape, which he also built. Thus much of the bridge: for of the water course, and decay thereof, I have spoken in another place.

Oldbourne bridge, over the said river of the Wels more towards the north, was so called, of a bourn that sometimes ran down Oldbourne hill into the said river. This bridge of stone, like as Fleet bridge from Ludgate west, serveth for passengers with carriage or otherwise, from Newgate toward the west and by north.

Cowbridge, more north, over the same water by Cowbridge street or Cowlane: this bridge being lately decayed, another of timber is made somewhat more north, by Chick lane, &c.

Bridges over the town ditch there are divers; to wit, without Aldgate, without Bishopsgate, the postern called Mooregate, the postern of Cripplegate

without Aldersgate, the postern of Christ's hospital, Newgate, and Ludgate; all these be over paved likewise with stone level with the streets. But one other there is of timber over the river of Wels, or Fleet dike, between the precinct of the Black Friars, and the house of Bridewell.

There have been of old time also, divers bridges in sundry places over the course of Walbrook, as before I have partly noted, besides Horseshew bridge, by the church of St. John Baptist, now called St. John's upon Walbrooke. I read, that of old time every person having lands on either side of the said brook, should cleanse* the same, and repair the bridges so far as their lands extended. More, in the 11th of Edward III. the inhabitants upon the course of this brook were forced to pile and wall the sides thereof. Also, that in the 3rd of Henry V. this water-course had many bridges, since vaulted over with bricks, and the streets where through it passed so paved, that the same water-course is now hardly discerned. For order was taken in the 2nd of Edward IV., that such as had ground on either side of Walbrooke, should vault and pave it over, so far as his ground extended. And thus much for bridges in this city may suffice.

GATES IN THE WALL OF THIS CITY.

GATES in the wall of this city of old time were four; to wit, Aeldgate for the east, Aldersgate for the north, Ludgate for the west, and the Bridgegate over the river of Thames for the south; but of later times, for the ease of citizens and passengers, divers other gates and posterns have been made, as shall be shown.

In the reign of Henry II. (saith Fitzstephen) there were seven double gates in the wall of this city, but he nameth them not. It may, therefore, be supposed, he meant for the first, the gate next the Tower of London†, now commonly called the Postern, the next be Aeldgate, the third Bishopsgate, the fourth Ealdersgate, the fifth Newgate, the sixth Ludgate, the seventh Bridgegate. Since the which time hath been builded the postern called Mooregate, a postern from Christ's hospital towards St. Bartholomewe's hospital in Smithfield, &c. Now of every of these gates and posterns in the wall, and also of certain water-gates on the river of Thames, severally somewhat may, and shall be noted, as I find authority, or reasonable conjecture to warrant me.

For the first, now called the postern by the Tower of London, it sheweth by that part which yet remaineth, to have been a fair and strong arched gate, partly built of hard stone of Kent, and partly of stone brought from Caen in Normandy, since the Conquest, and foundation of the high tower, and

* "Should vault, or bridge, and cleanse the same."—1st edition, p. 24.

† "Which then served as a posterne for passengers out of the east, from thence through Tower street, East cheape, and Candlewecke street to London Stone, the middle point of that highway, then through Budge row, Watling street, and leaving Paul's church on the right hand, to Ludgate in the west; the next be Aldgate, Bishopsgate, Cripplegate, Aldersgate, Ludgate, and the Bridgegate over the Thames. Since the which time hath been builded Newgate," &c.—1st edition, p. 25.

served for passengers on foot out of the east, from thence through the city to Ludgate in the west. The ruin and overthrow of this gate and postern began in the year 1190, the 2d of Richard I., when William Longshampe, bishop of Ely, chancellor of England, caused a part of the city wall, to wit, from the said gate towards the river of Thames to the white tower, to be broken down, for the enlarging of the said tower, which he then compassed far wide about with a wall embattled, and is now the outer wall. He also caused a broad and deep ditch to be made without the same wall, intending to have derived the river of Thames with her tides to have flowed about it, which would not be. But the southside of this gate, being then by undermining at the foundation loosened, and greatly weakened; at length, to wit, after two hundred years and odd, the same fell down in the year 1440, the 18th of Henry VI., and was never since by the citizens re-edified*. Such was their negligence then, and hath bred some trouble to their successors, since they suffered a weak and wooden building to be there made, inhabited by persons of low life, oft times by inquest of Portsoken ward presented, but not reformed; whereas of former times the said postern was accounted of as other gates of the city, and was appointed to men of good credit. Amongst other, I have read, that in the 49th of Edward III., John Cobbe was admitted custos of the said postern, and all the habitation thereof, for term of his life, by William Walworth, then mayor of London, &c. More, that John Credy, Esq. in the 21st of Richard II., was admitted custos of the said postern and appurtenances by Richard Whittington, mayor, the aldermen, and commonalty, &c.

AELDGATE.

THE next gate in the east is called Aeldgate, of the antiquity or age thereof. This is one and the first of the four principal gates, and also one of the seven double gates, mentioned by Fitzstephen. It hath had two pair of gates, though now but one; the hooks remaineth yet. Also there hath been two port-closes; the one of them remaineth, the other wanteth, but the place of letting down is manifest. For antiquity of the gate: it appeareth by a charter of King Edgar to the knights of Knighten Guild, that in his days the said port was called Aeldgate, as ye may read in the ward of Portsoken. Also Matilda the queen, wife to Henry I., having founded the priory of the Holy Trinity within Aeldgate, gave unto the same church, to Norman the first prior, and the canons that devoutly served God therein †, the port of Aeldgate, and the soke or franchises thereunto belonging, with all customs as free as she held the same; in the which charter she nameth the house Christ's church, and reporteth Aeldgate to be of his domain.

More, I read ‡ in the year 1215, that in the civil wars between King John and his barons, the Londoners assisting the barons' faction, who then besieged Northampton, and after came to Bedford

castle, where they were well received by William Beauchampe, and captain of the same; having then also secret intelligence that they might enter the city of London if they would, they removed their camp to Ware, from thence in the night coming to London, they entered Aeldgate, and placing guardians or keepers of the gates, they disposed of all things in the city at their pleasure. They spoiled the friars' houses, and searched their coffers*; which being done, Robert Fitzwalter, Geffry Magnavile earl of Essex, and the Earl of Gloucester, chief leaders of the army, applied all diligence to repair the gates and walls of this city with the stones taken from the Jews' broken houses, namely, Aeldgate being then most ruinous, (which had given them an easy entry,) they repaired, or rather newly built, after the manner of the Normans, strongly arched with bulwarks of stone from Caen in Normandy, and small brick, called Flanders tile, was brought from thence, such as hath been here used since the Conquest, and not before.

In the year 1471 †, the 11th of Edward IV., Thomas, the bastard Fawconbridge, having assembled a riotous company of shipmen and other in Essex and Kent, came to London with a great navy of ships, near to the Tower; whereupon the mayor and aldermen, by consent of a common council, fortified all along the Thames side, from Baynard's castle to the Tower, with armed men, guns, and other instruments of war, to resist the invasion of the mariners, whereby the Thames side was safely preserved and kept by the aldermen and other citizens that assembled thither in great numbers. Whereupon the rebels, being denied passage through the city that way, set upon Aeldgate, Bishopsgate, Criplegate, Aeldersgate, London bridge, and along the river of Thames, shooting arrows and guns into the city, fired the suburbs, and burnt more than threescore houses. And further, on Sunday the eleventh of May, five thousand of them assaulting Aeldgate, won the bulwarks, and entered the city; but the portclose being let down, such as had entered were slain, and Robert Basset, alderman of Aeldgate ward, with the recorder, commanded in the name of God to draw up the portclose; which being done, they issued out, and with sharp shot, and fierce fight, put their enemies back so far as St. Botolph's church, by which time the Earl Rivers, and lieutenant of the Tower, was come with a fresh company, which joining together, discomfited the rebels, and put them to flight, whom the said Robert Basset, with the other citizens, chased to the Mile's End, and from thence, some to Popular, some to Stratford, slew many, and took many of them prisoners. In which space the Bastard having assayed other places upon the water side, and little prevailed, fled toward his ships. Thus much for Aeldgate.

BISHOPSGATE.

THE third, and next toward the north, is called Bishopsgate, for that, as it may be supposed, the same was first built by some Bishop of London, though now unknown when, or by whom; but true it is, that the first gate was first built for ease of passengers toward the east, and by north, as into

* "Was never re-edified againe of stone, but an homely cottage, with a narrow passage made of timber, lath and loame, hath beene in place thereof set up, and so remaineth."

—1st edition, p. 25.

† Liber Trinitat.

‡ Matt. Paris.

* Radul. Coggeshall.

† W. Donthorn.

Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, &c.; the travellers into which parts, before the building of this gate, were forced, passing out at Aeldgate, to go east till they came to the Mile's end, and then turning on the left hand to Blethenhall green * to Cambridge heath, and so north, or east, and by north, as their journey lay. If they took not this way, by the east out at Aeldgate, they must take their way by the north out at Aeldersgate, through Aeldersgate street and Goswel street towards Iseldon, and by a cross of stone on their right hand, set up for a mark by the north end of Golding lane, to turn eastward through a long street, until this day called Alder street, to another cross standing, where now a smith's forge is placed by Sewer's-ditch church, and then to turn again north towards Tottenham, Endfield, Waltham, Ware, &c. The eldest note that I read of this Bishopsgate, is that William Blund, one of the sheriffs of London †, in the year 1210, sold to Serle Mercer, and William Almaine, procurators or wardens of London bridge, all his land, with the garden, in the parish of St. Buttolph without Bishopsgate, between the land of Richard Casiarin, towards the north, and the land of Robert Crispie towards the south, and the highway called Berewards lane on the east, &c.

Next I read in a charter, dated the year 1235, that Walter Brune, citizen of London, and Rosia his wife, having founded the priory or new hospital of our blessed Lady, since called St. Mary Spittle without Bishopsgate, confirmed the same to the honour of God and our blessed Lady, for canons regular.

Also in the year 1247, Simon Fitzmarie, one of the sheriffs of London, the 29th of Henry III., founded the hospital of St. Mary, called Bethlem without Bishopsgate. Thus much for the antiquity of this gate ‡.

And now for repairing the same, I find that Henry III. confirmed to the merchants of the Haunce, that had a house in the city called Guild-halla Theutonicorum, certain liberties and privileges. Edward I. also confirmed the same; in the tenth year of whose reign it was found that the said merchants ought of right to repair the said gate called Bishopsgate; whereupon Gerard Marbod, alderman of the Haunce and other, then remaining in the city of London, for themselves, and all other merchants of the said Haunce, granted two hundred and ten marks sterling to the mayor and citizens; and covenanted that they and their successors should from time to time repair the same gate. This gate was again beautifully built in the year 1479, in the reign of Edward IV., by the said Haunce merchants.

Moreover, about the year 1551, these Haunce merchants, having prepared stone for that purpose, caused a new gate to be framed, there to have been set up, but then their liberties, through suit of our English merchants, were seized into the king's hand; and so that work was stayed, and the old gate yet remaineth.

POSTERN OF MOREGATE.

Touching the next postern, called Moregate, I find that Thomas Falconer, mayor, about the year 1415,

the third of Henry V., caused the wall of the city to be broken near unto Coleman streete, and there built a postern, now called Moregate, upon the moor side where was never gate before. This gate he made for ease of the citizens, that way to pass upon causeys into the field for their recreation: for the same field was at that time a parish. This postern was re-edified by William Hampton, fishmonger, mayor, in the year 1472. In the year also, 1511, the third of Henry VIII., Roger Acheley, mayor, caused dikes and bridges to be made, and the ground to be levelled, and made more commodious for passage, since which time the same hath been heightened. So much that the ditches and bridges are covered, and seemeth to me that if it be made level with the battlements of the city wall, yet will it be little the drier, such is the moorish nature of that ground.

POSTERN OF CRIPPLEGATE.

THE next is the postern of Cripplegate, so called long before the Conquest. For I read in the history of Edmond *, king of the East Angles, written by Abbo Floriacensis, and by Burchard, sometime secretary to Offa, king of Marcia, but since by John Lidgate, monk of Bury, that in the year 1010, the Danes spoiling the kingdom of the East Angles, Alwyne, bishop of Helmeham, caused the body of King Edmond the Martyr to be brought from Bedrisworth (now called Bury St. Edmondes), through the kingdom of the East Saxons, and so to London in at Cripplegate; a place, saith mine author, so called of cripples begging there: at which gate, it was said, the body entering, miracles were wrought, as some of the lame to go upright, praising God. The body of King Edmond rested for the space of three years in the parish church of St. Gregorie, near unto the cathedral church of St. Paul. Moreover, the charter of William the Conqueror, confirming the foundation of the college in London, called St. Martin the Great, hath these words †: "I do give and grant to the same church and canons, serving God therein, all the land and the moore without the postern, which is called Cripplegate, on either side the postern." More I read, that Alfune built the parish church of St. Giles, nigh a gate of the city, called Porta Contractorum, or Criplesgate, about the year 1099.

This postern was sometime a prison, whereunto such citizens and others, as were arrested for debt or common trespasses, were committed, as they be now, to the compters, which thing appeareth by a writ of Edward I. in these words: "*Rex ric. London. salutem: ex gravi querela B. capt. & detent. in prisona nostra de Criples gate pro x. l. quas coram Radulpho de Sandwico tunc custod. civitatis nostre London. & I. de Blackwell civis recognovit. debuit. &c.*" This gate was new built by the brewers of London in the year 1244, as saith Fabian's manuscript. Edmond Shaw, goldsmith, mayor in the year 1483, at his decease appointed by his testament his executors, with the cost of four hundred marks, and the stuff of the old gate, called Cripplesgate, to build the same gate of new, which was performed and done in the year 1491.

* "Now called Bednal Green."—1st edit. p. 26.

† Lib. Trinitat.

‡ Lib. Custom. London.

* Abbo Floriacensis, Burchardus.

† Liber S. Bartilmew.

ALDERSGATE.

THE next is *Ældresgate*, or *Aldersgate* *, so called not of *Aldrich* or of *Elders*, that is to say, ancient men, builders thereof ; not of *Eldarne* trees, growing there more abundantly than in other places, as some have fabled *, but for the very antiquity of the gate itself, as being one of the first four gates of the city, and serving for the northern parts, as *Aldegate* for the east ; which two gates, being both old gates, are for difference sake called, the one *Ealdegate*, and the other *Aldersgate* †. This is the fourth principal gate, and hath at sundry times been increased with buildings, namely, on the south, or inner side, a great frame of timber hath been added and set up, containing divers large rooms and lodgings ; also on the east side is the addition of one great building of timber, with one large floor, paved with stone or tile, and a well therein curbed with stone, of a great depth, and rising into the said room, two stories high from the ground ; which well is the only peculiar note belonging to that gate, for I have not seen the like in all this city to be raised so high. *John Day*, stationer, a late famous printer of many good books, in our time dwelt in this gate, and built much upon the wall of the city towards the parish church of *St. Anne*.

POSTERN OUT OF CHRIST'S HOSPITAL.

THEN is there also a postern gate, made out of the wall on the north side of the late dissolved cloister of *Friers minors*, commonly of their habit called *Grey friars*, now *Christ's church and hospital*. This postern was made in the first year of *Edward VI.* to pass from the said hospital of *Christ's Church* unto the hospital of *St. Bartlemew* in *Smithfield*.

NEWGATE.

THE next gate on the west, and by north, is termed *Newgate*, as *latelier* built than the rest, and is the fifth principal gate. This gate was first erected about the reign of *Henry I.* or of *King Stephen*, upon this occasion ‡. The cathedral church of *St.*

* In a book, called "*Beware of the Cat.*"—*Stow*.

† It appears from an account, lately communicated to the Society of Antiquaries by *Mr. Saull*, of his observations on the foundations of the Roman wall of London, recently developed at several points, and especially on the site of the French church in *Bull and Mouth street*, that there was a gate, in the Roman period, at the spot which was afterwards called *Aldersgate*. The wall may thence be traced at intervals to *Cripplegate churchyard*, where a bastion still remains. *Mr. Saull* gave a minute description of the materials of the wall, which remain little altered by time beneath the surface of the soil. Its base is composed of small rough flints to the height of one foot six inches, resting on a fine loam, upon which are placed four feet six inches of rough Kentish ragstone (the green sandstone of geologists), with pieces of ferruginous sandstone irregularly interposed. Then come two courses of bricks, each measuring eighteen inches by twelve, and one and three quarters thick, on which is laid more of the ragstone, for two feet six inches : again, a double course of tiles, and above that one foot six inches of the ragstone. Total existing height, nineteen feet seven inches. It is nine feet six inches in width at the base, and two feet at the top.

‡ "*About the raigne of Henry II. or Richard I.*"—*1st edition*, p. 30.

Paul, being burnt about the year 1036, in the reign of *William the Conqueror*, *Mauritius*, then bishop of *London*, repaired not the old church, as some have supposed, but began the foundation of a new work, such as men then judged would never have been performed ; it was to them so wonderful for height, length, and breadth, as also in respect it was raised upon arches or vaults, a kind of workmanship brought in by the *Normans*, and never known to the artificers of this land before that time, &c. After *Mauritius*, *Richard Beaumont* did wonderfully advance the work of the said church, purchasing the large streets and lanes round about, wherein were wont to dwell many lay people, which grounds he began to compass about with a strong wall of stone and gates. By means of this increase of the church territory, but more by inclosing of ground for so large a cemetery or churchyard, the high and large street stretching from *Aldegate* in the east until *Ludgate* in the west, was in this place so crossed and stopped up, that the carriage through the city westward was forced to pass without the said churchyard wall on the north side, through *Pater noster row* ; and then south, down *Ave Mary lane*, and again west, through *Bowyer row* to *Ludgate* ; or else out of *Cheep*, or *Watheing street*, to turn south, through the old *Exchange* ; then west through *Carter lane*, again north by *Creede lane*, and then west to *Ludgate* : which passage, by reason of so often turning, was very cumbersome and dangerous both for horse and man ; for remedy whereof a new gate was made, and so called, by which men and cattle, with all manner of carriages, might pass more directly (as afore) from *Aldegate*, through *West Cheape* by *Paules*, on the north side ; through *St. Nicholas shambles* and *Newgate market* to *Newgate*, and from thence to any part westward over *Oldborne bridge*, or turning without the gate into *Smithfield*, and through *Iseldon* to any part north and by west. This gate hath of long time been a gaol, or prison for felons and trespassers, as appeareth by records * in the reign of *King John*, and of other kings ; amongst the which I find one testifying, that in the year 1218, the 3rd of *King Henry III.*, the king writeth unto the sheriffs of *London*, commanding them to repair the gaol of *Newgate* for the safe keeping of his prisoners, promising that the charges laid out should be allowed unto them upon their account in the *Exchequer*.

Moreover, in the year 1241, the *Jews of Norwich* were hanged for circumcising a *Christian child* ; their house called the *Thor* was pulled down and destroyed ; *Aron*, the son of *Abraham*, a *Jew*, at *London*, and the other *Jews*, were constrained to pay twenty thousand marks at two terms in the year, or else to be kept perpetual prisoners in *Newgate* of *London*, and in other prisons. In 1255, *King Henry III.* lodging in the tower of *London*, upon displeasure conceived towards the city of *London*, for the escape of *John Offrem*, a prisoner, being a clerk convict, out of *Newgate*, which had killed a prior that was of alliance to the king, as cousin to the queen : he sent for the mayor and sheriffs to come before him to answer the matter ; the mayor laid the fault from him to the sheriffs, forasmuch as to them belonged the keeping of all

* Close roll.

prisoners within the city; and so the mayor returned home, but the sheriffs remained there prisoners by the space of a month and more; and yet they excused themselves, in that the fault chiefly rested in the bishop's officers; for whereas the prisoner was under custody, they at his request had granted license to imprison the offender within the gaol of Newgate, but so as the bishop's officers were charged to see him safely kept. The king, notwithstanding all this, demanded of the city three thousand marks for a fine.

In the year 1326, Robert Baldoke, the king's chancellor, was put in Newgate, the 3rd of Edward III. In the year 1337, Sir John Poultney gave four marks by the year to the relief of prisoners in Newgate. In the year 1385, William Walworth gave somewhat to relieve the prisoners in Newgate, so have many others since. In the year 1414, the gaolers of Newgate and Ludgate died, and prisoners in Newgate to the number of sixty-four. In the year 1418, the parson of Wrotham, in Kent, was imprisoned in Newgate. In the year 1422, the first of Henry VI., license was granted to John Coventre, Jenken Carpenter, and William Grove, executors to Richard Whittington, to re-edify the gaol of Newgate, which they did with his goods.

Thomas Knowles, grocer, sometime mayor of London, by license of Reynold, prior of St. Bartholomew's in Smithfield, and also of John Wakering, master of the hospital of St. Bartholomew, and his brethren, conveyed the waste of water at the eistern near to the common fountain and chapel of St. Nicholas (situate by the said hospital) to the gaols of Newgate and Ludgate, for the relief of the prisoners. Tuesday next after Palm Sunday, 1431, all the prisoners of Ludgate were removed into Newgate by Walter Chartesey, and Robert Large, sheriffs of London; and on the 13th of April the same sheriffs (through the false suggestion of John Kingesell, jailor of Newgate) set from thence eighteen persons free men, and these were let to the compters, pinioned as if they had been felons; but on the sixteenth of June, Ludgate was again appointed for free men, prisoners for debt; and the same day the said free men entered by ordinance of the mayor, aldermen, and commons, and by them Henry Deane, tailor, was made keeper of Ludgate prison. In the year 1457, a great fray was in the north country between Sir Thomas Percie, Lord Egremond, and the Earl of Salisbury's sons, whereby many were maimed and slain; but, in the end, the Lord Egremond being taken, was by the king's counsel found in great default, and therefore condemned in great sums of money, to be paid to the Earl of Salisbury, and in the mean time committed to Newgate. Not long after, Sir Thomas Percie, Lord Egremond, and Sir Richard Percie his brother, being in Newgate, broke out of prison by night, and went to the king; the other prisoners took the leads of the gate, and defended it a long while against the sheriffs and all their officers, insomuch that they were forced to call more aid of the citizens, whereby they lastly subdued them, and laid them in irons: and this may suffice for Newgate.

LUDGATE.

In the west is the next, and sixth principal gate,

and is called Ludgate, as first built (saith Geoffrey Monmouth) by King Lud, a Briton, about the year before Christ's nativity, 66. Of which building, and also of the name, as Ludsgate, or Fludsgate, hath been of late some question among the learned; wherefore I overpass it, as not to my purpose, only referring the reader to that I have before written out of Caesar's Commentaries, and other Roman writers, concerning a town or city amongst the Britons. This gate I suppose to be one of the most ancient; and as Aldgate was built for the east, so was this Ludsgate for the west. I read*, as I told you, that in the year 1215, the 17th of King John, the barons of the realm, being in arms against the king, entered this city, and spoiled the Jews' houses; which being done, Robert Fitzwater and Geoffrey de Magnavilla, Earl of Essex, and the Earl of Gloucester, chief leaders of the army, applied all diligence to repair the gates and walls of this city, with the stones of the Jews' broken houses, especially (as it seemeth) they then repaired, or rather new built Ludgate. For in the year 1586, when the same gate was taken down to be newly built, there was found couched within the wall thereof a stone taken from one of the Jews' houses, wherein was graven in Hebrew characters these words following: *זה מצב הרי משה ירדן משה ירדן*. *Hæc est statio Rabbi Mosis, filii insignis Rabbi Isaac*: which is to say, this is the station or ward of Rabbi Moyses, the son of the honourable Rabbi Isaac, and had been fixed upon the front of one of the Jews' houses, as a note or sign that such a one dwelt there. In the year 1260, this Ludgate was repaired and beautified with images of Lud, and other kings, as appeareth by letters patent, of license given to the citizens of London, to take up stone for that purpose, dated the 25th of Henry III. These images of kings in the reign of Edward VI. had their heads smitten off, and were otherwise defaced by † such as judged every image to be an idol; and in the reign of Queen Mary were repaired, as by setting new heads on their old bodies, &c. All which so remained until the year 1586, the 28th of Queen Elizabeth, when the same gate being sore decayed, was clean taken down; the prisoners in the mean time remaining in the large south-east quadrant to the same gate adjoining; and the same year the whole gate was newly and beautifully built, with the images of Lud and others, as afore, on the east side, and the picture of her majesty Queen Elizabeth on the west side: all which was done at the common charges of the citizens, amounting to fifteen hundred pounds or more.

This gate was made a free prison in the year 1378, the 1st of Richard II., Nicholas Brembar being mayor. The same was confirmed in the year 1382, John Northampton being mayor, by a common council in the Guildhall; by which it was ordained that all freemen of this city should, for debt, trespasses, accounts, and contempts, be imprisoned in Ludgate, and for treasons, felonies, and other criminal offences, committed to Newgate, &c. In the year 1431, the 10th of King Henry VI., John Wells being mayor, a court of common council

* Roger Wendover, Matthew Paris.

† "By unadvised folkes."—1st edition.

‡ Record, Guildhall.

established ordinances (as William Standon and Robert Chicheley, late mayors, before had done), touching the guard and government of Ludgate and other prisons.

Also in the year 1463, the third of Edward IV., Mathew Philip, being mayor, in a common council, at the request of the well-disposed, blessed, and devout woman, Dame Agnes Forster, widow, late wife to Stephen Forster, fishmonger, sometime mayor, for the comfort and relief of all the poor prisoners, certain articles were established. Imprimis, that the new works then late edified by the same Dame Agnes, for the enlarging of the prison of Ludgate, from thenceforth should be had and taken as a part and parcel of the said prison of Ludgate; so that both the old and new work of Ludgate aforesaid be one prison, gaol keeping, and charge for evermore.

The said quadrant, strongly built of stone by the before-named Stephen Forster, and Agnes his wife, containeth a large walking-place by ground of thirty-eight feet and a half in length, besides the thickness of the walls, which are at the least six foot, makes all together forty-four feet and a half; the breadth within the walls is twenty-nine feet and a half, so that the thickness of the walls maketh it thirty-five feet and a half in breadth. The like room it hath over it for lodgings, and over it again fair leads to walk upon, well embattled, all for fresh air and ease of prisoners, to the end they should have lodging and water free without charge, as by certain verses graven in copper, and fixed on the said quadrant, I have read in form following :—

“Devout souls that pass this way,
For Stephen Forster, late mayor, heartily pray;
And Dame Agnes his spouse to God consecrate,
That of pity this house made for Londoners in Ludgate.
So that for lodging and water prisoners here nought pay,
As their keepers shall all answer at dreadful doomsday.”

This place, and one other of his arms, three broad arrow-heads, taken down with the old gate, I caused to be fixed over the entry of the said quadrant; but the verses being unhappily turned inward to the wall, procured the like in effect to be graven outward in prose, declaring him to be a fishmonger, because some upon a light occasion (as a maiden's head in a glass window) had fabled him to be a mercer, and to have begged there at Ludgate, &c. Thus much for Ludgate.

Next this is there a breach in the wall of the city, and a bridge of timber over the Fleet dike, betwixt Fleetbridge and Thames, directly over against the house of Bridewel. Thus much for gates in the wall.

Water-gates on the banks of the river Thames have been many, which being purchased by private men, are also put to private use, and the old names of them forgotten; but of such as remain, from the west towards the east, may be said as followeth :—

The Blacke-friars stairs, a free landing-place.

Then a water-gate at Puddle wharf, of one Puddle that kept a wharf on the west side thereof, and now of Puddle water, by means of many horses watered there.

Then Powle's wharf, also a free landing-place with stairs, &c.

Then Broken wharf, and other such like.

But, Ripa Regina, the Queene's bank, or Queene

hithe, may well be accounted the very chief and principal water-gate of this city, being a common strand or landing-place, yet equal with, and of old time far exceeding, Belins gate, as shall be shown in the ward of Queen hithe.

The next is Downe gate, so called of the sudden descending or down-going of that way from St. John's church upon Walbrooke unto the river of Thames, whereby the water in the channel there hath such a swift course, that in the year 1574, on the fourth of September, after a strong shower of rain, a lad, of the age of eighteen years, minding to have leapt over the channel, was taken by the feet, and borne down with the violence of that narrow stream, and carried toward the Thames with such a violent swiftness, as no man could rescue or stay him, till he came against a cart-wheel that stood in the water-gate, before which time he was drowned and stark dead.

This was sometime a large water-gate, frequented of ships and other vessels, like as the Queene hithe, and was a part thereof, as doth appear by an inquisition made in the 28th year of Henry III., wherein was found, that as well corn as fish, and all other things coming to the port of Downegate, were to be ordered after the customs of the Queene's hithe, for the king's use; as also that the corn arriving between the gate of the Guild hall of the merchants of Cullen (the Styleyard), which is east from Downegate, and the house then pertaining to the Archbishop of Canterbury, west from Baynarde's Castle, was to be measured by the measure, and measurer of the Queen's soke, or Queene hithe. I read also, in the 19th of Edward III., that customs were then to be paid for ships and other vessels resting at Downegate, as if they rode at Queene hithe, and as they now do at Belingsgate. And thus much for Downegate may suffice.

The next was called Wolfes gate*, in the ropery in the parish of Allhallowes the Lesse, of later time called Wolfes lane, but now out of use; for the lower part was built on by the Earle of Shrewsburie, and the other part was stopped up and built on by the chamberlain of London.

The next is Ebgate†, a water-gate, so called of old time, as appeareth by divers records of tenements near unto the same adjoining. It standeth near unto the church of St. Laurence Pountney, but is within the parish of St. Marten Ordegare. In place of this gate is now a narrow passage to the Thames, and is called Ebgate lane, but more commonly the Old Swan.

Then is there a water-gate at the bridge foot, called Oyster gate, of oysters that were there of old time, commonly to be sold, and was the chiefest market for them and for other shell-fishes. There standeth now an engine or forcier, for the winding up of water to serve the city, whereof I have already spoken.

BRIDGE GATE.

The next is the Bridge gate, so called of London Bridge, whereon it standeth. This was one of the four first and principal gates of the city, long before the Conquest, when there stood a bridge of timber, and is the seventh and last principal gate

* Liber Horne. Liber S. Alban.

† Liber Trinitat. Liber S. Alban. Record, E. 3.

mentioned by W. Fitzstephen; which gate being new * made, when the bridge was built of stone, hath been oftentimes since repaired. This gate, with the tower upon it, in the year 1436 fell down, and two of the farthest arches southwards also fell therewith, and no man perished or was hurt therewith. To the repairing whereof, divers wealthy citizens gave large sums of money; namely, Robert Large, sometime mayor, one hundred marks; Stephen Forster, twenty pounds; Sir John Crosbye, alderman, one hundred pounds, &c. But in the year 1471 †, the Kentish mariners, under the conduct of bastard Fauconbridge, burned the said gate and thirteen houses on the bridge, besides the Beer houses at St. Katherine's, and many others in the suburbs.

The next is Buttolph's gate, so called of the parish church of St. Buttolph, near adjoining. This gate was sometime given or confirmed by William Conqueror to the monks of Westminster in these words: "W. rex Anglie, &c. William, king of England, sendeth greeting to the sheriffes and all his ministers, as also to all his loving subjectes, French and English, of London: Know ye that I have granted to God and St. Peter of Westminster, and to the abbot Vitalis, the gift which Almundus of the port of S. Buttolph gave them, when he was there made monke: that is to say, his Lords court with the houses, and one wharf, which is at the head of London bridge, and all other his lands which he had in the same city, in such sort as King Edward more beneficially and amply granted the same; and I will and command that they shall enjoy the same well and quietly and honourably, with sake and soke, &c."

The next is Billingsgate, used as an especial port, or harbour, for small ships and boats coming thereto, and is now ‡ most frequented, the Queene's hithe being almost forsaken. How this gate took that name, or of what antiquity the same is, I must leave uncertain, as not having read any ancient record thereof, more than that Geoffrey Monmouth writeth, that Belin, a king of the Britons, about four hundred years before Christ's nativity, built this gate, and named it Belin's gate, after his own calling; and that when he was dead, his body being burnt, the ashes, in a vessel of brass, were set upon a high pinnacle of stone over the same gate. But Caesar and other Roman writers affirm, of cities, walls, and gates, as ye have before heard; and therefore it seemeth to me not to be so ancient, but rather to have taken that name of some later owner of the place, happily named Beling, or Biling, as Somar's key, Smart's key, Frosh wharf, and others, thereby took their names of their owners. Of this gate more shall be said when we come to Belin's gate ward.

Then have you a water-gate, on the west side of Wool wharf, or Customers' key §, which is commonly called the water gate, at the south end of Water lane.

One other water-gate there is by the bulwark of

the Tower, and this is the last and farthest water-gate eastward, on the river of Thames, so far as the city of London extendeth within the walls; both which last named water-gates be within the Tower ward.

Besides these common water-gates, were divers private wharfs and keys, all along from the east to the west of this city, on the bank of the river of Thames; merchants of all nations had landing-places, warehouses, cellars, and stowage of their goods and merchandizes, as partly shall be touched in the wards adjoining to the said river. Now, for the ordering and keeping these gates of this city in the night time, it was appointed in the year of Christ 1258, by Henry III., the 42d of his reign*, that the ports of England should be strongly kept, and that the gates † of London should be new repaired, and diligently kept in the night, for fear of French deceits, whereof one writeth these verses:

"Per noctem portæ clauduntur Londoniarum,
Mœnia ne forte fraus frangat Francigenarum."

OF TOWERS AND CASTLES.

"The city of London (saith Fitzstephen) hath in the east a very great and a most strong palatine Tower, whose turrets and walls do rise from a deep foundation, the mortar thereof being tempered with the blood of beasts. In the west part are two most strong castles, &c." To begin therefore with the most famous Tower of London, situate in the east, near unto the river of Thames: it hath been the common opinion, and some have written (but of none assured ground), that Julius Caesar, the first conqueror of the Britons, was the original author and founder, as well thereof as also of many other towers, castles, and great buildings within this realm; but (as I have already before noted) Caesar remained not here so long, nor had he in his head any such matter, but only to dispatch a conquest of this barbarous country, and to proceed to greater matters. Neither do the Roman writers make mention of any such buildings created by him here; and therefore leaving this, and proceeding to more grounded authority, I find in a fair register-book, containing the acts of the Bishops of Rochester, set down by Edmond de Hadenham, that William I., surnamed Conqueror, built the Tower of London; to wit, the great white and square tower there, about the year of Christ 1078, appointing Gundulph, then Bishop of Rochester, to be principal surveyor and overseer of that work, who was for that time lodged in the house of Edmere, a burgess of London; the very words of which mine author are these: "*Gundulphus Episcopus mandato Willielmi Regis magni præfuit operi magnæ Turris London. quo tempore hospitatus est apud quendam Edmerum Burgensem London. qui dedit unum were Ecclesie Rofen.*"

Ye have before heard that the wall of this city was all round about furnished with towers and bulwarks, in due distance every one from other; and also that the river Thames, with his ebbing and flowing, on the south side, had subverted the said

* "Weakly made."—1st edition, p. 36.

† W. Duntherne.

‡ "The largest water-gate on the river of Thames, and therefore most frequented."—1st edition, p. 36.

§ "Which is now of late most beautifully enlarged and built."—1st edition, p. 37.

* Matthew Paris.

† All these gates of the city have disappeared. Aldgate, Cripplegate, and Ludgate, were taken down in 1760. The materials of the former were sold for £177. 10s.; those of Cripplegate for £91; those of Ludgate for £148; the purchasers undertaking to remove the rubbish.

wall and towers there. Wherefore King William, for defence of this city, in place most dangerous, and open to the enemy, having taken down the second bulwark in the east part of the wall from the Thames, built this tower, which was the great square tower, now called the White Tower, and hath been since at divers times enlarged with other buildings adjoining, as shall be shown. This tower was by tempest of wind * sore shaken in the year 1090, the 4th of William Rufus, and was again by the said Rufus and Henry I. repaired. They also caused a castle to be built under the said tower, namely, on the south side towards the Thames, and also incastellated the same round about.

Henry Huntington, libro sexto, hath these words : " William Rufus challenged the investiture of prelates ; he pillaged and shaved the people with tribute, especially to spend about the Tower of London, and the great hall at Westminster."

Othowerus, Acolinillus, Otto, and Geoffrey Magnaville, Earl of Essex, were four the first constables of this Tower of London, by succession ; all which held by force a portion of land (that pertained to the priory of the Holy Trinitie within Aldgate) ; that is to say, East Smithfield, near unto the Tower, making thereof a vineyard †, and would not depart from it till the 2nd year of King Stephen, when the same was abridged and restored to the church. This said Geoffrey Magnaville was Earl of Essex, constable of the Tower, sheriff of London, Middlesex, Essex, and Hertfordshire, as appeareth by a charter of Maud the empress, dated 1141. He also fortified the Tower of London against King Stephen ; but the king took him in his court at St. Albones, and would not deliver him till he had rendered the Tower of London, with the castles of Walden and Plashey in Essex. In the year 1153 the Tower of London and the castle of Windsor were by the king delivered to Richard de Lucie, to be safely kept. In the year 1155, Thomas Becket being chancellor to Henry II., caused the Flemings to be banished out of England ‡, their castles lately built to be pulled down, and the Tower of London to be repaired.

About the year 1190, the 2nd of Richard I., William Longshampe, Bishop of Elie, Chancellor of England, for cause of dissension betwixt him and Earl John, the king's brother that was rebel, inclosed the tower and castle of London, with an outward wall of stone embattled, and also caused a deep ditch to be cast about the same, thinking (as I have said before) to have environed it with the river of Thames. By the making of this inclosure and ditch in East Smithfield, the church of the Holy Trinitie in London lost half a mark rent by the year, and the mill was removed that belonged to the poor brethren of the hospital of St. Katherine §, and to the church of the Holy Trinitie aforesaid, which was no small loss and discommodity to either part ; and the garden, which the king had hired of the brethren for six marks the year, for the most part was wasted and marred by the ditch. Recompense was often promised, but never performed, until King Edward coming after, gave to the brethren five marks and a half for that part

which the ditch had devoured, and the other part thereof without he yielded to them again, which they hold : and of the said rent of five marks and a half, they have a deed, by virtue whereof they are well paid to this day.

It is also to be noted, and cannot be denied, but that the said inclosure and ditch took the like or greater quantity of ground from the city within the wall ; namely, one of that part called the Tower Hill, besides breaking down of the city wall, from the White Tower to the first gate of the city, called the Postern ; yet have I not read of any quarrel made by the citizens, or recompense demanded by them for that matter, because all was done for good of the city's defence thereof, and to their good likings. But Matthew Paris writeth, that in the year 1239, King Henry III. fortified the Tower of London to another end ; wherefore the citizens, fearing lest that were done to their detriment, complained, and the king answered, that he had not done it to their hurt, but (saith he) I will from henceforth do as my brother doth, in building and fortifying castles, who beareth the name to be wiser than I am. It followed in the next year, saith mine author, the said noble buildings of the stone gate and bulwark, which the king had caused to be made by the Tower of London, on the west side thereof, were shaken as it had been with an earthquake, and fell down, which the king again commanded to be built in better sort than before, which was done ; and yet again, in the year 1247, the said wall and bulwarks that were newly built, wherein the king had bestowed more than twelve thousand marks, were irrecoverably thrown down, as afore ; for the which chance the citizens of London were nothing sorry, for they were threatened that the said wall and bulwarks were built, to the end that if any of them would contend for the liberties of the city, they might be imprisoned ; and that many might be laid in divers prisons, many lodgings were made that no one should speak with another : thus much Matthew Paris for this building. More of Henry III., his dealings against the citizens of London, we may read in the said author, in 1245, 1248, 1249, 1253, 1255, 1256, &c. But, concerning the said wall and bulwark ; the same was finished, though not in his time ; for I read that Edward I., in the second of his reign, commanded the treasurer and chamberlain of the Exchequer to deliver out of his treasury unto Miles of Andwarp two hundred marks, of the fines taken out of divers merchants or usurers of London, for so be the words of the record, towards the work of the ditch then new made, about the said bulwark, now called the Lion Tower. I find also recorded, that Henry III., in the 46th of his reign, wrote to Edward of Westminster, commanding him that he should buy certain perie plants, and set the same in the place without his Tower of London, within the wall of the said city, which of late he had caused to be inclosed with a mud wall, as may appear by this that followeth : the mayor and commonalty of London were fined for throwing down the said earthen wall against the Tower of London, the 9th of Edward II. Edward IV. in place thereof built a wall of brick. But now for the Lion Tower and lions in England, the original, as I have read, was thus,

Henry I. built his manor of Wodstock, with a

* W. Malmesbury, Matthew Paris, John London.

† Ex charta. ‡ Roger Wendover, John Bever.

§ " St. Katherine's mill stood where now is the Iron Gate of the Tower."—Stow.

park, which he walled about with stone, seven miles in compass, destroying for the same divers villages, churches, and chapels; and this was the first park in England. He placed therein, besides great store of deer, divers strange beasts to be kept and nourished, such as were brought to him from far countries, as lions, leopards, lincies, porpentine*, and such other. More I read, that in the year 1235, Frederick the emperor sent to Henry III. three leopards, in token of his regal shield of arms, wherein three leopards were pictured; since the which time those lions and others have been kept in a part of this bulwark, now called the Lion Tower, and their keepers there lodged. King Edward II., in the 12th of his reign, commanded the sheriffs of London to pay to the keepers of the king's leopard in the Tower of London sixpence the day for the sustenance of the leopard, and three-halfpence a day for diet of the said keeper, out of the fee farm of the said city. More, in the 16th of Edward III., one lion, one lioness, one leopard, and two cat lions, in the said Tower, were committed to the custody of Robert, the son of John Bowre.

Edward IV. fortified the Tower of London, and inclosed with brick, as is aforesaid, a certain piece of ground, taken out of the Tower Hill, west from the Lion Tower, now called the bulwark. His officers also, in the 5th of his reign, set upon the said hill both scaffold and gallows, for the execution of offenders; whereupon the mayor and his brethren complained to the king, and were answered that the same was not done in derogation of the city's liberties, and thereof caused proclamation to be made, &c., as shall be shown in Tower street.

Richard III. repaired and built in this tower somewhat. Henry VIII., in 1532, repaired the White Tower, and other parts thereof. In the year 1548, the 2nd of Edward VI., on the 22nd of November, in the night, a Frenchman lodged in the round bulwark, betwixt the west gate and the postern, or drawbridge, called the warders' gate, by setting fire on a barrel of gunpowder, blew up the said bulwark, burnt himself, and no more persons. This bulwark was forthwith again new built.

And here, because I have by occasion spoken of the west gate of this tower the same, as the most principal, is used for the receipt and delivery of all kinds of carriages, without the which gate divers bulwarks and gates, towards the north, &c. Then near within this west gate, opening to the south, is a strong postern for passengers by the ward-house, over a drawbridge let down for that purpose. Next on the same south side, toward the east, is a large water-gate, for receipt of boats and small vessels, partly under a stone bridge from the river of Thames. Beyond it is a small postern, with a drawbridge, seldom let down but for the receipt of some great persons, prisoners. Then towards the east is a great and strong gate, commonly called the Iron gate, but not usually opened. And thus much for the foundation, building, and repairing of this tower, with the gates and posterns, may suffice. And now somewhat of accidents in the same shall be shown.

In the year 1196, William Fitzosbert, a citizen of London, seditiously moving the common people to seek liberty, and not to be subject to the rich

and more mighty, at length was taken and brought before the Archbishop of Canterbury in the Tower, where he was by the judges condemned, and by the heels drawn thence to the Elms in Smithfield, and there hanged.

In 1214, King John* wrote to Geoffrey Magnaville to deliver the Tower of London, with the prisoners, armour, and all other things found therein belonging to the king, to William, archdeacon of Huntingdon. In the year 1216, the 1st of Henry III., the said Tower was delivered to Lewis of France and the barons of England†.

In the year 1206 pleas of the crown were pleaded in the Tower; likewise in the year 1220, and likewise in the year 1224, and again in the year 1243, before William of Yorke, Richard Passelew, Henry Brahe, Jerome of Saxton, justices.

In the year 1222, the citizens of London having made a tumult against the abbot of Westminster, Hubert of Burge, chief justice of England, came to the Tower of London, called before him the mayor and aldermen, of whom he inquired for the principal authors of that sedition; amongst whom one, named Constantine Fitz Aelulfe, avowed that he was the man, and had done much less than he ought to have done: whereupon the justice sent him with two other to Falks de Brent, who with armed men brought them to the gallows, where they were hanged.

In the year 1244, Griffith, the eldest son of Leoline, Prince of Wales, being kept prisoner in the Tower, devised means of escape, and having in the night made of the hangings, sheets, &c. a long line, he put himself down from the top of the Tower, but in the sliding, the weight of his body, being a very big and a fat man, brake the rope, and he fell and brake his neck withall.

In the year 1253, King Henry III. imprisoned the sheriffs of London in the Tower more than a month, for the escape of a prisoner out of Newgate, as you may read in the chapter of Gates.

In the year 1260, King Henry, with his queen (for fear of the barons), were lodged in the Tower. The next year he sent for his lords, and held his parliament there.

In the year 1263, when the queen would have removed from the Tower by water towards Windsor, sundry Londoners got them together to the bridge, under the which she was to pass, and not only cried out upon her with reproachful words, but also threw mire and stones at her, by which she was constrained to return for the time; but in the year 1265, the said citizens were fain to submit themselves to the king for it, and the mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs were sent to divers prisons, and a custos also was set over the city; to wit, Othon, constable of the Tower, &c.

In the year 1282, Leoline, prince of Wales, being taken at Bewlth castle, Roger Lestrangle cut off his head, which Sir Roger Mortimer caused to be crowned with ivy, and set it upon the Tower of London.

In the year 1290, divers justices, as well of the bench as of the assizes, were sent prisoners to the Tower, which with great sums of money redeemed their liberty. Edward II., the 14th of his reign,

* Lynxes, porcupines.

* Patent, the 15th of King John.

† Matthew Paris.

appointed for prisoners in the Tower, a knight two-pence the day, an esquire one penny the day, to serve for their diet.

In the year 1320, the king's justices sat in the Tower, for trial of matters; whereupon John Gifors, late mayor of London, and many others, fled the city, for fear to be charged of things they had presumptuously done.

In the year 1321, the Mortimers yielding themselves to the king, he sent them prisoners to the Tower, where they remained long, and were adjudged to be drawn and hanged. But at length Roger Mortimer, of Wigmore, by giving to his keepers a sleepy drink, escaped out of the Tower, and his uncle Roger, being still kept there, died about five years after.

In the year 1326, the citizens of London won the Tower, wresting the keys out of the constable's hands, delivered all the prisoners, and kept both city and Tower to the use of Isabel the queen, and Edward her son.

In the year 1330, Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, was taken and brought to the Tower, from whence he was brought to the Elms, and there hanged.

In the year 1344, King Edward III., in the 18th of his reign, commanded florences of gold to be made and coined in the Tower; that is to say, a penny piece of the value of five shillings and eight pence, the halfpenny piece of the value of three shillings and four pence, and a farthing piece worth twenty pence; Percevall de Port of Lake being then master of the coin. And this is the first coining of gold in the Tower, whereof I have read, and also the first coinage of gold in England. I find also recorded, that the said king in the same year ordained his exchange of money to be kept in Serne's Tower, a part of the king's house in Bucklebury. And here to digress a little (by occasion offered), I find that, in times before passed, all great sums were paid by weight of gold or silver, as so many pounds or marks of silver, or so many pounds or marks of gold, cut into blanks, and not stamped, as I could prove by many good authorities which I overpass. The smaller sums also were paid in starlings, which were pence so called, for other coins they had none. The antiquity of this starling penny usual in this realm is from the reign of Henry II., notwithstanding the Saxon coins before the Conquest were pence of fine silver the full weight, and somewhat better than the latter starlings, as I have tried by conference of the pence of Burghrede, king of Mercia, Aelfred, Edward, and Edred, kings of the West Saxons, Plegmond, Archbishop of Canterbury, and others. William the Conqueror's penny also was fine silver of the weight of the easterling, and had on the one side stamped an armed head, with a beardless face—for the Normans wore no beards*—with a sceptre in his

hand. The inscription in the circumference was this: "Le Rei Wilam *;" on the other side, a cross double to the ring, between four rowals of six points.

King Henry I. his penny was of the like weight, fineness, form of face, cross, &c.

This Henry, in the 8th year of his reign, ordained the penny, which was round, so to be quartered by the cross, that they might easily be broken into halfpence and farthings†. In the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 5th of King Richard I. his reign, and afterwards, I find commonly easterling money mentioned, and yet oftentimes the same is called argente, as afore, and not otherwise.

The first great sum that I read of to be paid in easterlings was in the reign of Richard I., when Robert, Earl of Leicester, being prisoner in France, proffered for his ransom a thousand marks easterlings, notwithstanding the easterling pence were long before. The weight of the easterling penny may appear by divers statutes, namely, of weights and measures, made in the 51st of Henry III. in these words: "Thirty two graines of wheat, drie and round, taken in the midst of the eare, shoulde be the weight of a starling penie, 20 of those pence should waye one ounce, 12 ounces a pound Troy." It followeth in the statute eight pound to make a gallon of wine, and eight gallons a bushel of London measure, &c. Notwithstanding which statute, I find, in the 8th of Edward I., Gregorie Rokesley, mayor of London, being chief master or minister of the King's Exchange, or mintes, a new coin being then appointed‡, the pound of easterling money should contain as afore twelve ounces; to wit, fine silver, such as was then made into foil, and was commonly called silver of Guthurons lane §, eleven ounces, two easterlings, and one ferling or farthing, and the other seventeen pence ob. q. ¶ to be alloy. Also, the pound of money ought to weigh twenty shillings and three-pence by account; so that no pound ought to be over twenty shillings and three-pence, nor less than twenty shillings and two-pence by account; the ounce to weigh twenty pence, the penny weight twenty-four grains (which twenty-four by weight then appointed were as much as the former thirty-two grains of wheat), a penny force twenty-five grains and a half, the penny debble or feeble twenty-two grains and a half, &c. ¶

Now for the penny easterling, how it took that name I think good briefly to touch. It hath been said, that Numa Pompilius, the second king of the Romans, commanded money first to be made, of whose name they were called *nummi*; and when

a contemporary, and destined to ornament the cathedral of Bayeux, the bishop of which was a brother of the Conqueror.

* W. Malmesbury.

† Roger Hoveden.

‡ The great recoigne here referred to by Stow was perhaps the largest ever known up to the reign of William and Mary. The indenture with William de Turnire is extant in the *Liber Rubens*.

§ Guthuron's lane, now Gutter lane, leading out of Cheap-side, was a small lane, formerly tenanted by goldsmiths; the person who gave his name to the lane, was evidently of Saxon or Danish origin.

¶ That is, seventeen pence halfpenny farthing to be alloy.

¶ By the terms *force* and *deble*, it is presumed the maximum and minimum weights are intended.

* The reader will probably remember, that the spies sent by Harold into the camp of William reported that his army contained more priests than soldiers, an error into which they had been led by the beardless faces and close-cut hair of the Norman soldiery.—See *Roman de Rou*, tome ii. 174: *Matt. Paris*, p. 2, Wats' ed. This distinction in the personal appearance of the Norman and Saxon hosts is well preserved in the celebrated Bayeux Tapestry, which, in the opinion of M. Prevost, a distinguished member of the Society of Antiquaries of Rouen, was most unquestionably the work of

copper pence, silver pence, and gold pence, were made, because every silver penny was worth ten copper pence, and every gold penny worth ten silver pence, the pence therefore were called in Latin, denarii, and oftentimes the pence are named of the matter and stuff of gold or silver. But the money of England was called of the workers and makers thereof ; as the florin of gold is called of the Florentines, that were the workers thereof, and so the easterling pence took their name of the Easterlings which did first make this money in England, in the reign of Henry II.

Thus have I set down according to my reading in antiquity of money matters, omitting the imaginations of late writers, of whom some have said easterling money to take that name of a star, stamped in the border or ring of the penny ; other some of a bird called a star or starling stamped in the circumference ; and other (more unlikely) of being coined at Strivelin or Starling, a town in Scotland, &c.

Now concerning halfpence and farthings, the account of which is more subtle than the pence, I need not speak of them more than that they were only made in the Exchange at London, and nowhere else : first appointed to be made by Edward I. in the 8th of his reign ; and also at the same time the said king coined some few groats of silver, but they were not usual. The king's Exchange at London was near unto the cathedral church of St. Paul, and is to this day commonly called the Old Change, but in evidences the Old Exchange.

The king's exchanger in this place was to deliver out to every other exchanger throughout England, or other the king's dominions, their coining irons, that is to say, one standard or staple, and two trussels or punchons ; and when the same was spent and worn, to receive them with an account what sum had been coined, and also their pix or bore of assay, and deliver other irons new graven, &c. I find that in the 9th of King John, there was besides the mint at London, other mints at Winchester, Excester, Chichester, Canterburie, Rochester, Ipswich, Norwich, Linne, Lincoln, York, Carleil, Northampton, Oxford, St. Edmondsbury, and Durham. The exchanger, examiner, and trier, buyeth the silver for coinage, answering for every hundred pounds of silver bought in bulion or otherwise, ninety-eight pounds fifteen shillings, for he taketh twenty-five shillings for coinage.

King Edward I., in the 27th of his reign, held a parliament at Stebenheth, in the house of Henry Wales, mayor of London, wherein amongst other things there handled, the transporting of sterling money was forbidden.

In the year 1351, William Edington, bishop of Winchester, and treasurer of England, a wise man, but loving the king's commodity more than the wealth of the whole realm, and common people, (saith mine author *) caused a new coin, called a groat, and a half-groat, to be coined and stamped, the groat to be taken for four pence, and the half-groat for two pence, not containing in weight according to the pence called easterlings, but much less, to wit, by five shillings in the pound ; by reason whereof, victuals and merchandizes became the dearer through the whole realm. About the same

time also, the old coin of gold was changed into a new ; but the old florin or noble, then so called, was worth much above the taxed rate of the new, and therefore the merchants engrossed up the old, and conveyed them out of the realm, to the great loss of the kingdom. Wherefore a remedy was provided by changing of the stamp.

In the year 1411, King Henry IV. caused a new coin of nobles to be made, of less value than the old by four pence in the noble, so that fifty nobles should be a pound troy weight.

In the year 1421 was granted to Henry V. a fifteenth, to be paid at Candlemas and at Martinmas, of such money as was then current, gold or silver, not overmuch clipped or washed ; to wit, that if the noble were worth five shillings and eight pence, then the king should take it for a full noble of six shillings and eight pence, and if it were less of value than five shillings and eight pence, then the person paying that gold to make it good to the value of five shillings and eight pence, the king always receiving it for a whole noble of six shillings and eight pence. And if the noble so paid be better than five shillings and eight pence, the king to pay again the surplussage that it was better than five shillings and eight pence. Also this year was such scarcity of white money, that though a noble were so good of gold and weight as six shillings and eight pence, men might get no white money for them.

In the year 1465, King Edward IV. caused a new coin both of gold and silver to be made, whereby he gained much ; for he made of an old noble a royal, which he commanded to go for ten shillings. Nevertheless, to the same royal was put eight pence of alloy, and so weighed the more, being smitten with a new stamp, to wit, a rose. He likewise made half-angels of five shillings, and farthings of two shillings and sixpence, angelets of six shillings and eight pence, and half-angels of three shillings and four pence. He made silver money of three pence, a groat, and so of other coins after that rate, to the great harm of the commons. W. Lord Hastings, the king's chamberlain, being master of the king's mints, undertook to make the monies under form following, to wit,—of gold, a piece of eight shillings and four pence sterling, which should be called a noble of gold, of the which there should be fifty such pieces in the pound weight of the Tower ; another piece of gold of four shillings and two pence sterling, and to be of them an hundred such pieces in the pound ; and a third piece of gold, of two shillings and one penny sterling, two hundred such pieces in the pound ; every pound weight of the Tower to be worth twenty pounds, sixteen shillings, and eight pence, the which should be twenty-three carats, three grains and a half fine, &c., and for silver, thirty-seven shillings and six pence ; the piece of four pence to be one hundred and twelve groats and two pence in the pound weight.

In the year 1504, King Henry VII. appointed a new coin, to wit, a groat, and half-groat, which bare but half faces ; the same time also was coined a groat, which was in value twelve pence, but of those but a few, after the rate of forty pence the ounce.

In the year 1526, the 18th of Henry VIII., the angel noble being then the sixth part of an ounce

* Thomas Walsingham.

troy, so that six angels were just an ounce, which was forty shillings sterling, and the angel was also worth two ounces of silver, so that six angels were worth twelve ounces of silver, which was forty shillings. A proclamation was made on the sixth of September, that the angel should go for seven shillings and four pence, the royal for eleven shillings, and the crown for four shillings and four pence. And on the fifth of November following, again by proclamation, the angel was enhanced to seven shillings and sixpence, and so every ounce of gold to be forty-five shillings, and the ounce of silver at three shillings and nine pence in value.

In the year 1544, the 35th of Henry VIII., on the 16th of May, proclamation was made for the enhancing of gold to forty-eight shillings, and silver to four shillings the ounce. Also the king caused to be coined base moneys, to wit, pieces of twelve pence, six pence, four pence, two pence, and a penny, in weight as the late sterling, in show good silver, but inwardly copper. These pieces had whole, or broad faces, and continued current after that rate till the 5th of Edward VI., when they were on the 9th of July called down, the shilling to nine pence, the groat to three pence, &c. and on the 17th of August from nine pence to six pence, &c. And on the 30th of October was published new coins of silver and gold to be made, a piece of silver five shillings sterling, a piece of two shillings and five pence, of twelve pence, of six pence, a penny with a double rose, half-penny a single rose, and a farthing with a portolose. Coins of fine gold : a whole sovereign of thirty shillings, an angel of ten shillings, an angelet of five shillings. Of crown gold : a sovereign twenty shillings, half-sovereign ten shillings, five shillings, two shillings and six pence, and base moneys to pass as before, which continued till the 2nd of Queen Elizabeth, then called to a lower rate, taken to the mint, and refined, the silver whereof being coined with a new stamp of her majesty, the dross was carried to foul high ways, to heighten them. This base money, for the time, caused the old sterling moneys to be hoarded up, so that I have seen twenty-one shillings current given for one old angel to gild withal. Also rents of lands and tenements, with prices of victuals, were raised far beyond the former rates, hardly since to be brought down. Thus much for base moneys coined and current in England have I known. But for leather moneys, as many people have fondly talked, I find no such matter*. I read †, that King John of France, being taken prisoner by Edward the Black Prince at the battle of Poitiers, paid a ransom of three millions of florences, whereby he brought the realm into such poverty, that many years after they used leather money, with a little stud or nail of silver in the middle

thereof. Thus much for mint* and coinage, by occasion of this Tower (under correction of others more skillful) may suffice. And now to other accidents there.

In the year 1360, the peace between England and France being confirmed, King Edward came over into England, and straight to the Tower, to see the French king then prisoner there, whose ransom he assessed at three millions of florences, and so delivered him from prison, and brought him with honour to the sea.

In the year 1381, the rebels of Kent drew out of the Tower (where the king was then lodged) Simon Sudberie, archbishop of Canterbury, lord chancellor, Robert Hales, prior of St. John's, and treasurer of England, William Appleton, friar, the king's confessor, and John Legg, a sergeant of the king's, and beheaded them on the Tower hill, &c.

In the year 1387, King Richard held his feast of Christmas in the Tower. And in the year 1399, the same king was sent prisoner to the Tower.

In the year 1414, Sir John Oldcastell brake out of the Tower. And the same year, a parliament being holden at Leycester, a porter of the Tower was drawn, hanged, and headed, whose head was sent up, and set over the Tower gate, for consenting to one Whitlooke, that brake out of the Tower.

In the year 1419, Friar Randolph was sent to the Tower, and was there slain by the parson of St. Peter's in the Tower.

In the year 1428, there came to London a lewd fellow, feigning himself to be sent from the Emperor to the young King Henry VI., calling himself Baron of Blakamoore, and that he should be the principal physician in this kingdom ; but his subtlety being known, he was apprehended, condemned, drawn, hanged, headed, and quartered, his head set on the Tower of London, and his quarters on four gates of the city.

In the year 1458, in Whitsun week, the Duke of Somerset, with Anthonic Rivers, and other four, kept jousts before the queen in the Tower of London, against three esquires of the queen's, and others.

In the year 1465, King Henry VI. was brought prisoner to the Tower, where he remained long.

In the year 1470, the Tower was yielded to Sir Richard Lee, mayor of London, and his brethren the aldermen, who forthwith entered the same, delivered King Henry of his imprisonment, and lodged him in the king's lodging there ; but the next year he was again sent thither prisoner, and there murdered †.

* The mint remained in the Tower until the commencement of the present century. The subject of the coinage, &c. having attracted the attention of the legislature, a Commission was issued by the King on the 7th of Feb. 1798, "To take into consideration the state of the coins of this kingdom, and the present establishment and constitution of His Majesty's mint." About 1806, in consequence of this commission, and the military departments in the Tower having greatly encroached upon the buildings originally appropriated to coining, the Government directed the erection of the present mint upon Tower hill. Sir Robert Smirke was the architect employed, and the work was completed in 1811, at an expense, including the machinery, of upwards of two hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

† The death of Henry VI.—respecting which Fabian says, "diverse tales were tolde; but the most common fame

* A brief, but lucid and very accurate sketch of the history of our early coinage, will be found in the third section of Akerman's valuable *Numismatic Manual*, where we read (p. 265), "Ruding, in this place (*Annals*, vol. i. p. 397), thinks the statement of an old writer respecting a leather coinage worthy of notice. The author in question says that Edward I. had coins 'bearing his name, stamp, and picture, which he used in the building of Carnarvon castle, to spare better bullion.' These pieces, if really issued, must, as Ruding observes, be considered as counters or tokens."

† Philip Comines.

In the year 1478, George Duke of Clarence was drowned with malmsey in the Tower; and within five years after King Edward V., with his brother, were said to be murdered there.

In the year 1485, John Earl of Oxford was made constable of the Tower, and had custody of the lions granted him*.

In the year 1501, in the month of May, was a royal tourney of lords and knights in the Tower of London before the king.

In the year 1502, Queen Elizabeth, wife to Henry VII., died of childbirth in the Tower.

In the year 1512, the chapel in the high White Tower was burnt. In the year 1536 Queen Anne Bullen was beheaded in the Tower. 1541, Lady Katherine Howard, wife to King Henry VIII., was also beheaded there.

In the year 1546, the 27th of April, being Tuesday in Easter week, William Foxley, potmaker for the Mint in the Tower of London, fell asleep, and so continued sleeping, and could not be wakened with pricking, cramping, or otherwise, burning whatsoever, until the first day of the term, which was full fourteen days and fifteen nights, or more, for that Easter term beginneth not before seventeen days after Easter. The cause of his thus sleeping could not be known, though the same was diligently searched after by the king's physicians, and other learned men; yea, the king himself examining the said William Foxley, who was in all points found at his awakening to be as if he had slept but one night. And he lived more than forty years after in the said Tower, to wit, until the year of Christ 1587, and then deceased on Wednesday in Easter week.

Thus much for these accidents: and now to conclude thereof in summary. This Tower is a citadel to defend or command the city; a royal palace for assemblies or treaties; a prison of state for the most dangerous offenders; the only place of coinage for all England at this time; the armoury for warlike provision; the treasury of the ornaments and jewels of the crown; and general conservator of the most records of the king's courts of justice at Westminster†.

TOWER ON LONDON BRIDGE.

THE next tower on the river of Thames is on London bridge, at the north end of the drawbridge.

wente, that he was stykked with a dagger by the handes of the Duke of Gloucester,"—is one of those obscure events, the truth of which cannot fail to become matter of dispute.

The Editors of *The Restoration of Edward the Fourth*, and of *Warkworth's Chronicle*, published by the Camden Society, have in the notes to their respective works collected, as far as possible, all the contemporary statements connected with this event. And here it may be well to notice, that the former of these documents is printed from a transcript made by Stow, now among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum.

* Patent, 1st of Henry VII.

† A very ample description of the Tower, viewed under these several aspects, and including interesting notices of the most remarkable personages who have ever sojourned within its walls, is contained in Mr. Bayley's *History and Antiquities of the Tower of London*. While in the first volume of the *Vetusta Monumenta*, published by the Society of Antiquaries, will be found "A Plan of the Tower Liberties," from a survey made under the direction of Sir John

This tower was newly begun to be built in the year 1426. John Reynwell, mayor of London, laid one of the first corner stones in the foundation of this work, the other three were laid by the sheriffs and bridgemasters; upon every of these four stones was engraven in fair roman letters the name of "Ihesus." And these stones I have seen laid in the bridge storehouse since they were taken up, when that tower was of late newly made of timber. This gate and tower was at the first strongly built up of stone, and so continued until the year 1577, in the month of April, when the same stone arched gate and tower being decayed, was begun to be taken down, and then were the heads of the traitors removed thence, and set on the tower over the gate at the bridge-foot towards Southwark. This said tower being taken down, a new foundation was drawn, and Sir John Langley, lord mayor, laid the first stone in the presence of the sheriffs and bridge masters, on the 28th of August; and in the month of September, in the year 1579, the same tower was finished—a beautiful and chargeable piece of work, all above the bridge being of timber.

TOWER ON THE SOUTH OF LONDON BRIDGE.

ANOTHER tower there is on London bridge, to wit, over the gate at the south end of the same bridge towards Southwark. This gate, with the tower thereupon, and two arches of the bridge, fell down, and no man perished by the fall thereof, in the year 1436*; towards the new building whereof divers charitable citizens gave large sums of money; which gate, being then again newly built, was, with seventeen houses more on the bridge, in the year 1471 burnt by the mariners and sailors of Kent, Bastard Fauconbridge being their captain.

BAYNARD'S CASTLE.

In the west of this city (saith Fitzstephen) are two most strong castles, &c. Also Gervasius Tilbury†, in the reign of Henry II., writing of these castles, hath to this effect:—"Two castels," saith he, "are built with walles and rampires, whereof one is, in right of possession, Baynardes; the other the Barons of Mountfichet." The first of these castles, banking on the river Thames, was called Baynard's Castle, of Baynard a nobleman, that came in with the Conqueror, and then built it, and deceased in the reign of William Rufus; after whose decease Geoffrey Baynard succeeded, and then William Baynard, in the year 1111, who by forfeiture for felony, lost his barony of Little Dunmow, and King Henry gave it wholly to Robert, the son of Richard, the son of Gildard of Clare, and to his heirs, together with the honour of Baynard's Castle. This Robert married Maude de Sent Licio, lady of Bradham, and deceased 1134; was buried at St. Needes by Gilbert of Clare, his father. Walter his son succeeded him; he took to wife Matilde de Bocham, and after her decease, Matilde, the daughter and co-heir of Richard de Lucy, on whom he

Peyton, the then governor, in 1597, the very year preceding that in which Stow published the first edition of the present work.

* W. Dunthorne.

† Fitzstephen, Gerv. Tilbury.

begat Robert and other : he deceased in the year 1193, and was buried at Dunmow ; after whom succeeded Robert Fitzwalter, a valiant knight.

About the year 1213 there arose a great discord between King John and his barons, because Matilda, surnamed the Fair, daughter to the said Robert Fitzwalter, whom the king unlawfully loved, but could not obtain her, nor her father would consent thereunto, whereupon, and for other like causes, ensued war through the whole realm. The barons were received into London, where they greatly endamaged the king ; but in the end the king did not only therefore banish the said Fitzwalter, amongst other, out of the realm, but also caused his castle called Baynard, and other his houses, to be spoiled ; which thing being done, a messenger being sent unto Matilda the Fair about the king's suit, whereunto she would not consent, she was poisoned * ; Robert Fitzwalter, and other, being then passed into France, and some into Scotland, &c.†

It happened in the year 1214, King John being then in France with a great army, that a truce was taken betwixt the two kings of England and France for the term of five years ; and a river, or arm of the sea, being then between either host, there was a knight in the English host, that cried to them of the other side, willing some one of their knights to come and joust a course or twain with him ; whereupon, without stay, Robert Fitzwalter, being on the French part, made himself ready, ferried over, and got on horseback, without any man to help him, and showed himself ready to the face of his challenger, whom at the first course he struck so hard with his great spear, that horse and man fell to the ground ; and when his spear was broken he went back to the King of France ; which when the king had seen, " By God's tooth," quoth he, (after his usual oath,) " he were a king indeed that had such a knight." The friends of Robert, hearing these words, kneeled down, and said :—" O king, he is your knight ; it is Robert Fitzwalter." And thereupon, the next day he was sent for, and restored to the king's favour ; by which means peace was concluded, and he received his livings, and had license to repair his castle of Baynard, and other castles.

The year 1216, the 1st of Henry III., the castle of Hartford being delivered to Lewis the French prince, and the barons of England, Robert Fitzwalter requiring to have the same, because the keeping thereof did by ancient right and title pertain to him, was answered by Lewis, " that Englishmen were not worthy to have such holds in keeping, because they did betray their own lord," &c. This Robert deceased in the year 1234, and was buried at Dunmow, and Walter his son that succeeded him. 1258, his barony of Baynard, was in the ward of King Henry, in the nonage of Robert Fitzwalter. This Robert took to his second wife, Ælianor, daughter and heir to the Earl of Ferrars, in the year 1289 ; and in the year 1303, on the 12th of March, before John Blondon, mayor of London, he acknowledged his service to the same city, and sware upon the Evangelists, that he would be true to the liberties thereof, and maintain

the same to his power, and the counsel of the same to keep, &c.

THE RIGHTS THAT BELONGED TO ROBERT FITZWALTER, CHASTALIAN OF LONDON, LORD OF WODEHAM, WERE THESE :—

THE said Robert, and his heirs, ought to be, and are chief bannerers of London, in fee of the chastalarie, which he and his ancestors had by Castle Baynard, in the said city. In time of war the said Robert, and his heirs, ought to serve the city in manner as followeth : that is, The said Robert ought to come, he being the twentieth man of arms on horseback, covered with cloth, or armour, unto the great west door of St. Paul, with his banner displayed before him of his arms ; and when he is come to the said door, mounted and apparelled, as before is said, the mayor with his aldermen and sheriffs armed in their arms, shall come out of the said church of St. Paul, unto the said door, with a banner in his hand, all on foot, which banner shall be gules, with the image of St. Paul, gold, the face, hands, feet, and sword, of silver ; and as soon as the said Robert shall see the mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs, come on foot out of the church, armed with such a banner, he shall alight from his horse, and salute the mayor, and say to him,—“ Sir mayor, I am come to do my service, which I owe to the city.” And the mayor and aldermen shall answer,—“ We give to you, as our bannerer of fee in this city, this banner of this city to bear, and govern to the honour and profit of the city to our power.” And the said Robert and his heirs shall receive the banner in his hands, and shall go on foot out of the gate with the banner in his hands ; and the mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs, shall follow to the door, and shall bring a horse to the said Robert worth twenty pounds, which horse shall be saddled with a saddle of the arms of the said Robert, and shall be covered with sandals of the said arms. Also they shall present to him twenty pounds sterling money, and deliver it to the chamberlain of the said Robert for his expenses that day. Then the said Robert shall mount upon the horse which the mayor presented to him, with the banner in his hand, and as soon as he is up, he shall say to the mayor, that he cause a marshal to be chosen for the host, one of the city ; which marshal being chosen, the said Robert shall command the mayor and burgesses of the city to warn the commoners to assemble together, and they shall all go under the banner of St. Paul, and the said Robert shall bear it himself unto Aldgate, and there the said Robert and mayor shall deliver the said banner of St. Paul from thence, to whom they shall assent or think good. And if they must make any issue forth of the city, then the said Robert ought to choose two forth of every ward, the most sage personages, to foresee to the safe keeping of the city after they be gone forth. And this counsel shall be taken in the priory of the Trinity near unto Aldgate. And before every town or castle which the host of London besiege, if the siege continue a whole year, the said Robert shall have for every siege of the commonalty of London an hundred shillings for his travail, and no more. These be the rights that the said Robert hath in the time of war.—Rights belonging to Robert Fitzwalter, and

* “ Virginitie defended with the losse of worldly goods, and life of the bodie, for life of the soule.”—Stow.

† Lib. Dunmow.

to his heirs in the city of London, in the time of peace, are these : that is to say, the said Robert hath a soken or ward in the city, that is, a wall of the canoury of St. Paul, as a man goeth down the street before the brewhouse of St. Paul unto the Thames, and so to the side of the mill, which is in the water that cometh down from the Fleet bridge, and goeth so by London walls, betwixt the Friars preachers and Ludgate, and so returneth back by the house of the said Friars unto the said wall of the said canoury of St. Paul, that is, all the parish of St. Andrew, which is in the gift of his ancestors by the said seigniority. And so the said Robert hath appendant unto the said soken all these things underwritten,—that he ought to have a soken man, and to place what sokeman he will, so he be of the sokemau, or the same ward ; and if any of the sokemau be impleaded in the Guildhall, of any thing that toucheth not the body of the mayor that for the time is, or that toucheth the body of no sheriff, it is not lawful for the sokeman of the sokemau of the said Robert Fitzwalter to demand a court of the said Robert, and the mayor, and his citizens of London, ought to grant him to have a court, and in his court he ought to bring his judgments, as it is assented and agreed upon in this Guildhall, that shall be given them. If any, therefore, be taken in his sokenly, he ought to have his stocks and imprisonment in his soken ; and he shall be brought from thence to the Guildhall before the mayor, and there they shall provide him his judgment that ought to be given of him ; but his judgment shall not be published till he come into the court of the said Robert, and in his liberty. And the judgment shall be such, that if he have deserved death by treason, he to be tied to a post in the Thames at a good wharf where boats are fastened, two ebbings and two flowings of the water *. And if he be condemned for a common thief, he ought to be led to the Elms, and there suffer his judgment as other thieves. And so the said Robert and his heirs hath honour that he holdeth a great franchise within the city, that the mayor of the city and citizens are bound to do him of right, that is to say, that when the mayor will hold a great council, he ought to call the said Robert, and his heirs, to be with him in council of the city, and the said Robert ought to be sworn to be of council with the city against all people, saving the king and his heirs. And when the said Robert cometh to the hustings in the Guildhall of the city, the mayor, or his lieutenant, ought to rise against him, and set him down near unto him ; and so long as he is in the Guildhall, all the judgment ought to be given by his mouth,

according to the record of the recorders of the said Guildhall ; and so many waives as come so long as he is there, he ought to give them to the bailiffs of the town, or to whom he will, by the counsel of the mayor of the city. These be the franchises that belonged to Robert Fitzwalter in London, in time of peace ; which for the antiquity thereof I have noted out of an old record.

This Robert deceased in the year 1305, leaving issue Walter Fitzrobert, who had issue Robert Fitzwalter, unto whom, in the year 1320, the citizens of London acknowledged the right which they ought to him and his heirs for the Castle Baynard ; he deceased 1325 ; unto whom succeeded Robert Fitzrobert, Fitzwalter, &c. More of the Lord Fitzwalter may ye read in my Annals in 51st of Edward III. But how this honour of Baynard's castle, with the appurtenances, fell from the possession of the Fitzwalters, I have not read ; only I find, that in the year 1428, the 7th of Henry VI., a great fire was at Baynard's castle, and that same Humfrey, Duke of Gloucester, built it of new. By his death and attainder, in the year 1446, it came to the hands of Henry VI., and from him to Richard, Duke of York, of whom we read, that in the year 1457 he lodged there, as in his own house. In the year 1460, the 23th of February, the Earls of March and of Warwick, with a great power of men, but few of name, entered the city of London, where they were of the citizens joyously received ; and upon the 3rd of March, being Sunday, the said earl caused to be mustered his people in St. John's field ; where unto that host was showed and proclaimed certain articles and points wherein King Henry, as they said, had offended ; and thereupon, it was demanded of the said people, whether the said Henry was worthy to reign as king any longer or not : whereunto the people cried Nay. Then it was asked of them, whether they would have the Earl of March for their king ; and they cried, Yea, Yea. Whereupon, certain captains were appointed to bear report thereof unto the said Earl of March, then being lodged at his castle of Baynard. Whereof when the earl was by them advertised, he thanked God, and them for their election ; notwithstanding he showed some countenance of insufficiency in him to occupy so great a charge, till by exhortation of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Excester, and certain noblemen, he granted to their petition ; and on the next morrow at Paul's he went on procession, offered, and had *Te Deum* sung. Then was he with great royalty conveyed to Westminster, and there, in the great hall, set in the king's seat, with St. Edward's sceptre in his hand.

Edward IV. being dead, leaving his eldest son Edward, and his second son Richard, both infants, Richard, Duke of Gloucester *, being elected by the nobles and commons in the Guildhall of London, took on him the title of the realm and kingdom, as imposed upon him in this Baynard's castle, as ye may read penned by Sir Thomas More, and set down in my Annals.

* Stow in his first edition says, " there practised for the crown. . ." and the admirable scene in *Richard the Third*, (act III. sc. 7.), in which Gloucester is by Buckingham, the mayor, and citizens of London, " enforced to a world of cares," is laid by Shakspeare with great historic truth in " the court of Baynard's castle."

* Though the punishment of death by drowning has ceased to be inflicted in this country for so long a period, that it is not, we believe, even mentioned by Blackstone in his *Commentaries*, it is equally certain not only that it obtained during the middle ages, but that instances of its infliction occurred on the continent during the last century. We, of course do not allude to the *Noyades* of the French Revolution. Thus in the *Hannov. Mag.* 1797, Nos. 11, 12, we read : " Jehan de Champin ravi et prist à force Jehanne de la Broce, pour lequel fait il a esté noyé." See further upon this subject, Grimm's *Deutsche Rechts altherthumer*, pp. 696—699. In a preceding note, p. 9, mention has been made of the drowning of a woman at London bridge. Grimm, in his most learned and elaborate work, quotes an instance of a punishment precisely similar from Gregory of Tours.

Henry VII., about the year 1501, the 16th of his reign, repaired, or rather new built this house, not embattled, or so strongly fortified castle like, but far more beautiful and commodious for the entertainment of any prince or great estate. In the 17th of his reign, he, with his queen were lodged there, and came from thence to Powles church, where they made their offering, dined in the bishop's palace, and so returned. The 18th of his reign he was lodged there, and the ambassadors from the king of the Romans, were thither brought to his presence, and from thence the king came to Powles, and was there sworn to the king of the Romans, as the said king had sworn to him.

The 20th of the said king, he with his knights of the order, all in their habits of the Garter, rode from the Tower of London, through the city, unto the cathedral church of St. Paul's, and there heard even song, and from thence they rode to Baynard's castle, where the king lodged; and on the next morning, in the same habit they rode from thence again to the said church of St. Paul's, went on procession, heard the divine service, offered, and returned. The same year the king of Castile was lodged there.

In the year 1553, the 19th of July, the council, partly moved with the right of the Lady Mary's cause, partly considering that the most of the realm were wholly bent on her side, changing their mind from Lady Jane, lately proclaimed queen, assembled themselves at this Baynard's castle, where they communed with the Earl of Pembroke, and the Earl of Shrewsbury, and Sir John Mason, clerk of the council, sent for the lord mayor, and then riding into Cheap to the cross, where Garter King at Arms, trumpet being sounded, proclaimed the Lady Mary, daughter of King Henry VIII., and Queen Katherine, queen of England, &c.

This castle now belongeth to the Earl of Pembroke*.

Next adjoining to this castle was sometime a tower, the name whereof I have not read; but that the same was built by Edward II. is manifest by this that followeth. King Edward III., in the second year of his reign, gave unto William de Ros, of Hamolake, in Yorkshire, a tower upon the water of Thames, by the castle of Baynard in the city of London, which tower his father had built; he gave the said tower and appurtenances to the said William Hamolake, and his heirs, for a rose yearly, to be paid for all service due, &c. This tower, as seemeth to me, was since called Legat's inn, the 7th of Edward IV.

TOWER OF MOUNTFIQUIT.

THE next tower or castle, banking also on the river of Thames, was, as is afore showed, called Mountfiquit's castle, of a nobleman, Baron of Mountfiquit, the first builder thereof, who came in with William the Conqueror, and was since named Le Sir Mountfiquit. This castle he built in a place not far distant from Baynard's, towards the west. The same William Mountfiquit lived in the reign of Henry I., and was witness to a charter then granted to the city for the sheriffs of London. Richard Mountfiquit lived in King John's time; and in the

year 1213, was by the same king banished the realm into France, when peradventure King John caused his castle of Mountfiquit, amongst other castles of the barons, to be overthrown; the which after his return, might be by him again re-edified; for the total destruction thereof was about the year 1276, when Robert Kilwarby, archbishop of Canterbury, began the foundation of the Fryers Preachers church there, commonly called the Blacke Fryers, as appeareth by a charter the 4th of Edward I., wherein is declared that Gregorie de Rocksley, mayor of London, and the barons of the same city, granted and gave unto the said Archbishop Robert, two lanes or ways next the street of Baynard's castle, and the tower of Mountfiquit, to be applied for the enlargement of the said church and place.

One other tower there was also situate on the river of Thames near unto the said Blacke Fryers church, on the west part thereof built at the citizens' charges, but by license and commandment of Edward I. and of Edward II., as appeareth by their grants; which tower was then finished, and so stood for the space of three hundred years, and was at the last taken down by the commandment of John Shaw, mayor of London, in the year 1502.

Another tower, or castle, also was there in the west part of the city pertaining to the king. For I read, that in the year 1087, the 20th of William I., the city of London, with the church of St. Paul, being burned, Mauritius, then bishop of London, afterward began the foundation of a new church, whereunto King William, saith mine author, gave the choice stones of this castle standing near to the bank of the river of Thames, at the west end of the city. After this Mauritius, Richard his successor purchased the streets about Paul's church*, compassing the same with a wall of stone and gates. King Henry I. gave to this Richard so much of the moat or wall of the castle, on the Thames side to the south, as should be needful to make the said wall of the churchyard, and so much more as should suffice to make a way without the wall on the north side, &c.

This tower or castle thus destroyed, stood, as it may seem, where now standeth the house called Bridewell. For notwithstanding the destruction of the said castle or tower, the house remained large, so that the kings of this realm long after were lodged there, and kept their courts; for until the 9th year of Henry III. the courts of law and justice were kept in the king's house, wheresoever he was lodged, and not elsewhere†. And that the kings have been lodged, and kept their law courts in this place, I could show you many authors of record, but for plain proof this one may suffice. "*Hæc est finalis concordia, facta in Curia Domini regis apud Sanct. Bridgid. London. a die Sancti Michaelis in*

* Vita Arkenwald.

† Our author is not quite correct in this statement. One of the articles of Magna Charta expressly declares: "Common Pleas shall not follow our court, but shall be holden in some certain place." See Taylor's *Book of Rights*, p. 20. On which Sir James Mackintosh, *History of England*, i. p. 220, remarks: "The provision which directs that the supreme civil court shall be stationary, instead of following the king's person, is a proof of that regard to the regularity, accessibility, independence, and dignity of public justice, of which the general predominance peculiarly characterises that venerable monument of English liberty."

* It was destroyed in the Great Fire, before which time it had become the residences of the Earls of Shrewsbury.

15 dies, Anno regni regis Johannis 7. coram G. Fil. Petri. *Eustachio de Fauconberg, Johanne de Gestlinge, Osbart filio Hervey, Walter De Crisping Justiciar. et aliis baronibus Domini regis.*" More, as Matthew Paris hath, about the year 1210, King John, in the 12th of his reign, summoned a parliament at St. Bride's in London, where he exacted of the clergy and religious persons the sum of one hundred thousand pounds; and besides all this, the white monks were compelled to cancel their privileges, and to pay forty thousand pounds to the king, &c. This house of St. Bride's of latter time being left, and not used by the kings, fell to ruin, insomuch that the very platform thereof remained for great part waste, and, as it were, but a laystall of filth and rubbish; only a fair well remained there. A great part of this house, namely, on the west, as hath been said, was given to the Bishop of Salisbury; the other part towards the east remaining waste until King Henry VIII. built a stately and beautiful house thereupon, giving it to name Bridewell, of the parish and well there. This house he purposely built for the entertainment of the Emperor Charles V., who in the year 1522 came into this city, as I have showed in my Summary, Annals, and large Chronicles.

On the north-west side of the city, near unto Redecross street, there was a tower, commonly called Barbican, or Burhkenning; for that the same being placed on a high ground, and also built of some good height, was in old time as a watch-tower for the city, from whence a man might behold and view the whole city towards the south, and also into Kent, Sussex, and Surrey, and likewise every other way, east, north, or west.

Some other Burhkennings, or watch-towers, there were of old time in and about the city, all which were repaired, yea, and others new built, by Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, in the reign of King Henry III., when the barons were in arms, and held the city against the king; but the barons being reconciled to his favour in the year 1267, he caused all their burhkennings, watch-towers, and bulwarks, made and repaired by the said earl, to be plucked down, and the ditches to be filled up, so that nought of them might be seen to remain; and then was this burhkenning, amongst the rest, overthrown and destroyed; and although the ditch near thereunto, called Hound's ditch, was stopped up, yet the street of long time after was called Hound's ditch; and of late time more commonly called Barbican. The plot or seat of this burhkenning, or watch-tower, King Edward III., in the year 1336, and the 10th of his reign, gave unto Robert Uford, Earl of Suffolk, by the name of his manor of Base court, in the parish of St. Giles without Cripplegate, of London, commonly called the Barbican.

Tower Royal was of old time the king's house. King Stephen was there lodged; but sithence called the Queen's Wardrobe. The princess, mother to King Richard II. in the 4th of his reign was lodged there; being forced to fly from the Tower of London when the rebels possessed it. But on the 15th of June, (saith Froissart) Wat Tyler being slain, the king went to this lady princess his mother, then lodged in the Tower Royal, called the Queen's Wardrobe, where she had tar-

ried two days and two nights; which tower (saith the record of Edward III., the 36th year *) was in the parish of St. Michel de Paternoster, &c. In the year 1336, King Richard, with Queen Anne his wife, kept their Christmas at Eltham, whither came to him Lion, king of Ermony †, under pretence to reform peace betwixt the kings of England and France; but what his coming profited he only understood; for besides innumerable gifts that he received of the king and his nobles, the king lying then in this Tower Royal, at the Queen's Wardrobe in London, granted to him a charter of a thousand pounds by year during his life. He was, as he affirmed, chased out of his kingdom by the Tartarians. More concerning this tower shall you read when you come to Vintry Ward, in which it standeth.

Serne's tower in Bucklesberie, was sometime the king's house. Edward III., in the 18th of his reign, appointed his exchange of moneys therein to be kept; and in the 32d, he gave the same tower to his free chapel of St. Stephen at Westminster.

OF SCHOOLS AND OTHER HOUSES OF LEARNING.

"In the reign of King Stephen and of Henry II.," saith Fitzstephen, "there were in London three principal churches, which had famous schools, either by privilege and ancient dignity, or by favour of some particular persons, as of doctors which were accounted notable and renowned for knowledge in philosophy. And there were other inferior schools also. Upon festival days the masters made solemn meetings in the churches, where their scholars disputed logically and demonstratively; some bringing enthymems, other perfect syllogisms; some disputed for shew, other to trace out the truth; cunning sophisters were thought brave scholars when they flowed with words; others used fallacies; rhetoricians spake aptly to persuade, observing the precepts of art, and omitting nothing that might serve their purpose: the boys of diverse schools did cap or pot verses, and contended of the principles of grammar; there were some which on the other side with epigrams and rymes, nipping and quipping their fellows, and the faults of others, though suppressing their names, moved thereby much laughter among their auditors." Hitherto Fitzstephen, for schools and scholars, and for their exercises in the city in his days; sithence the which time, as to me it seemeth, by the increase of colleges and students in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, the frequenting of schools, and exercises of scholars in the city, as had been accustomed, hath much decreased.

The three principal churches which had these famous schools by privileges, must needs be the cathedral church of St. Paul for one; seeing, that by a general council, holden in the year of Christ 1176, at Rome, in the patriarchy of Laterane, it

* Lib. Sanct. Mariæ Eborum.

† Armenia. Ermony, from the Old French "Ermenie." See *Roquefort's Glossaire*, s. v.

Chaucer, too, in his *Monk's Tale*, line 14343, &c. says:—

"Ne dorste never be so corageous
Ne non Ermin, ne non Egiptien,
Ne Surrien, ne non Araben."

was decreed, that every cathedral church should have his schoolmaster to teach poor scholars, and others as had been accustomed, and that no man should take any reward for license to teach. The second, as most ancient, may seem to have been the monastery of St. Peter's at Westminster, whereof Ingulphus, Abbot of Crowland, in the reign of William the Conqueror, writeth thus :—" I, Ingulphus, an humble servant of God, born of English parents, in the most beautiful city of London, for to attain to learning, was first put to Westminster, and after to study of Oxford," &c. And writing in praise of Queen Edgitha, wife to Edward the Confessor : " I have seen her," saith he, " often when being a boy, I came to see my father dwelling in the king's court, and often coming from school, when I met her, she would oppose me, touching my learning and lesson ; and falling from grammar to logic, wherein she had some knowledge, she would subtly conclude an argument with me, and by her handmaiden give me three or four pieces of money, and send me unto the palace where I should receive some victuals, and then be dismissed."

The third school seemeth to have been in the monastery of St. Saviour, at Bermondsey in Southwark ; for other priories, as of St. John by Smithfield, St. Bartholomew in Smithfield, St. Mary Overie in Southwark, and that of the Holy Trinity by Aldgate, were all of later foundation, and the friaries, colleges, and hospitals, in this city, were raised since them in the reigns of Henry III., Edward I., II., and III., &c. All which houses had their schools, though not so famous as these first named.

But touching schools more lately advanced in this city, I read, that King Henry V., having suppressed the priories aliens, whereof some were about London ; namely, one hospital, called Our Lady of Rouncivall, by Charing Cross ; one other hospital in Oldborne ; one other without Cripplegate ; and the fourth without Aldersgate ; besides other that are now worn out of memory, and whereof there is no monument remaining more than Rouncivall, converted to a brotherhood, which continued till the reign of Henry VIII. or Edward VI. This, I say, and other their schools being broken up and ceased, King Henry VI., in the 24th of his reign, by patent, appointed, that there should be in London grammar schools, besides St. Paul's, at St. Martin's le Grand, St. Mary le Bow in Cheap, St. Dunstan's in the west, and St. Anthony's. And in the next year, to wit, 1394, the said king ordained by parliament that four other grammar schools should be erected, to wit, in the parishes of St. Andrew in Oldborne, Allhallows the Great in Thames street, St. Peter's upon Cornhill, and in the hospital of St. Thomas of Acons, in West Cheap ; since the which time as divers schools, by suppressing of religious houses, whereof they were members, in the reign of Henry VIII., have been decayed, so again have some others been newly erected, and founded for them ; as namely Paul's school, in place of an old ruined house, was built in most ample manner, and largely endowed, in the year 1512, by John Collet, Doctor of Divinity, Dean of Paul's, for one hundred and fifty-three poor men's children, for which there was ordained a master, surmaster, or usher, and a chaplain. Again, in the year 1553, after the erec-

tion of Christ's hospital, in the late dissolved house of the Gray Friars, a great number of poor children being taken in, a school was also ordained there at the citizens' charges. Also, in the year 1561, the Merchant Taylors of London founded one notable free grammar school, in the parish of St. Laurence Poultney by Candleweeke street, Richard Hills, late master of that company, having given five hundred pounds towards the purchase of a house, called the Mannor of the Rose, sometime the Duke of Buckingham's, wherein the school is kept. As for the meeting of the schoolmasters on festival days, at festival churches, and the disputing of their scholars logically, &c., whereof I have before spoken, the same was long since discontinued ; but the arguing of the schoolboys about the principles of grammar hath been continued even till our time ; for I myself, in my youth, have yearly seen, on the eve of St. Bartholomew the Apostle, the scholars of divers grammar schools repair unto the churchyard of St. Bartholomew ; the priory in Smithfield, where upon a bank boarded about under a tree, some one scholar hath stepped up, and there hath opposed and answered, till he were by some better scholar overcome and put down ; and then the overcomer taking the place, did like as the first ; and in the end the best opposers and answers had rewards, which I observed not but it made both good schoolmasters, and also good scholars, diligently against such times to prepare themselves for the obtaining of this garland. I remember there repaired to these exercises, amongst others, the masters and scholars of the free schools of St. Paul's in London, of St. Peter's at Westminster, of St. Thomas Acon's hospital, and of St. Anthonic's hospital ; whereof the last-named commonly presented the best scholars, and had the prize in those days.

This priory of St. Bartholomew being surrendered to Henry VIII., those disputations of scholars in that place surceased ; and was again, only for a year or twain, in the reign of Edward VI., revived in the cloister of Christ's hospital, where the best scholars, then still of St. Anthonic's school *, were rewarded with bows and arrows of silver, given to them by Sir Martin Bowes, goldsmith. Nevertheless, however the encouragement failed, the scholars of Paul's, meeting with them of St. Anthonic's, would call them Anthonic pigs, and they again would call the other pigeons of Paul's, because many pigeons were bred in St. Paul's church, and St. Anthonic was always figured with a pig following him ; and mindful of the former usage, did for a long season disorderly in the open street provoke one another with, *Salve tu quoque, placet tibi mecum disputare? Placet.* And so proceeding from this to questions in grammar, they usually fell from words to blows with their satchels full of books, many times in great heaps, that they troubled the streets and passengers ; so that finally they were restrained with the decay of St. Anthonic's school. Out of this school have sprung divers famous persons, whereof although time hath buried the names of many, yet in mine own remembrance may be numbered these following :—Sir Thomas More, knight, lord chancellor of England, Dr.

* " Howsoever the same be now fallen, both in number and estimation."—1st edition, p. 56.

Nicholas Heath, sometime Bishop of Rochester, after of Worcester, and lastly Archbishop of York and Lord Chancellor of England; Doctor John Whitgift, Bishop of Worcester, and after Archbishop of Canterbury, &c.

Of later time, in the year of Christ 1582, there was founded a public lecture in chirurgerie, to be read in the College of Physicians in Knight riders street, to begin in the year 1584, on the sixth of May, and so to be continued for ever, twice every week, on Wednesday and Friday, by the honourable Baron, John Lord Lombley, and the learned Richard Caldwell, doctor in physic, the reader whereof to be Richard Forster, doctor of physic, during his life.

Furthermore, about the same time there was also begun a mathematical lecture, to be read in a fair old chapel, built by Simon Eyre, within the Leaden hall; whereof a learned citizen born, named Thomas Hood, was the first reader. But this chapel, and other parts of that hall, being employed for storage of goods taken out of a great Spanish caracke, the said lecture ceased any more to be read, and was then in the year 1588 read in the house of master Thomas Smith in Grasse street, &c.

Last of all, Sir Thomas Gresham, knight, agent to the queen's highness, by his last will and testament made in the year 1579, gave the Royal Exchange, and all the buildings thereunto appertaining; that is to say, the one moiety to the mayor and commonalty of London and their successors, upon trust that they perform as shall be declared; and the other moiety to the mercers in like confidence. The mayor and commonalty are to find four to read lectures of divinity, astronomy, music, and geometry, within his dwelling-house in Bishopsgate street, and to bestow the sum of two hundred pounds; to wit, fifty pounds the piece, &c. The mercers likewise are to find three readers, that is, in civil law, physic, and rhetoric, within the same dwelling-house, the sum of one hundred and fifty pounds; to every reader, fifty pounds, &c.: which gift hath been since that time confirmed by parliament, to take effect and begin after the decease of the Lady Anne Gresham, which happened in the year 1596, and so to continue for ever. Whereupon the lecturers were accordingly chosen and appointed to have begun their readings in the month of June, 1597; whose names were, Anthony Wootton, for divinity; Doctor Mathew Guin, for physic; Doctor Henry Mountlow, for the civil law; Doctor John Bull, for music; Beerewood, for astronomy; Henry Brigges, for geometry; and Caleb Willis, for rhetoric. These lectures are read daily, Sundays excepted, in the term times, by every one upon his day, in the morning betwixt nine and ten, in Latin; in the afternoon, betwixt two and three, in English; save that Dr. Bull is dispensed with to read the music lecture in English only upon two several days, Thursday and Saturday, in the afternoons, betwixt three and four of the clock*.

HOUSES OF STUDENTS IN THE COMMON LAW.

But besides all this, there is in and about this city a whole university, as it were, of students, practitioners or pleaders, and judges of the laws of this

realm, not living of common stipends, as in other universities it is for the most part done, but of their own private maintenance, as being altogether fed either by their places or practice, or otherwise by their proper revenue, or exhibition of parents and friends; for that the younger sort are either gentlemen or the sons of gentlemen, or of other most wealthy persons. Of these houses there be at this day fourteen in all; whereof nine do stand within the liberties of this city, and five in the suburbs thereof; to wit:

Within the liberties.

Serjeants' inn in Fleet street, Serjeants' inn in Chancery lane; for judges and sergeants only.

The Inner temple, the Middle temple, in Fleet street; houses of court.

Clifford's inn in Fleet street, Thavies inn in Oldborne, Furnival's inn in Oldborne, Barnard's inn in Oldborne, Staple inn in Oldborne; houses of Chancery.

Without the liberties.

Gray's inn in Oldborne, Lincoln's inn in Chancery lane by the old Temple*; houses of court.

Clement's inn, New inn, Lion's inn; houses of Chancery, without Temple bar, in the liberty of Westminster.

There was sometime an inn of sergeants in Oldborne, as you may read of Scrop's inn over against St. Andrew's church.

There was also one other inn of Chancery, called Chester's inn, for the nearness to the Bishop of Chester's house, but more commonly termed Strand inn, for that it stood in Strand street, and near unto Strand bridge without Temple bar, in the liberty of the duchy of Lancaster. This inn of Chancery, with other houses near adjoining, were pulled down in the reign of Edward VI. by Edward Duke of Somerset, who in place thereof raised that large and beautiful house, but yet unfinished, called Sommerset house.

There was moreover, in the reign of King Henry I., a tenth house of Chancery, mentioned by Justice Fortescue in his book of the laws of England, but where it stood, or when it was abandoned, I cannot find, and therefore I will leave it, and return to the rest.

The houses of court be replenished partly with young students, and partly with graduates and practisers of the law; but the inns of Chancery being, as it were, provinces, severally subjected to the inns of court, be chiefly furnished with officers, attorneys, solicitors, and clerks, that follow the courts of the King's Bench or Common Pleas; and yet there want not some other being young students, that come thither sometimes from one of the Universities, and sometimes immediately from grammar schools; and these having spent some time in studying upon the first elements and grounds of the law, and having performed the exercise of their own houses (called *Bolts Moots*†, and put-

* "In Oldborne."—1st edition.

† Cowell, in his *Law Dictionary*, says, "Bolting is a term of art used in Gray's Inn, and applied to the bolting or arguing of moot cases." He endeavours to show that the bolting of cases is analogous to the *bolting* or sifting of meal through a bag. All readers of Shakspeare must be familiar with the use of the word in the latter sense.

These meetings, or disputations in the Inns of Court

* The Gresham Lectures are now delivered in the theatre of the City of London School.

ting of cases), they proceed to be admitted, and become students in some of these four houses or inns of court, where continuing by the space of seven years or thereabouts, they frequent readings, meetings, boltings, and other learned exercises, whereby growing ripe in the knowledge of the laws, and approved withal to be of honest conversation, they are either, by the general consent of the benchers or readers, being of the most ancient, grave, and judicial men of every inn of the court, or by the special privilege of the present reader there, selected and called to the degree of utter barristers, and so enabled to be common counsellors, and to practice the law, both in their chambers and at the bars.

Of these, after that they be called to a further step of preferment, called the Bench, there are twain every year chosen among the benchers of every inn of court to be readers there, who do make their readings at two times in the year also; that is, one in Lent, and the other at the beginning of August.

And for the help of young students in every of the inns of Chancery, they do likewise choose out of every one inn of court a reader, being no bencher, but an utter barrister there, of ten or twelve years' continuance, and of good profit in study. Now, from these of the said degree of counsellors, or utter barristers, having continued therein the space of fourteen or fifteen years at the least, the chiefest and best learned are by the benchers elected to increase the number, as I said, of the bench amongst them; and so in their time do become first single, and then double, readers to the students of those houses of court; after which last reading they be named apprentices at the law, and, in default of a sufficient number of sergeants at law, these are, at the pleasure of the prince, to be advanced to the places of sergeants; out of which number of sergeants also the void places of judges are likewise ordinarily filled; albeit, now and then some be advanced, by the special favour of the prince, to the estate, dignity, and place, both of sergeant and judge, as it were in one instant. But from thenceforth they hold not any room in those inns of court, being translated to one of the said two inns, called Sergeante's inns, where none but the sergeants and judges do converse.

OF ORDERS AND CUSTOMS.

Of orders and customs in this city of old time, Fitzstephen saith as followeth: "Men of all trades, sellers of all sorts of wares, labourers in every work, every morning are in their distinct and several places: furthermore, in London, upon the river side, between the wine in ships and the wine to be sold in taverns, is a common cookery, or cooks' row; there daily, for the season of the year, men might have meat, roast, sod, or fried; fish, flesh, fowls, fit for rich and poor. If any come

suddenly to any citizen from afar, weary, and not willing to tarry till the meat be bought and dressed, while the servant bringeth water for his master's hands, and fetcheth bread, he shall have immediately from the river's side all viands whatsoever he desireth: what multitude soever, either of soldiers or strangers, do come to the city, whatsoever hour, day or night, according to their pleasures may refresh themselves; and they which delight in delicateness may be satisfied with as delicate dishes there as may be found elsewhere. And this Cooke's row is very necessary to the city; and, according to Plato in Gorgias, next to physick, is the office of cooks, as part of a city.

"Without one of the gates is a plain field, both in name and deed, where every Friday, unless it be a solemn bidden holy day, is a notable show of horses to be sold; earls, barons, knights, and citizens repair thither to see or to buy; there may you of pleasure see amblers pacing it delicately; there may you see trotters fit for men of arms, sitting more hardly; there may you have notable young horses, not yet broken; there may you have strong steeds, well limbed geldings, whom the buyers do specially regard for pace and swiftness; the boys which ride these horses, sometime two, sometime three, do run races for wagers, with a desire of praise, or hope of victory. In another part of that field are to be sold all implements of husbandry, as also fat swine, milch kine, sheep, and oxen; there stand also mares and horses fit for ploughs and teams, with their young colts by them. At this city, merchant strangers of all nations had their keys and wharfs; the Arabians sent gold; the Sabians spice and frankincense; the Scythian armour, Babylon oil, Indian purple garments, Egypt precious stones, Norway and Russia amber-greece and sables, and the Frenchmen wine. According to the truth of Chronicles, this city is ancienter than Rome, built of the ancient Trojans and of Brute, before that was built by Romulus and Rhemus; and therefore useth the ancient customs of Rome. This city, even as Rome, is divided into wards; it hath yearly sheriffs instead of consuls; it hath the dignity of senators in aldermen. It hath under officers, common sewers, and conduits in streets; according to the quality of causes, it hath general courts and assemblies upon appointed days. I do not think that there is any city wherein are better customs, in frequenting the churches, in serving God, in keeping holy days, in giving alms, in entertaining strangers, in solemnizing marriages, in furnishing banquets, celebrating funerals, and burying dead bodies.

"The only plagues of London are immoderate quaffing among the foolish sort, and often casualties by fire. Most part of the bishops, abbots, and great lords of the land have houses there, whereunto they resort, and bestow much when they are called to parliament by the king, or to council by their metropolitan, or otherwise by their private business."

Thus far Fitzstephen, of the estate of things in his time, whereunto may be added the present, by conference whereof the alteration will easily appear.

Men of trades and sellers of wares in this city have oftentimes since changed their places, as they have found their best advantage. For whereas

and Chancery, have been long disused. Danby Pickering, Esq., of Gray's Inn, was the last who voluntarily resumed them; but they were of no continuance, and at the present day so much has the course of legal education changed, that scarcely any of the ancient customs, mentioned by Stow and preceding authors, are known except as matters of curiosity. See further Herbert's *Antiquities of the Inns of Court*, p. 180.

mercers and haberdashers used to keep their shops in West Cheape *, of later time they held them on London Bridge, where partly they yet remain. The goldsmiths of Gutheron's lane and Old Exchange are now for the most part removed into the south side of West Cheape, the peperers and grocers of Soper's lane are now in Bucklesberrie, and other places dispersed. The drapers of Lombard street and of Cornhill are seated in Candlewick street and Watheing street; the skimmers from St. Marie Pellipers, or at the Axe, into Budge row and Walbrooke; the stock fishmongers in Thames street; wet fishmongers in Knightriders street and Bridge street; the ironmongers, of Ironmongers' lane and Old Jurie, into Thames street; the vintners from the Vinetree into divers places. But the brewers for the more part remain near to the friendly water of Thames; the butchers in Eastcheape, St. Nicholas shambles, and the Stockes market; the hosiers of old time in Hosier lane, near unto Smithfield, are since removed into Cordwayner street, the upper part thereof by Bow church, and last of all into Birchoveris lane by Cornhill; the shoemakers and curriers of Cordwayner street removed, the one to St. Martin's le Grand, the other to London wall near unto Mooregate; the founders remain by themselves in Lothberie; cooks †, or pastelars, for the more part in Thames street, the other dispersed into divers parts; poulters of late removed out of the Poultry, betwixt the Stockes and the great Conduit in Cheape, into Grasse street and St. Nicholas shambles; bowyers, from Bowyers' row by Ludgate into divers places, and almost worn out with the fletchers; pater noster makers of old time, or head-makers, and text-writers, are gone out of Pater noster row, and are called stationers of Paule's churchyard ‡; patten-makers, of St. Margaret, Pattens' lane, clean worn out; labourers every work-day are to be found in Cheape, about Soper's land end; horse-coursers and sellers of oxen, sheep, swine, and such like, remain in their old market of Smithfield, &c.

That merchants of all nations had their keys and wharfs at this city, whereunto they brought their merchandizes before and in the reign of Henry II., mine author wrote of his own knowledge to be true, though for the antiquity of the city he took the common opinion. Also that this city was in his time and afore divided into wards, had yearly sheriffs, aldermen, general courts, and assemblies, and such like notes by him set down, in commendation of the citizens; whereof there is

no question, he wrote likewise of his own experience, as being born and brought up amongst them.

And to confirm his opinion, concerning merchandizes then hither transported, whereof happily may be some argument, Thomas Clifford * (before Fitzstephen's time), writing of Edward the Confessor, saith to this effect: "King Edward, intending to make his sepulchre at Westminster; for that it was near to the famous city of London, and the river of Thames, that brought in all kind of merchandizes from all parts of the world, &c." And William of Malmesbury, that lived in the reign of William I. and II., Henry I., and King Stephen, calleth this a noble city, full of wealthy citizens, frequented with the trade of merchandizes from all parts of the world. Also I read, in divers records, that of old time no woad was stowed or harboured in this city, but all was presently sold in the ships, except by license purchased of the sheriffs, till of more later time; to wit, in the year 1236, Andrew Bokerell, being mayor, by assent of the principal citizens, the merchants of Amiens, Nele, and Corby, purchased letters insealed with the common seal of the city, that they when they come might harbour their woads, and therefore should give the mayor every year fifty marks sterling; and the same year they gave one hundred pounds towards the conveying of water from Tyborn to this city. Also the merchants of Normandie made fine for license to harbour their woads till it was otherwise provided, in the year 1263, Thomas Fitz Thomas being mayor, &c., which proveth that then as afore, they were here amongst other nations privileged.

It followeth in Fitzstephen, that the plagues of London in that time were immoderate quaffing among fools, and often casualties by fire. For the first—to wit, of quaffing—it continueth as afore, or rather is mightily increased, though greatly qualified among the poorer sort, not of any holy abstinence, but of mere necessity, ale and beer being small, and wines in price above their reach. As for prevention of casualties by fire, the houses in this city being then built all of timber, and covered with thatch of straw or reed, it was long since thought good policy in our forefathers wisely to provide, namely, in the year of Christ 1189, the first of Richard I., Henry Fitzalwine † being then mayor, that all men in this city should build their houses of stone up to a certain height, and to cover them with slate or baked tile; since which time, thanks be given to God, there hath not happened the like often consuming fires in this city as afore.

But now in our time, instead of these enormities, others are come in place no less meet to be reformed; namely, purprestures, or encroachments on the highways, lanes, and common grounds, in and about this city; whereof a learned gentleman and grave citizen ‡ hath not many years since written and exhibited a book to the mayor and commonalty; which book, whether the same have been by them read and diligently considered upon, I know not, but sure I am nothing is reformed since concerning this matter.

Then the number of cars, drays, carts, and

* Thus Lydgate, in his ballad of *London Lackpenny* (see p. 105 of the Selection from his *Minor Poems*, edited by Mr. Halliwell for the Percy Society):

"Then to the Chepe I began me drawne,

Where much people I saw for to stande:

One offered me velvet, sylke and lawne,

An other he taketh me by the hande,

'Here is Pary's thred the fynest in the lande,'" &c.

† The cooks in Lydgate's time, as we learn from the same ballad, resided chiefly in Eastcheape:

"Then I hyed me into East Chepe;

One cryes ribbs of befe, and many a pye:

Pewter pottes they clattered on a heape;

There was harpe, pype and mynstrelsy," &c.

‡ "Pater noster beade-makers and text-writers are gone out of Paternoster rowe into stationers of Paule's churchyard."—1st edition, p. 63.

* Thomas Clifford.

† Lib. Constitutionis. Lib. Horne. Lib. Clarkenwell.

‡ W. Patten.

coaches, more than hath been accustomed, the streets and lanes being straitened, must needs be dangerous, as daily experience proveth.

The coachman rides behind the horse tails, lasheth them, and looketh not behind him; the drayman sitteth and sleeth on his dray, and letteth his horse lead him home. I know that, by the good laws and customs of this city*, shodde carts† are forbidden to enter the same, except upon reasonable cause, as service of the prince, or such like, they be tolerated. Also that the fore horse of every carriage should be lead by hand; but these good orders are not observed. Of old time coaches were not known in this island, but chariots or whirlicotes, then so called, and they only used of princes or great estates, such as had their footmen about them; and for example to note, I read that Richard II., being threatened by the rebels of Kent, rode from the Tower of London to the Myles end, and with him his mother, because she was sick and weak, in a whirlicote, the Earls of Buckingham, Kent, Warwicke, and Oxford, Sir Thomas Percie, Sir Robert Knowles, the Mayor of London, Sir Aubery de Vere, that bare the king's sword, with other knights and esquires attending on horseback. But in the next year, the said King Richard took to wife Anne, daughter to the King of Bohemia, that first brought hither the riding upon side-saddles; and so was the riding in wherlicotes and chariots forsaken, except at coronations and such like spectacles; but now of late years the use of coaches, brought out of Germany, is taken up, and made so common, as there is neither distinction of time nor difference of persons observed; for the world runs on wheels with many whose parents were glad to go on foot.

Last of all, mine author in this chapter hath these words‡: "Most part of the bishops, abbots, and great lords of the land, as if they were citizens and freemen of London, had many fair houses to resort unto, and many rich and wealthy gentlemen spent their money there." And in another place he hath these words: "Every Sunday in Lent a fresh company of young men comes into the fields on horseback, and the best horsemen conducteth the rest; then march forth the citizen's sons, and other young men, with disarmed lances and shields, and practise feats of war; many courtiers likewise and attendants of noblemen repair to this exercise, and whilst the hope of victory doth inflame their minds, they do show good proof how serviceable they would be in martial affairs, &c." Again he saith: "This city, in the troublesome time of King Stephen, showed at a muster twenty thousand armed horsemen and forty thousand footmen, serviceable for the wars, &c." All which sayings of the said author, well considered, do plainly prove that in those days the inhabitants and repairers to this city, of what estate soever, spiritual or temporal, having houses here, lived together in good amity with the citizens, every man observing the customs and orders of the city, and those to be contributory to charges here, rather than in any part of the land wheresoever. This city, being the heart of the realm, the king's chamber and prince's seat, where-

unto they made repair, and showed their forces, both of horses and of men, which caused in troublesome time, as of King Stephen, the musters of this city to be so great in number.

And here, to touch somewhat of greater families and households kept in former times by noblemen, and great estates of this realm, according to their honours or dignities*, I have seen an account made by H. Leicester, cofferer to Thomas Earl of Lancaster, for one whole year's expenses in the Earl's house, from the day next after Michaelmass, in the seventh year of Edward II., until Michaelmass in the eighth year of the same king, amounting to the sum of 7957*l.* 13*s.* 4½*d.* as followeth†:

To wit, in the pantry, buttery, and kitchen, 3405*l.* &c.; for one hundred and eighty-four tons, one pipe of red or claret wine, and one ton of white wine bought for the house, 104*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*

For grocery ware, 180*l.* 17*s.*

For six barrels of sturgeon, 19*l.*

For six thousand eight hundred stock-fishes, so called for dried fishes of all sorts, as lings, habardines, and other, 41*l.* 6*s.* 7*d.*

For one thousand seven hundred and fourteen pounds of waxe, with vermilion and turpentine to make red waxe, 314*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.*

For two thousand three hundred and nineteen pounds of tallow candles for the household, and one thousand eight hundred and seventy of lights for Paris candles, called perchers, 31*l.* 14*s.* 3*d.*

Expences on the earl's great horses, and the keeper's wages, 486*l.* 4*s.* 3½*d.*

Linen cloth for the earl and his chaplains, and for the pantry, 43*l.* 17*s.*

For one hundred and twenty-nine dozen of parchment, with ink, 4*l.* 8*s.* 3½*d.*

Sum, 5230*l.* 17*s.* 7½*d.*

Item, for two cloths of scarlet for the earl against Christmass, one cloth of russet for the Bishop of Angew, seventy cloths of blue for the knights (as they were then termed), fifteen cloths of medley for the lords' clerks, twenty-eight cloths for the esquires, fifteen cloths for officers, nineteen cloths for grooms, five cloths for archers, four cloths for minstrels and carpenters, with the sharing and carriage for the earl's liveries‡ at Christmass, 460*l.* 15*s.*

* There are few documents calculated to throw greater light upon the social and domestic life of our ancestors than their Household Books. Stow has here set an example, which has of late years been followed to a great extent. The *Liber Garderobæ*, *Edw. I.*, published by the Society of Antiquaries in 1781—The *Northumberland Household Book*—The *Privy Purse Expences of Henry VIII.*—The *Privy Purse Expences of the Princess Mary*, &c.; and lastly, the handsome volume, printed for the Roxburgh Club by Beriah Botfield, Esq., M.P., containing the *Household Book of the Countess of Leicester, wife of Simon de Montford*, and that of Sir John Howard, afterwards Duke of Norfolk, in the reign of Richard III., afford views of ancient manners and illustrations of olden customs, which would be sought for in vain in works of a graver character.

† Record of Pontefract, as I could obtain of M. Cudnor.—Stow.

‡ "The practice of giving liveries to menial servants has not originated in modern times," says Douce—*Illustrations of Shakspeare*, i. 334—in a long and curious note; in which he tells us, that it is mentioned in some of the statutes made in the reign of Richard II. In the time of Edward IV. the terms livery and badge appear to have been synonymous; the former

* Lib. S. Mariæ Eborum.

† Carts shod or bound with iron. *Carrectæ ferro ligatæ* are mentioned in the *Liber Garderobæ*, *Edw. I.*

‡ W. Fitzstephen.

Item, for seven furs of variable miniver (or powdered ermine), seven hoods of purple, three hundred and ninety-five furs of budge for the liveries of barons, knights, and clerks, one hundred and twenty-three furs of lamb for esquires, bought at Christmas, 147 $\frac{1}{2}$. 17s. 8d.

Item, sixty-five cloths, saffron colour, for the barons and knights in summer, twelve red cloths, mixed, for clerks, twenty-six cloths, ray, for esquires, one cloth, ray, for officers' coats in summer, and four cloths, ray, for carpets in the hall, for 345 $\frac{1}{2}$. 13s. 8d.

Item, one hundred pieces of green silk for the knights, fourteen budge furs for surcoats, thirteen hoods of budge for clerks, and seventy-five furs of lambs for the lord's liveries in summer, with canvas and cords to truss them, 72 $\frac{1}{2}$. 19s.

Item, saddles for the lord's liveries in summer, 51 $\frac{1}{2}$. 6s. 8d.

Item, one saddle for the earl of the prince's arms, 40s.

Sum, 1079 $\frac{1}{2}$. 18s. 3d.

Item, for things bought, whereof cannot be read in my note, 241 $\frac{1}{2}$. 14s. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

For horses lost in service of the earl, 8 $\frac{1}{2}$. 6s. 8d.

Fees paid to earls, barons, knights, and esquires, 623 $\frac{1}{2}$. 15s. 5d.

In gifts to knights of France, the Queen of England's nurses, to the Countess of Warren, esquires, minstrels, messengers, and riders, 92 $\frac{1}{2}$. 14s.

Item, one hundred and sixty-eight yards of russet cloth*, and twenty-four coats for poor men, with money given to the poor on Maundy Thursday †, 8 $\frac{1}{2}$. 16s. 7d.

having no doubt been borrowed from the French language, and signifying a thing *delivered*. The badge consisted of the master's device, crest, or arms, on a separate piece of cloth, or sometimes silver, in the form of a shield, fastened to the left sleeve. In Elizabeth's time, as appears from Hentzer's *Travels*, p. 156, the nobility gave silver badges; but from Fynes Morison, who says, "The servants of gentlemen were wont to wear *blew coates*, with their master's badge of silver on the left sleeve, but now they most commonly wear clokes garded with lace, all the servants of one family the same livery for colour and ornament." It is supposed the sleeve badge was left off in the reign of James I.

The badge, which was at one time so general an accompaniment to a blue coat, that when any thing wanted its usual appendage, it was proverbially said to be *like a blue coat without a badge*, was not confined to menial servants, but extended to retainers; a class of men of no small importance among our ancestors, and not always consisting of men of low condition. The following stanza from the fine old ballad of *Time's Alteration*, is highly illustrative of the subject:

"The nobles of our land
Were much delighted then,
To have at their command
A crew of lusty men;
Which by their coats were known,
Of tawny, red, or blue,
With crests on their sleeves shown,
When this old cap was new."

* Northern russet, half a yard and half a quarter broad, I have seen sold for four-pence the yard, and was good cloth of a mingled colour.—*Stow*.

† Much illustration of the customs connected with the distribution of alms and bounty on the day preceding Good Friday, which is supposed to take its name from the *maunds*, or baskets, in which such gifts were contained (as Shakspeare says,

"A thousand favours from her *maund* she drew"),

Item, twenty-four silver dishes, so many saucers and so many cups for the buttery, one pair of pater nosters, and one silver coffin, bought this year, 103 $\frac{1}{2}$. 5s. 6d.

To divers messengers about the earl's business, 34 $\frac{1}{2}$. 19s. 8d.

In the earl's chamber, 5 $\frac{1}{2}$.

To divers men for the earl's old debts, 88 $\frac{1}{2}$. 16s. 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.

Sum, 1207 $\frac{1}{2}$. 7s. 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.

The expences of the countess at Pickering for the time of this account, as in the pantry, buttery, kitchen, and other places, concerning these offices, 285 $\frac{1}{2}$. 13s. 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

In wine, wax, spices, cloths, furs, and other things for the countess' wardrobe, 154 $\frac{1}{2}$. 7s. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

Sum, 439 $\frac{1}{2}$. 8s. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

Sum total of the whole expences, 7957 $\frac{1}{2}$. 13s. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

Thus much for this Earl of Lancaster.

More I read, that in the 14th of the same Edward II., Hugh Spencer the elder (condemned by the commonality) was banished the realm; at which time it was found by inquisition that the said Spencer had in sundry shires, fifty-nine manors: he had twenty-eight thousand sheep, one thousand oxen and steers, one thousand two hundred kine, with their calves, forty mares with their colts, one hundred and sixty drawing horses, two thousand hogs, three hundred bullocks, forty tuns of wine, six hundred bacons, eighty carcases of Martilmasse beef, six hundred muttons in larder, ten tuns of eider; his armour, plate, jewels, and ready money, better than 10,000 $\frac{1}{2}$ l., thirty-six sacks of wool, and a library of books. Thus much the record, which provision for household sheweth a great family there to be kept.

Nearer to our time, I read*, in the 36th of Henry VI., that the greater estates of the realm being called up to London,

The Earl of Salisbury came with five hundred men on horseback, and was lodged in the Herber.

Richard, Duke of York, with four hundred men, lodged at Baynard's castle.

The Dukes of Excester and Sommerset, with eight hundred men.

The Earl of Northumberland, the Lord Egremont, and the Lord Clifford, with fifteen hundred men.

Richard Nevill, Earl of Warwick, with six hundred men, all in red jackets, embroidered with ragged staves before and behind, and was lodged in Warwicke lane; in whose house there was oftentimes six oxen eaten at a breakfast, and every tavern was full of his meat; for he that had any acquaintance in that house, might have there so much of sodden and roast meat as he could prick and carry upon a long dagger.

Richard Redman, Bishop of Ely, 1500, the 17th of Henry VII. †, besides his great family, house-

will be found in Thoms' *Book of the Court*, p. 310—315; where it is stated that one of the earliest instances on record is preserved in the *Rutulus Misa*, or Roll of the Wardrobe Expences of King John, in which there appears an item of fourteen shillings and one penny "for alms to thirteen poor persons, every one of whom receive thirteen pence at Rochester, on Thursday, in Cena Domini;" John having then reigned thirteen complete years.

* Rob. Fabian, manuscript.

† Liber Ely.

keeping, alms dish, and relief to the poor, where-soever he was lodged. In his travelling, when at his coming or going to or from any town, the bells being rung, all the poor would come together, to whom he gave every one six-pence at the least.

And now to note of our own time somewhat. Omitting in this place Thomas Wolsey, Archbishop of Yorke, and cardinal, I refer the reader to my Annals, where I have set down the order of his house and household, passing all other subjects of his time*. His servants, daily attending in his house, were near about four hundred, omitting his servants' servants, which were many.

Nicholas West, Bishop of Ely, in the year 1532, kept continually in his house an hundred servants, giving to the one half of them 53s. 4d. the piece yearly; to the other half each 40s. the piece; to every one for his winter gown four yards of broad cloth, and for his summer coat three yards and a half: he daily gave at his gates, besides bread and drink, warm meat to two hundred poor people.

The housekeeping of Edward, late Earl of Derby, is not to be forgotten, who had two hundred and twenty men in check roll: his feeding aged persons twice every day, sixty and odd, besides all comers, thrice a week, appointed for his dealing days, and every Good Friday two thousand seven hundred, with meat, drink, and money.

Thomas Audley, lord chancellor, his family of gentlemen before him, in coats garded with velvet, and chains of gold; his yeoman after him in the same livery, not garded.

William Powlet, lord great master, Marquis of Winchester, kept the like number of gentlemen and yeomen in a livery† of Reading tawny, and great relief at his gate.

Thomas Lord Cromwell, Earl of Essex, kept the like or greater number in a livery of grey marble; the gentlemen garded with velvet, the yeomen with the same cloth, yet their skirts large enough for their friends to sit‡ upon them.

Edward, Duke of Sommerset, was not inferior in keeping a number of tall and comely gentlemen and yeomen, though his house was then in building, and most of his men were lodged abroad.

The late Earl of Oxford, father to him that now liveth, hath been noted within these forty years to have ridden into this city, and so to his house by

* A most striking account of the magnificence and extent of the household of the great cardinal, who

"Though from an humble stock, undoubtedly

Was fashioned to much honour from his cradle," will be found in the interesting *Life of Wolsey*, by George Cavendish, his gentleman usher, edited by Mr. Singer.

† Every livery coat had three yards of broad cloth.—Stow.

‡ A curious and characteristic illustration of this phrase occurs in Dod's *Church History of England*, i. 165, where we are told that Wolsey, who longed to supplant the Duke of Buckingham in the favour of Henry VIII., either from vanity or insolence dipped his finger in the basin which the duke had just before held to the king, while he washed his hands; upon which, Buckingham poured the water into the cardinal's shoes. This so provoked the haughty prelate, that he threatened to *sit upon his skirts*; which menace occasioned his having no skirts to his coat when he next appeared in the royal presence. The king, asking the reason of this singular appearance, the duke, with an air of pleasantry, told him that it was only to disappoint the cardinal, by putting it out of his power to do as he had threatened—*sit upon his skirts*.

London stone, with eighty gentlemen in a livery of Reading tawny, and chains of gold about their necks, before him, and one hundred tall yeomen, in the like livery, to follow him without chains, but all having his cognizance of the blue boar embroidered on their left shoulder.

OF CHARITABLE ALMS IN OLD TIMES GIVEN.

These, as all other of their times, gave great relief to the poor. I myself, in that declining time of charity, have oft seen at the Lord Cromwell's gate in London more than two hundred persons served twice every day with bread, meat, and drink sufficient; for he observed that ancient and charitable custom, as all prelates, noblemen, or men of honour and worship, his predecessors, had done before him; whereof somewhat to note for example, Venerable Bede writeth, that prelates of his time having peradventure but wooden churches, had notwithstanding on their board at their meals one alms' dish, into the which was carved some good portion of meat out of every other dish brought to their table; all which was given to the poor, besides the fragments left, in so much as in a hard time, a poor prelate wanting victuals, hath caused his alms' dish, being silver, to be divided among the poor, therewith to shift as they could, till God should send them better store.

Such a prelate was Ethelwald, Bishop of Winchester, in the reign of King Edgar, about the year of Christ 963: he in a great famine sold away all the sacred vessels of his church for to relieve the almost starved people, saying that there was no reason that the senseless temples of God should abound in riches, and lively temples of the Holy Ghost to lack it.

Walter de Suffilde, Bishop of Norwich, was of the like mind; about the year 1245, in a time of great dearth, he sold all his plate, and distributed it to the poor every pennyworth.

Robert Winchelsey, Archbishop of Canterbury, about the year 1293, besides the daily fragments of his house, gave every Friday and Sunday, unto every beggar that came to his gate, a loaf of bread sufficient for that day, and there more usually, every such alms' day, in time of dearth, to the number of five thousand, and otherwise four thousand, at the least; more, he used every great festival day to give one hundred and fifty pence to so many poor people, to send daily meat, bread, and drink, to such as by age or sickness were not able to fetch his alms, and to send meat, money, and apparel to such as he thought needed it.

I read*, in 1171, that Henry II., after his return into England, did penance for the slaughter of Thomas Becket, of whom (a sore dearth increasing) ten thousand persons, from the first of April, till new corn was in, were daily fed and sustained.

More, I find recorded†, that in the year 1236, the 20th of Henry III., William de Haverhull, the king's treasurer, was commanded, that upon the day of the Circumcision of our Lord, six thousand poor people should be fed at Westminster, for the state of the king, queen, and their children. The like commandment the said King Henry gave to Hugh Gifford and William Browne, that upon Fri-

* Pater de Ioham

† Record of the Tower.

day next after the Epiphany, they should canse to be fed in the great hall at Windsore, at a good fire, all the poor and needy children that could be found, and the king's children being weighed and measured *, their weight and measure to be distributed for their good estates. These few examples for charity of kings may suffice.

I read, in the reign of Edward III., that Richard de Berie, Bishop of Durham, did weekly bestow for the relief of the poor eight quarters of wheat made into bread, besides his alms dish, fragments of his house, and great sums of money given to the poor when he journeyed. And that these alms dishes were as well used at the tables of noblemen as of the prelates, one note may suffice in this place.

I read, in the year 1452, that Richard, Duke of York, then claiming the crown, the Lord Rivers should have passed the sea about the king's business, but staying at Plimmoth till his money was spent, and then sending for more, the Duke of Somerset sent him the image of St. George in silver and gold, to be sold, with the alms dish of the Duke of Gloucester, which was also of great price, for coin had they none.

To end of orders and customs in this city, also of great families kept by honourable persons thither repairing, and of charitable alms of old times given, I say, for conclusion, that all noble persons, and other of honour and worship, in former times lodging in this city, or liberties thereof, did without grudging bear their parts in charges with the citizens, according to their estimated estates, as I have before said, and could prove by examples; but let men call to mind Sir Thomas Cromwel, then lord privy seal and vicar-general, lying in the city of London; he bare his charges to the great muster there in A.D. 1539; he sent his men in great number to the Miles end, and after them their armour in cars, with their coats of white cloth, the arms of this city; to wit, a red cross, and a sword, on the breast and back; which armour and coats they were amongst the citizens, without any difference, and marched through the city to Westminster.

SPORTS AND PASTIMES OF OLD TIME USED IN THIS CITY.

"LET us now," saith Fitzstephen, "come to the sports and pastimes, seeing it is fit that a city should not only be commodious and serious, but also merry and sportful; whereupon in the seals of the popes, until the time of Pope Leo, on the one side was St. Peter fishing, with a key over him, reached as it were by the hand of God out of heaven, and about it this verse:

'Tu pro me navem liquisti, suscipe clavem.'

And on the other side was a city, and this inscription on it: '*Aurea Roma.*' Likewise to the praise of Augustus Caesar and the city, in respect of the shows and sports, was written:

'Nocte pluit tota, redeunt spectacula mane,' &c.

* The singular practice here alluded to by Stow is clearly closely allied to that which obtains at the distribution of the Royal alms on Maundy Thursday, the amount of which is then regulated by the age of the reigning sovereign, as it appears in the case before us to have been by the weight and measure of the king's children.

'All night it raines, and shews at morrow tide returne again,
And Caesar with almighty Jove hath matcht an equal rain.'

"But London, for the shows upon theatres, and comical pastimes, hath holy plays, representations of miracles, which holy confessors have wrought, or representations of torments wherein the constancy of martyrs appeared. Every year also at Shrove Tuesday, that we may begin with children's sports, seeing we all have been children, the school-boys do bring cocks of the game to their master, and all the forenoon they delight themselves in cock-fighting: after dinner, all the youths go into the fields to play at the ball.

"The scholars of every school have their ball, or baston, in their hands; the ancient and wealthy men of the city come forth on horseback to see the sport of the young men, and to take part of the pleasure in beholding their agility. Every Friday in Lent a fresh company of young men comes into the field on horseback, and the best horseman conducteth the rest. Then march forth the citizens' sons, and other young men, with disarmed lances and shields, and there they practise feats of war: Many courtiers likewise, when the king lieth near, and attendants of noblemen, do repair to these exercises; and while the hope of victory doth inflame their minds, do show good proof how serviceable they would be in martial affairs.

"In Easter holidays they fight battles on the water; a shield is hung upon a pole, fixed in the midst of the stream, a boat is prepared without oars, to be carried by violence of the water, and in the fore part thereof standeth a young man, ready to give charge upon the shield with his lance; if so be he breaketh his lance against the shield, and doth not fall, he is thought to have performed a worthy deed; if so be, without breaking his lance, he runneth strongly against the shield, down he falleth into the water, for the boat is violently forced with the tide; but on each side of the shield ride two boats, furnished with young men, which recover him that falleth as soon as they may. Upon the bridge, wharfs, and houses, by the river's side, stand great numbers to see and laugh thereat.

"In the holidays all the summer the youths are exercised in leaping, dancing, shooting, wrestling, casting the stone, and practising their shields; the maidens trip in their timbrels, and dance as long as they can well see. In winter, every holiday before dinner, the boars prepared for brawn are set to fight, or else bulls and bears are baited.

"When the great fen, or moor, which watereth the walls of the city on the north side, is frozen, many young men play upon the ice; some, striding as wide as they may, do slide swiftly; others make themselves seats of ice, as great as millstones; one sits down, many hand in hand do draw him, and one slipping on a sudden, all fall together; some tie bones to their feet * and under their heels; and shoving themselves by a little picked staff, do slide as swiftly as a bird flieth in the air, or an arrow out of a cross-bow. Sometime two run together

* The tibia of a horse, fashioned for the purpose of being used as a *skait*, the under surface being highly polished, was found in Moorfields some two or three years since, and is now in the possession of Mr. C. Roach Smith, F.S.A.

with poles, and hitting one the other, either one or both do fall, not without hurt; some break their arms, some their legs, but youth desirous of glory in this sort exerciseth itself against the time of war. Many of the citizens do delight themselves in hawks and hounds; for they have liberty of hunting in Middlesex, Hartfordshire, all Chiltren, and in Kent to the water of Cray." Thus far Fitzstephen of sports.

These, or the like exercises, have been continued till our time, namely, in stage plays, whereof ye may read in anno 1391, a play by the parish clerks of London at the Skinner's well besides Smithfield, which continued three days together, the king, queen, and nobles of the realm being present. And of another, in the year 1409, which lasted eight days, and was of matter from the creation of the world, whereat was present most part of the nobility and gentry of England. Of late time, in place of those stage plays, hath been used comedies, tragedies, interludes, and histories, both true and feigned; for the acting whereof certain public places* have been erected. Also cocks of the game are yet cherished by divers men for their pleasures, much money being laid on their heads, when they fight in pits, whereof some be costly made for that purpose. The ball is used by noblemen and gentlemen in tennis courts, and by people of meaner sort in the open fields and streets.

The marching forth of citizens' sons, and other young men on horseback, with disarmed lances and shields, there to practise feats of war, man against man, hath long since been left off, but in their stead they have used on horseback to run at a dead mark, called a quinten; for note whereof I read†, that in the year of Christ 1253, the 38th of Henry III., the youthful citizens, for an exercise of their activity, set forth a game to run at the quinten; and



whoever did best should have a peacock, which they had prepared as a prize. Certain of the king's servants, because the court lay then at Westminster, came, as it were, in spite of the citizens, to that game, and giving reproachful names to the Londoners, which for the dignity of the city, and ancient privilege which they ought to have enjoyed, were called barons, the said Londoners, not able to bear so to be misused, fell upon the king's servants, and beat them shrewdly, so that upon complaint to the king he fined the citizens to pay a thousand marks. This exercise of running at the quinten was practised by the youthful citizens as well in summer as in winter, namely, in the feast of Christmas, I have seen a quinten set upon Cornhill, by the Leaden hall, where the attendants on

the lords of merry disports have run, and made great pastime; for he that hit not the broad end of the quinten was of all men laughed to scorn, and he that hit it full, if he rid not the faster, had a sound blow in his neck with a bag full of sand hung on the other end. I have also in the summer season seen some upon the river of Thames rowed in wherries, with staves in their hands, flat at the fore end, running one against another, and for the most part, one or both overthrown, and well ducked.

On the holy days in summer the youths of this city have in the field exercised themselves in leaping, dancing, shooting, wrestling, casting of the stone or ball, &c.

And for defence and use of the weapon, there is a special profession of men that teach it. Ye may read in mine Annals how that in the year 1222 the citizens kept games of defence, and wrestlings, near unto the hospital of St. Giles in the field, where they challenged, and had the mastery of the men in the suburbs, and other commoners, &c. Also, in the year 1453, of a tumult made against the mayor at the wrestling besides Clearke's well, &c. Which is sufficient to prove that of old time the exercising of wrestling, and such like, hath been much more used than of later years. The youths of this city also have used on holy days after evening prayer, at their masters' doors, to exercise their wasters and bucklers*; and the maidens, one of them playing on a timbrel, in sight of their masters and dames, to dance for garlands hung athwart the streets; which open pastimes in my youth being now suppressed, worse practices within doors are to be feared. As for the baiting of bulls and bears, they are to this day much frequented, namely, in Bear gardens†, on the Bank's side, wherein be prepared scaffolds for beholders to stand upon. Sliding upon the ice is now but children's play; but in hawking and hunting many grave citizens at this present have great delight, and do rather want leisure than goodwill to follow it.

Of triumphant shows made by the citizens of London, ye may read‡, in the year 1236, the 20th of Henry III., Andrew Bockwell then being mayor, how Helianor, daughter to Reymond, Earl of Provence, riding through the city towards Westminster, there to be crowned queen of England, the city was adorned with silks, and in the night with lamps, cressets, and other lights without number, besides many pageants and strange devices there presented; the citizens also rode to meet the king and queen, clothed in long garments embroidered about with gold, and silks of divers colours, their horses gallantly trapped to the number of three hundred and sixty, every man bearing a cup of gold or silver in his hand, and the king's trumpeters sounding before them. These citizens did minister wine, as bottlers, which is their service, at their coronation. More, in the year 1293, for victory obtained by Edward I. against the Scots, every citizen, according to their several trade, made

* Strutt, in his *Sports and Pastimes*, book III. chap. vi. sec. 22, has given an engraving, from a drawing in a Bodleian MS., in which he supposes this pastime to be represented, where clubs or bludgeons are substituted for swords.

† The Bear garden on the Bankside is not mentioned in the first edition.

‡ Matt. Paris.

* "As the Theater, the Curtine," &c.—1st edition.

† Matt. Paris.

their several show, but especially the fishmongers, which in a solemn procession passed through the city, having, amongst other pageants and shows, four sturgeons gilt, carried on four horses; then four salmons of silver on four horses; and after them six and forty armed knights riding on horses, made like luges of the sea; and then one representing St. Magnus, because it was upon St. Magnus' day, with a thousand horsemen, &c.

One other show, in the year 1377, made by the citizens for disport of the young prince, Richard, son to the Black Prince, in the feast of Christmas, in this manner:—On the Sunday before Candlemas, in the night, one hundred and thirty citizens, disguised, and well horsed, in a mummy, with sound of trumpets, sackbuts, cornets, shalmes, and other minstrels, and innumerable torch lights of wax, rode from Newgate, through Cheape, over the bridge, through Southwarke, and so to Kennington beside Lambhith, where the young prince remained with his mother and the Duke of Lancaster his uncle, the Earls of Cambridge, Hertford, Warwick, and Suffolk, with divers other lords. In the first rank did ride forty-eight in the likeness and habit of esquires, two and two together, clothed in red coats and gowns of say or sandal, with comely visors on their faces; after them came riding forty-eight knights in the same livery of colour and stuff; then followed one richly arrayed like an emperor; and after him some distance, one stately attired like a pope, whom followed twenty-four cardinals, and after them eight or ten with black visors, not amiable, as if they had been legates from some foreign princes. These maskers, after they had entered Kennington, alighted from their horses, and entered the hall on foot; which done, the prince, his mother, and the lords, said out of the chamber into the hall, whom the came mummers did salute, showing by a pair of dice upon the table their desire to play with the prince, which they so handled that the prince did always win when he cast them. Then the mummers set to the prince three jewels, one after another, which were a bowl of gold, a cup of gold, and a ring of gold, which the prince won at three casts. Then they set to the prince's mother, the duke, the earls, and other lords, to every one a ring of gold, which they did also win. After which they were feasted, and the music sounded, the prince and lords danced on the one part with the mummers, which did also dance; which jollity being ended, they were again made to drink, and then departed in order as they came.

The like was in Henry IV., in the 2nd of his reign, he then keeping his Christmas at Eltham, twelve aldermen of London and their sons rode in a mumming, and had great thanks.

Thus much for sportful shows in triumphs may suffice. Now for sports and pastimes yearly used.

First, in the feast of Christmas, there was in the king's house, wheresoever he was lodged, a lord of misrule, or master of merry disports*, and the like

had ye in the house of every nobleman of honour or good worship, were he spiritual or temporal. Amongst the which the mayor of London, and either of the sheriffs, had their several lords of misrule, ever contending, without quarrel or offence, who should make the rarest pastimes to delight the beholders. These lords beginning their rule on Alhollon eve, continued the same till the morrow after the Feast of the Purification, commonly called Candlemas day. In all which space there were fine and subtle disguisings, masks, and mummeries, with playing at cards for counters, nails, and points, in every house, more for pastime than for gain.

Against the feast of Christmas every man's house, as also the parish churches, were decked with holm, ivy, bays, and whatsoever the season of the year afforded to be green*. The conduits and standards in the streets were likewise garnished; amongst the which I read, in the year 1444, that by tempest of thunder and lightning, on the 1st of February, at night, Powle's steeple was fired, but with great labour quenched; and towards the morning of Candlemas day, at the Leaden hall in Cornhill, a standard of tree being set up in midst of the pavement, fast in the ground, nailed full of holm and ivy, for disport of Christmas to the people, was torn up, and cast down by the malignant spirit (as was thought), and the stones of the pavement all about were cast in the streets, and into divers houses, so that the people were sore agnast of the great tempests.

In the week before Easter had ye great shows made for the fetching in of a twisted tree, or with, as they termed it, out of the woods into the king's house; and the like into every man's house of honour or worship†.

and belonged to that class of professed jesters, styled by Mr. Douce in his dissertation on the clowns and fools of Shakspeare, (*Illustrations of Shakspeare*, ii. 304), the city or corporation fool. A portrait of one of these worthies, William Weber, "Spruchspracher" to the city of Nuremberg, is given by Flügel; and the reader who would see the extraordinary liberties which these privileged masters of merry disport were sometimes permitted, is referred to the Harleian MS. No. 6395, where he will find numerous tales illustrative of this point, and the manners of the times; but of which one only was found to be sufficiently free from grossness to admit of its being printed in the collection of *Anecdotes and Traditions*, published by the Camden Society.

* For further illustration of this custom, see also Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, i. 254—8.

† Strange to say, this curious allusion to a very remarkable custom appears to have escaped the notice not only of Brand, but of his learned and accomplished editor, Sir Henry Ellis. The tree here alluded to was doubtless brought in as an emblem of authority, perhaps of judicial authority, since in the middle ages, courts of justice were so frequently held under the shadow of some wide-spreading and well-known tree, that "under the linden" became a common mode of expressing the locality in which justice was administered. See Grimm's *Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer*, p. 796, and the fine old Dutch ballad, "Het daghet uit den oosten," in Hoffman's *Horæ Belgicæ* (pars II. *Hollandische Volkslieder*, p. 101.)—

"The maiden took her mantle,
And hastened on her way,
Where under the green linden
Her murdered lover lay."

And which words, "under the green linden," are sup-

* In the new edition of Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, edited by Sir Henry Ellis, vol. i. 272—278, will be found a very large and curious collection of materials illustrative of this ancient custom. The lord mayor's fool, a personage whose memory is yet preserved in proverbial sayings, was no doubt the party here alluded to as the lord of misrule,

In the month of May, namely, on May-day in the morning, every man, except impediment, would walk into the sweet meadows and green woods, there to rejoice their spirits with the beauty and savour of sweet flowers, and with the harmony of birds, praising God in their kind; and for example hereof, Edward Hall hath noted, that King Henry VIII., as in the 3rd of his reign, and divers other years, so namely, in the 7th of his reign, on May day in the morning, with Queen Katherine his wife, accompanied with many lords and ladies, rode a-maying from Greenwich to the high ground of Shooter's hill, where, as they passed by the way, they espied a company of tall yeomen, clothed all in green, with green hoods, and bows and arrows, to the number of two hundred; one being their chieftain, was called Robin Hoode, who required the king and his company to stay and see his men shoot; whereunto the king granting, Robin Hoode whistled, and all the two hundred archers shot off, loosing all at once; and when he whistled again they likewise shot again; their arrows whistled by craft of the head, so that the noise was strange and loud, which greatly delighted the king, queen, and their company. Moreover, this Robin Hoode desired the king and queen, with their retinue, to enter the green wood, where, in harbours made of boughs, and decked with flowers, they were set and served plentifully with venison and wine by Robin Hoode and his men, to their great contentment, and had other pageants and pastimes, as ye may read in my said author.

I find also, that in the month of May, the citizens of London of all estates, lightly in every parish, or sometimes two or three parishes joining together, had their several mayings, and did fetch in May-poles, with divers warlike shows, with good archers, morris dancers, and other devices, for pastime all the day long; and toward the evening they had stage plays, and bonfires in the streets. Of these mayings we read, in the reign of Henry VI., that the aldermen and sheriffs of London, being on May-day at the Bishop of London's wood, in the parish of Steubunheath*, and having there a worshipful dinner for themselves and other commoners, Lydgate the poet, that was a monk of Bury, sent to them, by a pursuivant, a joyful commendation of that season, containing sixteen staves of metre royal, beginning thus:—

"Mightie Flora! goddess of fresh flowers,—
Which clothed hath the soyle in lustie greene,
Made buds spring, with her sweete showers,
By the influence of the sunne shine.
To doe plesance of intent full cleane,
Unto the States which now sit here,
Hath Vere downe sent her own daughter deare.
Making the vertue, that dared in the roote,
Called of clarkes the vertue vegetable,
For to transcend, most holsome and most soote,
Into the crop, this season so agreeable,
The bawny liquor is so commendable,
That it rejoyceth with his fresh moysture,
Man, beast, and fowle, and every creature," &c.

These great Mayings and May-games, made by

posed by Hoffman to imply that the corpse of the murdered lover had already been borne to the place of judgment, in order that the customary declaration of murder might be duly pronounced over it by the judges.

* Stepany.

the governors and masters of this city, with the triumphant setting up of the great shaft (a principal May-pole in Cornhill, before the parish church of St. Andrew,) therefore called Undershaft, by means of an insurrection of youths against aliens on May-day, 1517, the 9th of Henry VIII., have not been so freely used as afore, and therefore I leave them, and will somewhat touch of watches, as also of shows in the night*.

OF WATCHES IN THIS CITY, AND OTHER MATTERS
COMMANDED, AND THE CAUSE WHY.

WILLIAM CONQUEROR commanded that in every town and village, a bell should be nightly rung at eight o'clock, and that all people should then put out their fire and candle, and take their rest; which order was observed through this realm during his reign, and the reign of William Rufus. But Henry I., restoring to his subjects the use of fire and lights, as afore; it followeth, by reason of wars within the realm, that many men also gave themselves to robbery and murders in the night; for example whereof in this city Roger Hoveden writeth thus:—"In the year 1175, a council was kept at Nottingham; in time of which council a brother of the Earl Ferrers being in the night privily slain at London, and thrown out of his inn into the dirty street, when the king understood thereof, he swore that he would be avenged on the citizens. For it was then (saith mine author) a common practice in the city, that a hundred or more in a company, young and old, would make nightly invasions upon houses of the wealthy, to the intent to rob them; and if they found any man stirring in the city within the night that were not of their crew, they would presently murder him, insomuch that when night was come no man durst adventure to walk in the streets. When this had continued long, it fortuned that as a crew of young and wealthy citizens, assembling together in the night, assaulted a stone house of a certain rich man, and breaking through the wall, the good man of that house, having prepared himself with others in a corner, when he perceived one of the thieves named Andrew Bucquint to lead the way, with a burning brand in the one hand, and a pot of coals in the other, which he essayed to kindle with the brand, he flew upon him, and smote off his right hand, and then with a loud voice cried 'Thieves!' at the hearing whereof the thieves took their flight, all saving he that had lost his hand, whom the good man in the next morning delivered to Richard de Lucie, the king's justice. This thief, upon warrant of his life, appeached his confederates, of whom many were taken, and many were fled. Among the rest that were apprehended, a certain citizen of great countenance, credit, and wealth, named John Senex†, who for as much as he could not acquit

* A paper by Mr. Saunders, in Knight's *London*, l. 169, entitled, "The Old Spring Time in London," forms a very agreeable commentary on this section of our author's work.

† Rich thieves most worthy to be hanged. The judgment of fire and water, called *ordalit*, was condemned by Pope Innocent III. 1203. Decretat. lib. 5.—*Slow*.

For further information on the subject of ordeals, which Grimm designates as being "of heathen origin, and of the highest antiquity," and "as having taken so deep a root in the opinions of the people, that Christianity, and laws of more

himself by the water dome, as that law was then, he offered to the king five hundred pounds of silver for his life; but forasmuch as he was condemned by judgment of the water, the king would not take the offer, but commanded him to be hanged on the gallows, which was done, and then the city became more quiet for a long time after." But for a full remedy of enormities in the night, I read, that in the year 1253, Henry III. commanded watches in the cities and borough towns to be kept, for the better observing of peace and quietness amongst his people.

And further, by the advice of them of Savoy, he ordained, that if any man chanced to be robbed, or by any means damaged by any thief or robber, he to whom the charge of keeping that country, city, or borough, chiefly appertained, where the robbery was done, should competently restore the loss. And this was after the use of Savoy, but yet thought more hard to be observed here than in those parts; and, therefore, leaving those laborious watches, I will speak of our pleasures and pastimes in watching by night.

In the months of June and July, on the vigils of festival days, and on the same festival days in the evenings after the sun setting, there were usually made bonfires in the streets, every man bestowing wood or labour towards them; the wealthier sort also, before their doors near to the said bonfires, would set out tables on the vigils, furnished with sweet bread and good drink, and on the festival days with meats and drinks plentifully, whereunto they would invite their neighbours and passengers also to sit and be merry with them in great familiarity, praising God for his benefits bestowed on them. These were called bonfires as well of good amity amongst neighbours that being before at controversy, were there, by the labour of others, reconciled, and made of bitter enemies loving friends; and also for the virtue that a great fire hath to purge the infection of the air. On the vigil of St. John the Baptist, and on St. Peter and Paul the apostles, every man's door being shadowed with green birch, long fennel, St. John's wort, orpin, white lilies, and such like, garnished upon with garlands of beautiful flowers, had also lamps of glass, with oil burning in them all the night; some hung out branches of iron curiously wrought, containing hundreds of lamps alight at once, which made a goodly show, namely in New Fish street, Thames street, &c. Then had ye besides the standing watches all in bright harness, in every ward and street of this city and suburbs, a marching watch, that passed through the principal streets thereof, to wit, from the little conduit by Paule's gate to West Cheape, by the stocks through Cornhill, by Leaden hall to Aldgate, then back down Fenchurch street, by Grasse church, about Grasse church conduit, and up Grasse church street into Cornhill, and through it into West Cheape again. The whole way for this marching watch extendeth to three thousand two hundred tailor's yards of assize; for the furniture whereof with lights, there were appointed seven hundred cressets, five hundred of them being found by the com-

panies, the other two hundred by the chamber of London. Besides the which lights every constable in London, in number more than two hundred and forty*, had his cresset: the charge of every cresset was in light two shillings and four pence, and every cresset had two men, one to bear or hold it, another to bear a bag with light, and to serve it, so that the poor men pertaining to the cressets, taking wages, besides that every one had a straw hat, with a badge painted, and his breakfast in the morning, amounted in number to almost two thousand. The marching watch contained in number about two thousand men, part of them being old soldiers of skill, to be captains, lieutenants, sergeants, corporals, &c., wifery, drummers, and fifes, standard and ensign bearers, sword players, trumpeters on horseback, demilances on great horses, gunners with hand guns, or half hakes, archers in coats of white fustian, signed on the breast and back with the arms of the city, their bows bent in their hands, with sheaves of arrows by their sides, pikemen in bright corslets, burganets, &c. halberds, the like billmen in almaine rivets, and apernes of mail † in great number; there were also divers pageants, morris dancers, constables, the one-half, which was one hundred and twenty, on St. John's eve, the other half on St. Peter's eve, in bright harness, some overgilt, and every one a jorinet § of scarlet thereupon, and a chain of gold, his henchman following him, his minstrels before him, and his cresset light passing by him, the waits of the city, the mayor's officers for his guard before him, all in a livery of worsted, or say jackets party-coloured, the mayor himself well mounted on horseback, the swordbearer before him in fair armour well mounted also, the mayor's footmen, and the like torch bearers about him, henchmen twain upon great stirring horses, following him. The sheriffs' watches came one after the other in like order, but not so large in number as the mayor's; for where the mayor had besides his giant three pageants, each of the sheriffs had besides their giants but two pageants, each their morris dance, and one henchman, their officers in jackets of worsted or say, party-coloured, differing from the mayor's, and each from other, but having harnessed men a great many, &c.

This midsummer watch was thus accustomed yearly, time out of mind, until the year 1539, the

* More than two hundred and forty constables in London, the one half of them each night went in the marching watch, the other half kept their standing watch in every street and lane.—Stow.

† The term *Whiffler*, says Douce, *Illustrations of Shakspeare* (i. 507.), is undoubtedly borrowed from *Whifle*, another name for a fife or small flute; for whifflers were originally those who preceded armies or processions, as fifers or pipers. Representations of them occur among the prints of the magnificent triumph of Maximilian I., &c. &c. In process of time the term whiffler, which had always been used in the sense of a fifer, came to signify any person who went before in a procession, &c. Minshew, in his Dictionary, 1617, defines him to be a club or staff bearer. See further Hone's *Every Day Book*, i. 144.

‡ The editor must leave to better glossarists the task of defining the precise nature of the articles which Stow describes as "almaine rivets and apernes of mayle."

§ A large coat or cloak, from the French "journade."—See Roquefort's *Glossaire*, s. v.

recent date, were long before they could extirpate them," consult the *Deutsche Rechts Alttheilnehmer* (buch vi. cap. 8.) of that profound scholar.

31st of Henry VIII., in which year, on the 8th of May, a great muster was made by the citizens at the Mile's end, all in bright harness, with coats of white silk, or cloth and chains of gold, in three great battles, to the number of fifteen thousand, which passed through London to Westminster, and so through the Sanctuary, and round about the park of St. James, and returned home through Oldborne. King Henry, then considering the great charges of the citizens for the furniture of this unusual muster, forbade the marching watch provided for at Midsummer for that year, which being once laid down, was not raised again till the year 1543, the 2nd of Edward VI., Sir John Gresham then being mayor, who caused the marching watch, both on the eve of St. John the Baptist and of St. Peter the Apostle, to be revived and set forth in as comely order as it hath been accustomed, which watch was also beautified by the number of more than three hundred demilances and light horsemen, prepared by the citizens to be sent into Scotland for the rescue of the town of Haddington, and others kept by the Englishmen. Since this mayor's time, the like marching watch in this city hath not been used, though some attempts have been made thereunto; as in the year 1555, a book was drawn by a grave citizen*, and by him dedicated to Sir Thomas Pullison, then lord mayor, and his brethren the aldermen, containing the manner and order of a marching watch in the city upon the evens accustomed; in commendation whereof, namely, in times of peace to be used, he hath words to this effect: "The artificers of sundry sorts were thereby well set a-work, none but rich men charged, poor men helped, old soldiers, trumpeters, drummers, fifes, and ensign-bearers, with such like men, meet for princes' service, kept in ure, wherein the safety and defence of every common weal consisteth. Armour and weapon being yearly occupied in this wise, the citizens had of their own readily prepared for any need; whereas by intermission hereof, armourers are out of work, soldiers out of pay, weapons overgrown with foulness, few or none good being provided," &c.

In the month of August, about the feast of St. Bartholomew the Apostle, before the Lord Mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs of London, placed in a large tent near unto Clarkenwell, of old time, were divers days spent in the pastime of wrestling, where the officers of the city, namely, the sheriffs, sergeants, and yeomen, the porters of the king's beam or weigh-house, now no such men, and other of the city, were challengers of all men in the suburbs, to wrestle for games appointed, and on other days, before the said mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs, in Fensburie field, to shoot the standard, broad arrow, and flight, for games; but now of late years the wrestling is only practised on Bartholomew's day in the afternoon, and the shooting some three or four days after, in one afternoon, and no more. What should I speak of the ancient daily exercises in the long bow by citizens of this city, now almost clean left off and forsaken?—I overpass it; for by the mean of closing in the common grounds, our archers, for want of room to shoot abroad, creep into bowling alleys, and ordinary dicing houses, nearer home, where they have room enough to

hazard their money at unlawful games; and there I leave them to take their pleasures*.

HONOUR OF CITIZENS, AND WORTHINESS OF MEN IN THE SAME.

"This city," saith Fitzstephen, "is glorious in manhood: furnished with munitions, populous with inhabitants; insomuch, that in the troublesome time of King Stephen, it hath showed at a muster twenty thousand armed horsemen, and threescore thousand footmen, serviceable for the wars. Moreover (saith he), the citizens of London, wheresoever they become, are notable before all other citizens in civility of manners, attire, table, and talk. The matrons of this city are the very modest Sabine ladies of Italy. The Londoners, sometime called Trinobantes, repelled Cæsar, which always made his passage by shedding blood; whereupon Lucan sung:

'Territa quæsitie ostendit terga Britannis.'

"The city of London hath bred some which have subdued many kingdoms, and also the Roman empire. It hath also brought forth many others, whom virtue and valour hath highly advanced; according to Apollo, in his Oracle to Brute, '*Sub occasu solis*,' &c. In the time of Christianity, it brought forth that noble emperor, Constantine, which gave the city of Rome and all the imperial ensigns to God, St. Peter, and Pope Silvester; choosing rather to be called a defender of the church than an emperor; and, lest peace might be violated, and their eyes troubled by his presence, he retired from Rome, and built the city of Constantinople. London also in late time hath brought forth famous kings: Maude the empress, King Henry, son to Henry II., and Thomas the Archbishop, &c."

This Thomas, surnamed Becket, born in London, brought up in the priory of Marton, student at Paris, became the sheriff's clerk of London for a time, then parson of St. Mary hill, had a prebend at London, another at Lincoln, studied the law at Bononie, &c., was made Chanceller of England, and Archbishop of Canterbury, &c. Unto this might be added innumerable persons of honour, wisdom, and virtue, born in London; but of actions done by worthy citizens I will only note a few, and so to other matters.

The citizens of London, time out of mind, founded an hospital of St. James in the fields for leproous women of their city.

In the year 1197, Walter Brune, a citizen of London, and Rosia, his wife, founded the hospital of our Lady, called Domus Dei, or St. Marie Spittle, without Bishopsgate of London; a house of such relief to the needy, that there was found standing at the surrender thereof nine score beds, well furnished for receipt of poor people.

In the year 1216, the Londoners sending out a navy, took ninety-five ships of pirates and sea-

* A pleasant paper by Mr. Charles Knight, entitled "Midsummer Eve," which is to be found in his *London*, i. 97 *et seq.*, will afford the reader an agreeable comment on this chapter of Stow, and a fund of information well worth the having, on the gradual change which has taken place in the mode of watching and lighting the city, since old Stow penned his quaint and amusing history.

robbers; besides innumerable others that they drowned, which had robbed on the river of Thames.

In the year 1247, Simon Fitzmary, one of the sheriffs of London, founded the hospital of St. Mary called Bethlem, and without Bishopsgate.

In the year 1283, Henry Wallace, then mayor, built the Tun upon Cornhill, to be a prison for night-walkers, and a market-house called the Stocks, both for fish and flesh, standing in the midst of the city. He also built divers houses on the west and north side of Paule's churchyard; the profits of all which buildings are to the maintenance of London Bridge.

In the year 1332, William Elsing, mercer of London, founded Elsing Spittle within Cripplegate, for sustentation of an hundred poor blind men, and became himself the first prior of that hospital.

Sir John Poultney, draper, four times mayor, in 1337 built a fair chapel in Paule's church, wherein he was buried. He founded a college in the parish church of St. Laurence, called Poultney: he built the parish church called Little Alhallowes, in Thames street; the Carmelite friars church in Coventry: he gave relief to prisoners in Newgate and in the Fleet, and ten shillings a-year to St. Giles' hospital by Oldborne for ever, and other legacies long to rehearse.

John Stodie, vintner, mayor 1358, gave to the vintners all the quadrant wherein the Vintners' hall now standeth, with all the tenements round about, from Stadies lane, wherein is founded thirteen alms houses for so many poor people, &c.

Henry Picard, vintner, mayor 1357, in the year 1363, did in one day sumptuously feast Edward III., king of England, John, king of France, David, king of Scots, the king of Cyprus, then all in England, Edward, prince of Wales, with many other noblemen, and after kept his hall for all comers that were willing to play at dice and hazard. The Lady Margaret, his wife, kept her chamber to the same effect, &c.

John Lofken, fishmonger, four times mayor, 1367, built an hospital called Magdalen's, in Kingstone upon Thames; gave thereunto nine tenements, ten shops, one mill, one hundred and twenty-five acres of land, ten acres of meadow, one hundred and twenty acres of pasture, &c.; more, in London, he built the fair parish church of St. Michael in Crooked lane, and was there buried.

John Barnes, mayor 1371, gave a chest with three locks, and one thousand marks therein, to be lent to young men upon sufficient pawn, and for the use thereof, to say *De profundis*, or *Pater noster*, and no more: he also was a great builder of St. Thomas Apostle's parish church, as appeareth by his arms there, both in stone and glass.

In the year 1378, John Filpot, sometime mayor, hired with his own money one thousand soldiers, and defended the realm from incursions of the enemy, so that in small time his hired men took John Mercer, a sea-rover, with all his ships, which he before had taken from Scarborough, and fifteen Spanish ships, laden with great riches.

In the year 1380, Thomas of Woodstocke, Thomas Percie, Hugh Calverley, Robert Knoles, and others, being sent with a great power to aid the duke of Brytaine, the said John Filpot hired ships for them of his own charges, and released the armour, which the soldiers had pawned for their bat-

ties, more than a thousand in number. "This most noble citizen," saith Thomas Walsingham, "that had travelled for the commodity of the whole realm, more than all other of his time, had often relieved the king by lending him great sums of money and otherwise, deceased in a.d. 1384, after that he had assured lands to the city for the relief of thirteen poor people for ever."

In the year 1381, William Walworth, then mayor, a most provident, valiant, and learned citizen, did by his arrest of Wat Tyler (a presumptuous rebel, upon whom no man durst lay hands), deliver the king and kingdom from the danger of most wicked traitors, and was for his service knighted in the field.

Nicholas Brembar, John Filpot, Robert Laund, Nicholas Twiford, and Adam Francis, aldermen, were then for their service likewise knighted; and Sir Robert Knoles, for assisting of the mayor, was made free of this city.

This Sir Robert Knoles, thus worthily enfranchised a citizen, founded a college with an hospital at Pontefract: he also built the great stone bridge at Rochester, over the river of Medway, &c.

John Churchman, grocer, one of the sheriffs, 1386, for the quiet of merchants, built a certain house upon Wool wharf, in Tower ward, to serve for tronaage or weighing of wools, and for the customer, comptroller, clerks, and other officers to sit, &c.

Adam Bamme, goldsmith, mayor 1391, in a great dearth, procured corn from parts beyond the seas, to be brought hither in such abundance as sufficed to serve the city, and the countries near adjoining; to the furtherance of which good work he took out of the orphans' chest in the Guildhall two thousand marks to buy the said corn, and each alderman laid out twenty pounds to the like purpose.

Thomas Knoles, grocer, mayor 1400, with his brethren the aldermen, began to new build the Guildhall in London, and instead of an old little cottage in Aldermanberie street, made a fair and goodly house, more near unto St. Laurence church in the Jurie: he re-edified St. Anthony's church, and gave to the grocers his house near unto the same, for relief of the poor for ever. More, he caused sweet water to be conveyed to the gates of Newgate and Ludgate, for relief of the prisoners there.

John Hinde, draper, mayor 1405, newly built his parish church of St. Swithen by London stone: his monument is defaced, save only his arms in the glass windows.

Thomas Falconar, mercer, mayor 1414, lent to King Henry VI., towards maintenance of his wars in France, ten thousand marks upon jewels. More, he made the postern called Mooregate, caused the ditches of the city to be cleansed, and did many other things for good of the same city.

William Sevenoke, grocer, mayor 1419, founded in the town of Sevenoke, in Kent, a free school for poor men's children, and thirteen alms houses: his testament saith, twenty poor men and women.

Richard Whittington, mercer, three times mayor, in the year 1421 began the library of the grey friars in London, to the charge of four hundred pounds: his executors with his goods founded and built Whittington college, with alms houses for

thirteen poor men, and divinity lectures to be read there for ever. They repaired St. Bartholomew's hospital in Smithfield; they bare some charges to the glazing and paving of the Guildhall; they bare half the charges of building the library there, and they built the west gate of London, of old time called Newgate, &c.

John Carpenter, town-clerk of London, in the reign of Henry V., caused with great expense to be curiously painted upon board, about the north cloister of Paule's, a monument of Death* leading all estates, with the speeches of Death, and answer of every state. This cloister was pulled down 1549. He also gave tenements to the city, for the finding and bringing up of four poor men's children with meat, drink, apparel, learning at the schools in the universities, &c., until they be preferred, and then other in their places for ever.

Robert Chicheley, grocer, mayor 1422, appointed by his testament, that on his minde day†, a competent dinner should be ordained for two thousand four hundred poor men, householders of this city, and every man to have two pence in money. More, he gave one large plot of ground, thereupon to build the new parish church of St. Stephen, near unto Walbrooke, &c.

John Rainwell, fishmonger, mayor 1427, gave tenements to discharge certain wards of London of fifteenths and other payments.

John Wells, grocer, mayor, 1433, a great builder of the chapel or college of the Guildhall, and was there buried. He caused fresh water to be conveyed from Tyborne to the standard in West Cheape for service of the city.

William Eastfield, mercer, 1433, appointed his executors of his goods to convey sweet water from Tyborne, and to build a fair conduit by Aldermanberie church, which they performed, as also made a standard in Fleet street by Shew lane end; they also conveyed water to Cripples gate, &c.

Stephen Browne, grocer, mayor 1439, sent into

* The remarkable allegory of the middle ages, known as "The Dance of Death," has attracted in a very high degree the attention of some of the most learned antiquaries; but the result of their inquiries has as yet proved far from satisfactory. The late Mr. Douce, one of the most accomplished and profound scholars in mediæval literature, which this country has ever produced, published in 1833 the result of many years investigation of this subject, in the shape of "*A Dissertation on the several Representations of the Dance of Death, but more particularly on those ascribed to Macabre and Hans Holbein.*" It is a complete storehouse of learning on this particular point of inquiry; and we are indebted to it for the following allusion to this painting from the pen of Sir Thomas More:—

"But if we not only hear this word Death, but also let sink into our hearts the very fantasy and deep imagination thereof, we shall perceive thereby that we ver never so gretly moved by the beholding of the *Dance of Death* pictured in *Paule's*, as we shall fele ourself stered and altered by the feling of that imaginacion in our hearts. And no mervel. For those pictures expresse only the lothely figure of our dede bony bodies," &c.—*Works*, ed. 1557, folio, p. 77.

† The investigation into the origin and history of *The Mind Day*, or *Dies commemorationis*, so frequently mentioned by our early writers, would occupy a volume instead of a note. This subject is touched upon in vol. ii. pp. 192–4. of the edition of Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, lately published by Sir Henry Ellis; in Hampson's *Medii Ævi Calendarium*, ii. 274; and much curious illustration of it will be found in Grimm's *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 36.

Prussia, causing corn to be brought from thence*; whereby he brought down the price of wheat from three shillings the bushel to less than half that money.

Philip Malpas, one of the sheriffs 1440, gave by his testament one hundred and twenty-five pounds, to relieve poor prisoners, and every year for five years, four hundred shirts and smocks, forty pairs of sheets, and one hundred and fifty gowns of frieze, to the poor; to five hundred poor people in London six shillings and eight pence; to poor maids' marriages one hundred marks; to highways one hundred marks; twenty marks the year to a graduate to preach; twenty pounds to preachers at the Spittle the three Easter holidays, &c.

Robert Large, mercer, mayor 1440, gave to his parish-church of St. Olave in Surry two hundred pounds; to St. Margaret's in Lothberie twenty-five pounds; to the poor twenty pounds; to London bridge one hundred marks; towards the vaulting over the water-course of Walbrooke two hundred marks; to poor maids' marriages one hundred marks; to poor householders one hundred pounds, &c.

Richard Rich, mercer, one of the sheriffs 1442, founded alms houses at Hodsdon in Hertfordshire.

Simon Eyre, draper, mayor 1346, built the Leaden hall for a common garner of corn for the use of this city, and left five thousand marks to charitable uses.

Godfrey Bollein, mayor of London, 1458, by his testament, gave liberally to the prisons, hospitals, and lazar houses, besides a thousand pounds to poor householders in London, and two hundred pounds to poor householders in Norfolk &c.

Richard Rawson, one of the sheriffs 1477, gave by testament large legacies to the prisoners, hospitals, lazar houses, to other poor, to highways, to the water-conduits, besides to poor maids' marriages three hundred and forty pounds, and his executors to build a large house in the churchyard of St. Marie Spittle, wherein the mayor and his brethren do use to sit and hear the sermons in the Easter holidays.

Thomas Ilam, one of the sheriffs 1480, newly built the great conduit in Cheape, of his own charges.

Edward Shaw, goldsmith, mayor 1483, caused the Cripple-gate of London to be newly built of his goods, &c.

Thomas Hill, grocer, mayor 1485, caused of his goods the conduit of Grasse street to be built.

Hugh Clopton, mercer, during his life a bachelor, mayor 1492, built the great stone-arched bridge at Stratford upon Avon in Warwickshire, and did many other things of great charity, as in my Summary.

Robert Fabian, alderman, and one of the sheriffs, 1494, gathered out of divers good authors, as well Latin as French, a large Chronicle of England and

* "To London in greater quantitie."—1st edition, p. 80.

† "In the year 1471, John Stockton, mayor, and eleven aldermen of London, with the recorder, were all made knights in the field by Edward IV., for their good service done to him."—1st edition, p. 81.

‡ The first edition of Fabian's Chronicle appeared in 1516. It has been said, on the authority of Bale, that Wolsey ordered many copies of the first edition to be destroyed,

of France, which he published in English, to his great charges, for the honour of this city, and common utility of the whole realm.

Sir John Percivall, merchant-taylor, mayor 1498, founded a grammar-school at Macklefield in Cheshire, where he was born; he endowed the same school with sufficient lands for the finding of a priest master there, to teach freely all children thither sent, without exception.

The Lady Thomasine his wife founded the like free school, together with fair lodgings for the schoolmasters, scholars, and other, and added twenty pounds of yearly revenue for supporting the charges, at St. Mary Wike in Devonshire, where she was born.

Stephen Gennings, merchant-taylor, mayor 1509, founded a fair grammar-school at Ulfrimhampton* in Staffordshire, left good lands, and also built a great part of his parish church, called St. Andrew's Undershaft, in London.

Henry Kible, grocer, mayor 1511, in his life a great benefactor to the new building of old Mary church, and by his testament gave a thousand pounds towards the finishing thereof; he gave to highways two hundred pounds; to poor maids' marriages one hundred marks; to poor husbandmen in Oxford and Warwick shires one hundred and forty ploughshares, and one hundred and forty coulthers of iron; and in London, to seven almsmen sixpence the week for ever.

John Collet, a citizen of London by birth and dignity, dean of Paule's, doctor of divinity, erected and built one free school in Paule's churchyard, 1512, for three hundred and fifty-three poor men's children to be taught free in the same school, appointing a master, a surmaster, and a chaplain, with sufficient stipends to endure for ever, and committed the oversight thereof to the mercers in London, because himself was son to Henry Collet, mercer, mayor of London, and endowed the mercers with lands to the yearly value of one hundred and twenty pounds or better.

John Tate, brewer, then a mercer, mayor 1514, caused his brewhouse, called the Swan, near adjoining to the hospital of St. Anthonic in London, to be taken down for the enlarging of the said church, then newly built, a great part of his charge. This was a goodly foundation, with alms houses, free school, &c.

George Monox, draper, mayor 1515, re-edified the decayed parish church of Waltonstow, or Walthamstow, in Essex; he founded there a free school, and alms houses for thirteen alms people, made a causeway of timber over the marshes from Walthamstow to Lock bridge, &c.

Sir John Milborne, draper, mayor 1522, built alms houses, fourteen in number, by the Crossed Friars church in London, there to be placed fourteen poor people; and left to the Drapers certain messuages, tenements, and garden plots, in the parish of St. Olave in Hart street, for the performance of stipends to the said alms people, and other uses. Look more in Ealdgate ward.

owing to the freedom of some observations in it upon the clergy of the day; but there seems no good reason for this statement. The last and best edition of it is that which was published in 1810, under the editorship of Sir Henry Ellis.

* Wolverhampton.

Robert Thorne, merchant-taylor, deceased a bachelor in the year 1532, gave by his testament to charitable actions more than four thousand four hundred and forty pounds, and legacies to his poor kindred more five thousand one hundred and forty-two pounds, besides his debts forgiven, &c.

Sir John Allen, mercer, mayor of London, and of council to King Henry VIII., deceased 1544, buried in St. Thomas of Acres in a fair chapel by him built. He gave to the city of London a rich collar of gold to be worn by the mayor, which was first worn by Sir W. Laxton. He gave five hundred marks to be a stock for sea-coal; his lands purchased of the king, the rent thereof to be distributed to the poor in the wards of London for ever. He gave besides to the prisons, hospitals, lazar houses, and all other poor in the city, or two miles without, very liberally, and long to be recited.

Sir William Laxton, grocer, mayor 1545, founded a fair free school at Owndale in Northamptonshire, with six alms houses for the poor.

Sir John Gresham, mercer, mayor 1548, founded a free school at Holt, a market-town in Norfolk.

Sir Rowland Hill, mercer, mayor 1550, caused to be made divers causeways both for horse and man; he made four bridges, two of stone, containing eighteen arches in them both; he built one notable free school at Drayton in Shropshire; he gave to Christ's hospital in London five hundred pounds, &c.

Sir Andrew Jud, skinner, mayor 1551, erected one notable free school at Tunbridge in Kent, and alms houses nigh St. Helen's church in London, and left to the Skinners lands to the value of sixty pounds three shillings and eight pence the year; for the which they be bound to pay twenty pounds to the schoolmaster, eight pounds to the usher, yearly, for ever, and four shillings the week to the six alms people, and twenty-five shillings and four pence the year in coals for ever.

Sir Thomas White, merchant-taylor, mayor 1554, founded St. John's college, Oxford, and gave great sums of money to divers towns in England for relief of the poor, as in my Summary.

Edward Hall, gentleman, of Gray's inn, a citizen by birth and office, as common sergeant of London, and one of the judges in the Sheriffs' court; he wrote and published a famous and eloquent chronicle, entitled, "The Uniting of the Two noble Families, Lancaster and Yorke*."

Richard Hils, merchant-taylor, 1560, gave five hundred pounds towards the purchase of a house called the manor of the Rose, wherein the merchant-taylors founded their free school in London; he also gave to the said merchant-taylors one plot of ground, with certain small cottages on the Tower hill, where he built fair alms houses for fourteen sole women.

About the same time William Lambert, Esq., born in London, a justice of the peace in Kent, founded a college for the poor, which he named of Queen Elizabeth, in East Greenwich.

William Harper, merchant-taylor, mayor 1562, founded a free school in the town of Bedford, where he was born, and also buried.

* The first edition of Hall's Chronicle appeared in 1548, and is a scarce and beautifully executed book. The edition of 1809 is a reprint of it, carefully collated with that of 1550.

Sir Thomas Gresham, mercer, 1566, built the Royal Exchange in London, and by his testament left his dwelling house in Bishopsgate street to be a place for readings, allowing large stipends to the readers, and certain alms houses for the poor.

William Patten, gentleman, a citizen by birth, a customer of London outward, justice of peace in Middlesex, the parish church of Stokenewenton being ruinous, he repaired, or rather new built.

Sir Thomas Roo, merchant-taylor, mayor 1568, gave to the merchant-tailors lands or tenements, out of them to be given to ten poor men, clothworkers, carpenters, tilers, plasterers, and armourers, forty pounds yearly, namely, four pounds to each; also one hundred pounds to be lent to eight poor men; besides he enclosed with a wall of brick nigh one acre of ground, pertaining to the hospital of Bethlem, to be a burial for the dead.

Ambrose Nicholas, salter, mayor 1576, founded twelve alms houses in Monke's well street, near unto Creple's gate, wherein he placed twelve poor people, having each of them sevenpence the week, and once every year five sacks of coals, and one quarter of a hundred faggots, all of his gift for ever.

William Lambe, gentleman and clothworker, in the year 1577, built a water-conduit at Oldborne cross to his charges of fifteen hundred pounds, and did many other charitable acts, as in my Summary.

Sir T. Offley, merchant-taylor, mayor, deceased 1580, appointed by his testament the one half of all his goods, and two hundred pounds deducted out of the other half given to his son Henry, to be given and bestowed in deeds of charity by his executors, according to his confidence and trust in them.

John Haydon, sheriff 1583, gave large legacies, more than three thousand pounds, for the relief of the poor, as in my Summary.

Barnard Randolph, common sergeant of London 1583, gave and delivered with his own hand, nine hundred pounds towards the building of water-conduits, which was performed. More, by testament he gave one thousand pounds to be employed in charitable actions; but that money being in hold fast hands, I have not heard how it was bestowed, more than of other good men's testaments—to be performed.

Sir Wolston Dixie, skinner, mayor 1586, founded a free school at Bosworth, and endowed it with twenty pounds land by year.

Richard May, merchant-taylor, gave three hundred pounds toward the new building of Blackwell hall in London, a market-place for woollen cloths.

John Fuller, Esq., one of the judges in the sheriffs' court of London, by his testament, dated 1592, appointed his wife, her heirs and assigns, after his decease, to erect one alms house in the parish of Stikoneth*, for twelve poor single men, aged fifty years or upwards, and one other alms house in Shoreditch, for twelve poor aged widow women of like age, she to endow them with one hundred pounds the year, to wit, fifty pounds to each for ever, out of his lands in Lincolnshire, assured ever unto certain fiefs in trust, by a deed of feoffment. Item: more, he gave his messuages,

lands, and tenements, lying in the parishes of St. Benet and St. Peter, by Powle's wharf in London, to feoffees in trust, yearly for ever, to disburse all the issues and profits of the said lands and tenements, to the relieving and discharge of poor prisoners in the Hole, or two penny wards in the two compters in London, in equal portions to each comptor, so that the prisoners exceed not the sum of twenty-six shillings and eight pence for every one prisoner at any one time.

Thus much for famous citizens have I noted their charitable actions, for the most part done by them in their lifetime. The residue left in trust to their executors, I have known some of them hardly (or never) performed; wherefore I wish men to make their own hands their executors, and their eyes their overseers, not forgetting the old proverb:—

“Women be forgetfull, children be unkind,
Executors be covetous, and take what they find.
If any body aske where the dead's goods became,
They answer, So God ine help, and holy dome, he died
a poore man.”

One worthy citizen merchant-taylor, having many years considered this proverb foregoing, hath therefore established to twelve poor aged men, merchant-tailors, six pounds two shillings to each yearly for ever. He hath also given them gowns of good broad cloth, lined thoroughly with bays, and are to receive every three years' end the like new gowns for ever.

And now of some women, citizens' wives, deserving memory, for example to posterity shall be noted.

Dame Agnes Foster, widow, sometime wife to Stephen Foster, fishmonger, mayor 1455, having enlarged the prison of Ludgate in 1463, procured in a common council of this city, certain articles to be established for the ease, comfort, and relief of poor prisoners there, as in the chapter of gates I have set down.

Avice Gibson, wife unto Nicholas Gibson, grocer, one of the sheriffs 1539, by license of her husband, founded a free school at Radclyffe, near unto London, appointing to the same, for the instruction of sixty poor men's children, a schoolmaster and usher with fifty pounds; she also built alms houses for fourteen poor aged persons, each of them to receive quarterly six shillings and eight pence the piece for ever; the government of which free school and alms houses she left in confidence to the Coopers in London. This virtuous gentleman was after joined in marriage with Sir Anthony Knevet, knight, and so called the Lady Knevet; a fair painted table of her picture was placed in the chapel which she had built there, but of late removed thence, by the like reason as the Grocer's arms fixed on the outer wall of the school-house are pulled down, and the Coopers set in place*.

Margaret Danne, widow to William Danne, ironmonger, one of the sheriffs of London, gave by her testament to the ironmongers, two thousand pounds, to be lent to young men of that company, paying after the rate of five pounds in the year for every hundred; which one hundred pounds so

* “Cursed is hee that removeth his neighbors mark, have I read.”—*Stow*.

* Stepney.

rising yearly, to be employed on charitable actions, as she then appointed, but not performed in more than thirty years after.

Dame Mary Ramsey, wife to Sir Thomas Ramsey, mayor about the year 1577, being seised of lands in fee simple of her inheritance to the yearly value of two hundred and forty-three pounds, by his consent gave the same to Christ's hospital in London towards the relief of poor children there, and other ways, as in my Summary and Abridgment I have long since expressed; which gift she in her widowhood confirmed and augmented, as is showed by monuments in Christ's hospital erected.

Thus much for the worthiness of citizens in this city, touching whom John Lydgate, a monk of Bury, in the reign of Henry VI., made (amongst other) these verses following:—

"Of seven things I prayse this city.
Of true meaning and faithful observance;
Of righteousnes, truth, and equity;
Of stablesnes aye kept in legiance;
And for of vertue thou hast suffisance,
In this loud here, and other londs all,
The kinges chamber of custome, men thee call."

Having thus in generality handled the original, the walls, gates, ditches, and fresh waters, the bridges, towers, and castles, the schools of learning and houses of law, the orders and customs, sports and pastimes, watchings and martial exercises, and lastly, the honour and worthiness of the citizens. I am now to set down the distribution of this city into parts; and more especially to declare the antiquities noteworthy in every of the same; and how both the whole and parts have been from time to time ruled and governed.

THE ancient division of this city was into wards or aldermannies. And therefore I will begin at the east, and so proceed through the high and most principal street of the city to the west, after this manner.

First, Through Aldgate street to the west corner of St. Andrew's church, called Undershaft, on the right hand, and Lyme street corner on the left; all which is of Aldgate ward; from thence through Cornhill street to the west corner of Leaden hall; all which is of Lyme street ward. From thence, leaving the street that leadeth to Bishopsgate on the right hand, and the way that leadeth into Grasse street on the left, still through Cornhill street, by the conduit to the west corner against the Stocks; all which is in Cornhill ward. Then by the said Stocks (a market-place both of fish and flesh standing in the midst of the city) through the Poultry (a street so called) to the great conduit in West Cheape, and so through Cheape to the standard, which is of Cheape ward, except on the south side from Bow-lane to the said standard, which is of Cordwayner street ward. Then by the standard to the great cross, which is in Cripplegate ward on the north side, and in Bred street ward on the south side. And to the little conduit by Paule's gate, from whence of old time the said high street stretched straight to Ludgate, all in the ward of Faringdon within, then divided truly from east to west; but since by means of the burning of Paule's church, which was in the reign of William I., Mauricius,

then bishop of London, laid the foundation of a new church, so far in largeness exceeding the old, that the way towards Ludgate was thereby greatly straitened, as before I have discoursed.

Now from the north to the south this city was of old time divided, not by a large highway or street, as from east to west, but by a fair brook of sweet water, which came from out the north fields through the wall, and midst of the city, into the river of Thames; which division is till this day constantly and without change maintained. This water was called (as I have said) Walbrooke, not Galus brook of a Roman captain slain by Asclepiodatus, and thrown therein, as some have fabled, but of running through, and from the wall of this city; the course whereof, to prosecute it particularly, was and is from the said wall to St. Margaret's church in Lothberrie; from thence beneath the lower part of the Grocers' hall, about the east part of their kitchen, under St. Mildred's church, somewhat west from the said Stockes' market; from thence through Buckels berry, by one great house built of stone and timber called the Old Barge, because barges out of the river of Thames were rowed up so far into this brook, on the backside of the houses in Walbrooke street (which street taketh the name of the said brook) by the west end of St. John's church upon Walbrooke, under Horseshew bridge, by the west side of Tallowchandler's hall, and of the Skinner's hall, and so behind the other houses to Elbow lane, and by a part thereof down Grenewitch lane, into the river of Thames.

This is the course of Walbrooke, which was of old time bridged over in divers places, for passage of horses and men, as need required; but since, by means of encroachment on the banks thereof, the channel being greatly straitened, and other noyances done thereunto, at length the same by common consent was arched over with brick, and paved with stone, equal with the ground, where through it passed, and is now in most places built upon, that no man may by the eye discern it, and therefore the trace thereof is hardly known to the common people.

This city was divided from east to west, and from north to south. I am further to show how the same was of old time broken into divers parts called wards, whereof Fitzstephen, more than four hundred years since, writeth thus:—"This city, (saith he) even as Rome, is divided into wards; it hath yearly sheriffs instead of consuls. It hath the dignity of senators in aldermen," &c. The number of these wards in London was, both before and in the reign of Henry III., twenty-four in all; whereof thirteen lay on the east side of the said Walbrooke, and eleven on the west. Notwithstanding these eleven grew much more large than those on the east; and therefore in the year of Christ 1393, in the 17th of Richard II., Faringdon ward, which was then one entire ward, but mightily increased of buildings without the gates, was by act of parliament appointed to be divided into twain, and to have two aldermen, to wit, Faringdon within, and Faringdon without, which made up the number of twelve wards on the west side of Walbrooke, and so the whole number of twenty-five on both sides. Moreover, in the year 1550, the mayor, commonalty, and citizens of London, purchasing the liberties of the borough of Southwark, appointed the

same to be a ward of London, and so became the number of thirteen wards on the east, twelve on the west, and one south of the river Thames, in the said borough of Southwark, in the county of Surrey, which in all arise to the number of twenty-six wards, and twenty-six aldermen of London.

Wards on the east part of Walbrooke are these :—

- 1 Portsoken ward without the walls;
- 2 Tower street ward.
- 3 Ealdegate ward.
- 4 Lime street ward.
- 5 Bishopsgate ward, within the walls and without.
- 6 Brod street ward.
- 7 Cornehil ward.
- 8 Langbourne ward.
- 9 Billingsgate ward.
- 10 Bridge ward within.
- 11 Candlewick street ward.
- 12 Walbrooke ward.
- 13 Downgate ward.

Wards on the west side of Walbrook are these :

- 14 Vintry ward.
- 15 Cordwainer street ward.
- 16 Cheape ward.
- 17 Colman street warde.
- 18 Basinghall warde.
- 19 Cripplegate ward, within and without.
- 20 Aldersgate ward, within and without.
- 21 Farringdon ward within.
- 22 Bread street ward.
- 23 Queenhithe ward.
- 24 Castle Baynard ward.
- 25 Farringdon ward without the walls.

One ward south the river Thames, in the borough of Southwark, by the name of

- 26 Bridge ward without.

OF PORTSOKEN WARD, THE FIRST IN THE EAST PART.

SEEING that of every of these wards I have to say somewhat, I will begin with Portsoken ward, without Aldgate.

This Portsoken, which soundeth * the franchise at the gate, was sometime a guild, and had beginning in the days of King Edgar, more than six hundred years since †. There were thirteen knights or soldiers, well-beloved to the king and realm, for service by them done, which requested to have a certain portion of land on the east part of the city, left desolate and forsaken by the inhabitants, by reason of too much servitude. They besought the king to have this land, with the liberty of a guild for ever. The king granted to their request, with conditions following : that is, that each of them should victoriously accomplish three combats, one above the ground, one under ground, and the third in the water ; and after this, at a certain day in East Smithfield, they should run with spears against all comers ; all which was gloriously performed ; and the same day the king named it Knigheten Guild, and so bounded it, from Aldgate to the place where the bars now are, toward the east, on both the sides of the street, and extended it towards Bishopsgate in the north, unto the house then of William Presbiter, after of Giffrey Tanner, and then of the heirs of Colver, after that of John

* "As much as."—1st edition, p. 85.

† Lib. Trinitat.

Easeby, but since of the Lord Bouchier, &c. And again towards the south unto the river of Thames, and so far into the water, as a horseman, entering the same, may ride at a low water, and throw his spear * ; so that all East Smithfield, with the right part of the street that goeth to Dodding pond into the Thames, and also the hospital of St. Katherin's, with the mills that were founded in King Stephen's days, and the outward stone wall, and the new ditch of the Tower, are of the said fee and liberty ; for the said wall and ditch of the Tower were made in the time of King Richard, when he was in the Holy Land, by William Longshampe, Bishop of Ely, as before I have noted unto you.

These knights had as then none other charter by all the days of Edgar, Ethelred, and Cnutus, until the time of Edward the Confessor, whom the heirs of those knights humbly besought to confirm their liberties ; whereunto he graciously granting †, gave them a deed thereof, as appeareth in the book of the late house of the Holy Trinity. The said charter is fair written in the Saxon letter and tongue. After this, King William, the son of William the Conqueror, made a confirmation of the same liberties, unto the heirs of those knights, in these words : "William, king of England, to Maurice Bishop, and Godfrey de Magum, and Richard de Parre, and to his faithfull people of London, greeting : Know ye me to have granted to the men of Knigheten Guilde, the guilde that belonged to them, and the land that belonged thereunto, with all customes, as they had the same in the time of King Edward, and my father. Witnesse, Hugh de Buche, at Rething."

After him, King Henry I. confirmed the same by his charter to the like effect, the recital whereof I pretermitt for brevity. After which time, the church of the Holy Trinity, within Aldgate of London, being founded by Queen Matilda, wife to the said Henry, the multitude of brethren, praising God day and night therein, in short time so increased, that all the city was delighted in the beholding of them ; insomuch, that in the year 1115, certain burgesses of London, of the progeny of those noble English knights ; to wit, Radulphus Fitalgod, Wilmarde le Deucreshe, Orgare le Prude, Edward Hupcornehill, Blackstanus, and Alwine his kinsman, and Robert his brother, the sons of Leafstanus the goldsmith, Wiso his son, Hugh Fitzvulgar, Algarde Secusme, coming together into the chapter-house of the said church of the Holy Trinity, gave to the same church and canons serving God therein, all the lands and soke called in English Knigheten Guilde, which lieth to the wall of the city, without the same gate, and stretcheth to

* This mode of defining the limits of a property which borders on a running stream, or rather how far the rights of the owner extend, is of the highest antiquity ; and Grimm, in his *Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer* (s. 55—68), has collected much and very curious evidence upon the subject.

Mr. Kemble, in his *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici* (tom. i. introd. 50), having quoted a charter of Cnut's, in which the following passage occurs : . . . *ita ut notante nare in flumine cum plenum fuerit, quam longius de navi potest securis parvula, quam Angli vocant taper-eax, super terram precipi, ministri ecclesie Christi rectitudines accipiant :*" adds in a note : "The instance of *Hammer wurf*, which still subsists in some maours, is peculiarly interesting."

† Liber Trinitat.

the river of Thames ; they gave it, I say, taking upon them the brotherhood and participation of the benefits of that house, by the hands of Prior Norman. And the better to confirm this their grant, they offered upon the altar there the charter of Edward, together with the other charters which they had thereof ; and afterward they did put the foresaid prior in seisine thereof, by the church of St. Buttolph's, which is built thereon, and is the head of that land. These things were thus done before Bernard, prior of Dunstable, John, prior of Derland, Geoffrey Clinton, chamberlain, and many other clerks and laymen, French and English. Orgar le Prude (one of their company) was sent to King Henry, beseeching him to confirm their gift, which the king gladly granted by his deed : " Henry, king of England, to Richard Bishop of London, to the shireffes and provost, and to all his barons and faithfull people, French and English, of London and Middlesex, greeting : Know ye mee to have graunted and confirmed to the church and canons of the Holy Trinitie of London, the soke of the English Knighten Guilde, and the land which pertaineth thereunto, and the church of St. Buttolph, as the men of the same guilde have given and granted unto them : and I will and straightly commaund, that they may hold the same well and honourably and freely, with sacke and soke, toll and thea, infangtheffe, and all customs belonging to it, as the men of the same Guild in best sort had the same in the time of K. Edward, and as King William, my father and brother, did grant it to them by their writs. Witness, A. the queene, Geoffrey the chauncellor, Geoffrey of Clinton, and William of Clinton, at Woodstocke *." All these prescribed writings (saith my book), which sometime belonged to the priory of the Holy Trinity, are registered in the end of the Book of Remembrances, in the Guildhall of London, marked with the letter C, folio 134. The king sent also his sheriffs, to wit, Aubrey de Vere, and Roger, nephew to Hubert, which upon his behalf should invest this church with the possessions thereof, which the said sheriffs accomplished coming upon the ground ; Andrew Buchevite, and the forenamed witnesses, and other, standing by ; notwithstanding, Othowerus Acolivillus, Otto, and Geoffrey, Earl of Essex, constables of the Tower by succession, withheld by force a portion of the said land, as I have before delivered.

The prior and canons of the Holy Trinity, being thus seised of the said land and soke of Knighten Guilde, a part of the suburb without the wall (but within the liberties of the city), the same prior was, for him and his successors, admitted as one of the aldermen of London, to govern the same land and soke : according to the customs of the city, he did sit in court, and rode with the mayor and his brethren the aldermen, as one of them, in scarlet or other livery as they used, until the year 1531, at the which time the said priory, by the last prior there, was surrendered to King Henry VIII., in the 23rd of his reign, who gave this priory to Sir Thomas Audley, knight, lord chancellor of England, and he pulled down the church ; since the

which dissolution of that house, the said ward of Portoken hath been governed by a temporal man, one of the aldermen of London, elected by the citizens, as the aldermen of other wards. Thus much for the out-bounds of Knighten guilde, or Portoken ward, and for the antiquity and government thereof.

Now, of the parts therein, this is specially to be noted. First, the east part of the Tower standeth there, then an hospital of St. Katherine's, founded by Matilda the queen, wife to King Stephen, by license of the priory and convent of the Holy Trinity in London, on whose grounds he founded it. Helianor the queen, wife to King Edward I., a second foundress, appointed there to be a master, three brethren chaplains, and three sisters, ten poor women, and six poor clerks ; she gave to them the manor of Carlton in Wiltshire, and Upchurch in Kent, &c. Queen Philippa, wife to King Edward III., 1351, founded a chantry there, and gave to that hospital ten pounds land by year ; it was of late time called a free chapel, a college, and an hospital for poor sisters. The choir, which of late years was not much inferior to that of Paules, was dissolved by Dr. Wilson, a late master there, the brethren and sisters remaining : this house was valued at 315*l.* 14*s.* 2*d.*, being now of late years inclosed about, or pestered with small tenements and homely cottages, having inhabitants, English and strangers, more in number than in some city in England. There lie buried in this church the countess of Huntington, countess of the March in her time, 1429 ; John Holland, Duke of Exeter and Earl of Huntington, 1447, and his two wives, in a fair tomb on the north side the choir ; Thomas Walsingham, esquire, and Thomas Ballarde, esquire, by him, 1465 ; Thomas Flemming, knight, 1466, &c. *

On the east and by north of the Tower, lieth East Smithfield and Tower hill, two plots of ground so called, without the wall of the city ; and east from them both was sometime a monastery, called New Abbey, founded by King Edward III. in the year 1359, upon occasion as followeth :

In the year 1348, the 23rd of Edward III., the first great pestilence in his time began, and increased so sore, that for want of room in churchyards to bury the dead of the city and of the suburbs, one John Corey, clerk, procured of Nicholas, prior of the Holy Trinity within Aldgate, one toft † of ground near unto East Smithfield, for the burial of them that died, with condition that it might be called the churchyard of the Holy Trinity ; which ground he caused, by the aid of divers devout citizens, to be inclosed with a wall of stone. Robert Elsing, son of William Elsing, gave five pounds thereunto ; and the same was dedicated by Ralph Stratford, Bishop of London, where innumerable bodies of the dead were afterwards buried, and a chapel built in the same place to the honour of God : to the which King Edward setting his eye (having before, in a tempest on the sea, and peril of drowning, made a vow to build a monastery to the

* This charter is printed, with others relating to the same subject, in the new edition of the *Federa*, i. 11. The accuracy with which Stow has translated it is a guarantee for the dependence which may be placed upon his statements derived from documents.

* The further history of this establishment will be found in Nichols' *History of the Hospital and Collegiate Church of St. Katherine, near the Tower of London*.

† The Danish *loft*, Swedish *tomt*, properly signifies the ground upon which a house stands. See Grimm's *Deutsche Rech Atterthümer*, s. 539.

honour of God, and our lady of grace, if God would grant him grace to come safe to land), built there a monastery, placing an abbot, and monks of the Cistercian, or White order. The bounds of this plot of ground, together with a decree for tithes thereof, are expressed in the charter, the effect whereof I have set down in another place, and have to show. This house, at the late general suppression, was valued at 54*l.* 6*s.* 10*d.* yearly; it was surrendered in the year 1539, the 30th of Henry VIII.; since the which time, the said monastery being clean pulled down by Sir Arthur Darcie, knight, and others, of late time in place thereof is built a large storehouse for victuals; and convenient ovens are built there, for baking of biscuits to serve her majesty's ships. The grounds adjoining, belonging to the said abbey, are employed in building of small tenements.

For Tower hill, as the same is greatly diminished by building of tenements and garden-plots, &c. So it is of late, to wit, in the year of Christ 1593, on the north side thereof, and at the west end of Hog street, beautified by certain fair alms houses, strongly built of brick and timber, and covered with slate for the poor, by the merchant-tailors of London, in place of some small cottages given to them by Richard Hills, sometime a master of that company, one thousand loads of timber for that use, being also given by Anthonie Radcliffe, of the same society, alderman. In these alms houses, fourteen charitable brethren of the said merchant-tailors yet living, have placed fourteen poor sole women, which receive each of them of their founder sixteen pence, or better, weekly, besides 8*l.* 15*s.* yearly, paid out of the common treasury of the same corporation for fuel.

From the west part of this Tower hill, towards Aldgate, being a long continual street, amongst other smaller buildings in that row, there was sometime an abbey of nuns of the order of St. Clare, called the Minories, founded by Edmond, Earl of Lancaster, Leycester, and Darbie, brother to King Edward III. in the year 1293; the length of which abbey contained fifteen perches and seven feet, near unto the king's street or highway, &c., as appeareth by a deed, dated 1303.

A plague of pestilence being in this city, in the year 1515, there died in this house of nuns professed to the number of twenty-seven, besides other lay people, servants in their house. This house was valued to dispend 41*l.* 8*s.* 5*d.* yearly, and was surrendered by Dame Elizabeth Salvage, the last abbess there, unto King Henry VIII. in the 30th of his reign, the year of Christ 1539.

In place of this house of nuns is now built divers fair and large storehouses for armour and habiliments of war, with divers workhouses, serving to the same purpose: there is a small parish church for inhabitants of the close, called St. Trinities.

Near adjoining to this abbey, on the south side thereof, was sometime a farm belonging to the said munery; at the which farm I myself in my youth have fetched many a half-penny worth of milk, and never had less than three ale pints for a halfpenny in the summer, nor less than one ale quart for a halfpenny in the winter, always hot from the kine, as the same was milked and strained. One Trolop, and afterwards Goodman, were the farmers there, and had thirty or forty kine to the pail. Goodman's son

being heir to his father's purchase, let out the ground first for grazing of horses, and then for garden-plots, and lived like a gentleman thereby*.

On the other side of that street lieth the ditch without the walls of the city, which of old time was used to be open, always from time to time cleansed from filth and mud, as need required; of great breadth, and so deep, that divers, watering horses where they thought it shallowest, were drowned, both horse and man. But now of later time the same ditch is inclosed, and the banks thereof let out for garden-plots, carpenters' yards, bowling allies, and divers houses thereon built, whereby the city wall is hidden, the ditch filled up, a small channel left, and that very shallow.

From Aldgate, east, lieth a large street and highway, sometime replenished with few, but fair and comely buildings; on the north side whereof, the first was the parish church of St. Buttolph, in a large cemetery or churchyard. This church hath been lately new built at the special charges of the priors of the Holy Trinity; patrons thereof, as it appeareth by the arms of that house, engraven on the stone work. The parishioners of this parish being of late years mightily increased, the church is pestered with lofts and seats for them. Monuments in this church are few: Henry Jorden founded a chauntry there; John Romany Ollarie, and Agnes his wife, were buried there about 1408; Richard Chester, alderman, one of the sheriffs, 1484; Thomas Lord Darcie of the north, knight of the garter, beheaded 1537; Sir Nicholas Carew, of Bedington, in Surrey, knight of the garter, beheaded 1538; Sir Arthur Darcie, youngest son to Thomas Lord Darcie, deceased at the new abbey on the Tower hill, was buried there. East from this parish church, there were certain fair inns for receipt of travellers repairing to the city, up towards Hog lane end, somewhat within the bars, a mark showing how far the liberties of the city do extend.

This Hog lane stretcheth north toward St. Mary Spite without Bishopsgate, and within these forty years† had on both sides fair hedge rows of elm trees, with bridges and easy stiles to pass over into the pleasant fields, very commodious for citizens therein to walk, shoot, and otherwise to recreate and refresh their dull spirits in the sweet and wholesome air, which is now within a few years made a continual building throughout, of garden-houses and small cottages; and the fields on either sides be turned into garden-plots, tenter yards, bowling alleys, and such like, from Houndes ditch in the west, as far as White Chappell, and further towards the east.

On the south side of the highway from Aldgate were some few tenements, thinly scattered here and there, with many void spaces between them, up to the Bars; but now that street is not only fully replenished with buildings outward, and also pestered with divers alleys, on either side to the

* In this pleasant little autobiographical digression, in which, as in many other parts of his history, our worthy author shows, like Falstaff, a disposition to "babble o' green fields," the reader is presented with a view of what Goodman's Fields once were, and informed how that densely populated neighbourhood came to bear a name which contrasts so strongly with its present condition.

† "These forty-four years last."—1st edition, p. 92.

bars, but to White Chappell and beyond. Among the which late buildings, one memorable for the commodity of that east part of this city is a fair water conduit, hard without the gate ; at the building whereof in the year 1535, Sir John Allen being mayor, two fifteens were granted by the citizens for the making and laying of pipes, to convey water from Hackney to that place ; and so that work was finished.

From Aldgate, north-west to Bishopsgate, lieth the ditch of the city called Houndesditch ; for that in old time, when the same lay open, much filth (conveyed forth of the city), especially dead dogs, were there laid or cast ; wherefore of latter time a mud wall was made, inclosing the ditch, to keep out the laying of such filth as had been accustomed. Over against this mud wall, on the other side of the street, was a fair field, sometime belonging to the priory of the Trinity, and since by Sir Thomas Audley given to Magdalen college in Cambridge : this field (as all other about the city) was inclosed, reserving open passage therinto for such as were disposed. Towards the street were some small cottages, of two stories high, and little garden-plots backward, for poor bed-rid people, for in that street dwelt none other, built by some prior of the Holy Trinity, to whom that ground belonged.

In my youth, I remember, devout people, as well men as women of this city, were accustomed oftentimes, especially on Fridays, weekly to walk that way purposely there to bestow their charitable alms ; every poor man or woman lying in their bed within their window, which was towards the street, open so low that every man might see them, a clean linen cloth lying in their window, and a pair of beads, to show that there lay a bed-rid body, unable but to pray only. This street was first paved in the year 1503.

About the latter reign of Henry VIII., three brethren that were gunfounders, surnamed Owens, got ground there to build upon, and to inclose for casting of brass ordinance. These occupied a good part of the street on the field side, and in a short time divers others also built there, so that the poor bed-rid people were worn out, and, in place of their homely cottages, such houses built as do rather want room than rent ; which houses be for the most part possessed by brokers, sellers of old apparel, and such like. The residue of the field was for the most part made into a garden by a gardener named Cawsway, one that served the markets with herbs and roots ; and in the last year of King Edward VI. the same was parcelled into gardens, wherein are now many fair houses of pleasure built.

On the ditch side of this street the mud wall is also by little and little all taken down, the bank of the ditch being raised, made level ground, and turned into garden-plots and carpenters' yards, and many large houses are there built ; the filth of which houses, as also the earth cast out of their vaults, is turned into the ditch, by which means the ditch is filled up, and both the ditch and wall so hidden that they cannot be seen of the passers by. This Portoken ward hath an alderman and his deputy, common councillors six, constables four, scavengers four, for the wardmote inquest eighteen, and a beadle. To the fifteen it is cessed at four pounds ten shillings.

TOWER STREET WARD.

THE first ward in the east part of this city within the wall is called Tower street ward, and extendeth along the river of Thames from the said Tower in the east almost to Belinsgate in the west. One half of the Tower, the ditch on the west side, and bulwarks adjoining, do stand within that part where the wall of the city of old time went straight from the postern gate south to the river of Thames, before that the Tower was built. From and without the Tower ditch, west and by north, is the said Tower hill, sometime a large plot of ground, now greatly straitened by incroachments (unlawfully made and suffered) for gardens and houses ; some on the bank of the Tower ditch, whereby the Tower ditch is marred, but more near unto the wall of the city from the postern north, till over against the principal fore-gate of the Lord Lumley's house, &c. ; but the Tower ward goeth no further that way.

Upon this hill is always readily prepared, at the charges of the city, a large scaffold and gallows of timber, for the execution of such traitors or transgressors as are delivered out of the Tower, or otherwise, to the sheriffs of London by writ, there to be executed. I read, that in the fifth of King Edward IV. * a scaffold and gallows was there set up by other the king's officers, and not of the city's charges, whereupon the mayor and his brethren complained, but were answered by the king that the Tower hill was of the liberty of the city ; and whatsoever was done in that point was not in derogation of the city's liberties, and therefore commanded proclamation † to be made, as well within the city as in the suburbs, as followeth : " Forasmuch as, the seventh day of this present month of November, gallows were erect and set up besides our Tower of London, within the liberties and franchises of our city of London, in derogation and prejudice of the liberties and franchises of this city, the king our sovereign lord would it be certainly understood that the erection and setting up of the said gallows was not done by his commandment ; wherefore the king our sovereign lord will eth, that the erection and setting up the said gallows be not any precedent or example thereby hereafter to be taken, in hurt, prejudice, or derogation of the franchises, liberties, and privileges of the said city, which he at all times hath had, and hath in his benevolence, tender favour, and good grace, &c. Apud Westminst. 9 die Novemb. anno regni nostri quinto." On the north side of this hill is the said Lord Lumley's house, and on the west side divers houses lately built, and other incroachments along south to Chick lane ‡, on the east of Barking church, at the end whereof you have Tower street stretching from the Tower hill, west to St. Margaret Patten's church parsonage.

Now therefore, to begin at the east end of the street, on the north side thereof, is the fair parish church called Allhallows Barking, which standeth in a large, but sometime far larger, cemetery or churchyard ; on the north side whereof was sometime built a fair chapel, founded by King Richard I. : some have written that his heart was buried there

* Lib. I folio 40.

† Proclamation. W. Dunthorn.

‡ " And to Berewardes lane."—1st edition, p. 95.

under the high altar *. This chapel was confirmed and augmented by King Edward I. Edward IV. gave license to his cousin John, Earl of Worcester, to found there a brotherhood for a master and brethren; and he gave to the custos of that fraternity, which was Sir John Scot, knight, Thomas Colte, John Tate, and John Croke, the priory of Totingbecke, and advowson of the parish church of Streatham, in the county of Surrey, with all the members and appurtenances, and a part of the priory of Okeborn in Wiltshire, both priors aliens, and appointed it to be called the king's chapel or chantry, *In capella Beatæ Mariæ de Barking*. King Richard III. new built and founded therein a college of priests, &c. Hamond de Lega was buried, in that chapel. Robert Tate, mayor of London, 1488 †, and other, were there buried. This chapel and college were suppressed and pulled down in the year 1548, the 2nd of King Edward VI. The ground was employed as a garden-plot during the reigns of King Edward, Queen Mary, and part of Queen Elizabeth, till at length a large strong frame of timber and brick was set thereon, and employed as a store-house of merchants' goods brought from the sea by Sir William Winter, &c.

Monuments in the parish church of Allhallows Barking, not defaced, are these:—Sir Thomas Studinham, of Norwich diocese, knight, 1469; Thomas Gilbert, draper and merchant of the staple, 1483; John Bolt, merchant of the staple, 1459; Sir John Stile, knight, draper, 1500. William Thinne, esq., one of the clerks of the Green cloth, and master of the household to King Henry VIII., 1546; Hamfrey Monmouth, draper, one of the sheriffs, 1535; Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, beheaded 1546; Sir Richard Devereux, son and heir to the Lord Ferrers of Chartley; Richard Browne, esq. 1546; Philip Dennis, esq. 1556; Andrew Evenger, salter; William Robinson, mercer, alderman, 1552; William Armorer, cloth-worker, esquire, governor of the pages of honour, or master of the heaunce men ‡, servant to Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Queen Mary, buried 1560. Besides which there be divers tombs without in-

scription. John Crolys and Thomas Pike, citizens of London, founded a chantry there 1388.

By the west end of this parish church and chapel, lieth Sidon lane, now corruptly called Sything lane, from Tower street up north to Hart street. In this Sidon lane divers fair and large houses are built, namely, one by Sir John Allen, sometime mayor of London, and of council unto King Henry VIII.; Sir Francis Walsingham, knight, principal secretary to the queen's majesty that now is, was lodged there, and so was the Earl of Essex, &c. At the north-west corner of this lane standeth a proper parish church of St. Olave, which church, together with some houses adjoining, as also others over against it in Hart street, are of the said Tower street ward. Monuments in this parish church of St. Olave be these:—Richard Cely and Robert Cely, fellmongers, principal builders and benefactors of this church; Dame Johan, wife to Sir John Zouch, 1439; John Clarendiaulx, king of arms, 1427; Thomas Sawle; Sir Richard Haddon, mercer, mayor 1512; Thomas Bunnell, mercer, 1548; Thomas Morley, gentleman, 1566; Sir John Radcliffe, knight, 1568; and Dame Anne his wife, 1585; Chapone, a Florentine gentleman, 1582; Sir Hamond Vaughan, knight; George Stoddard, merchant; &c.

Then have ye out of Tower street, also on the north side, one other lane, called Marte lane, which runneth up towards the north, and is for the most part of this Tower street ward; which lane is about the third quarter thereof divided from Aldgate ward, by a chain to be drawn athwart the said lane, above the west end of Hart street. Cokedon hall, sometime at the south-west end of Marte lane, I read of *.

A third lane out of Tower street, on the north side, is called Mincheon lane, so called of tenements there sometime pertaining to the Minchuns or nuns of St. Helen's in Bishopsgate street. This lane is all of the said ward, except the corner house towards Fenchurch street. In this lane of old time dwelt divers strangers, born of Genoa and those parts; these were commonly called galley men, as men that came up in the galleys brought up wines and other merchandises, which they landed in Thames street, at a place called Galley key; they had a certain coin of silver amongst themselves, which were halfpence of Genoa, and were called Galley halfpence; these halfpence were forbidden in the 13th of Henry IV., and again by parliament in the 4th of Henry V. It was, that if any person bring into this realm halfpence, suskings, or dodkins, he should be punished as a thief; and he that taketh or payeth such money shall leese a hundred shillings, whereof the king shall have the one half, and he that will sue the other half. Notwithstanding, in my youth, I have seen them pass current, but with some difficulty, for that the English halfpence were then, though not so broad, somewhat thicker and stronger.

The Clothworkers' hall is in this lane. Then at the west end of Tower street have ye a little turning towards the north to a fair house sometime belonging to one named Griste, for he dwelt there in the year 1449. And Jack Cade, captain of the

* The body of Richard was buried at Fontevraud, at the feet of his father. "His lion heart," says Lingard, *History of England*, ii. 351, fourth edition, "the epithet had formerly flattered him, he bequeathed to the citizens of Rouen, in gratitude for their loyalty and attachment."

A point of rock, called by the peasantry of Limoges *la pierre de Maulmont*, is pointed out as the precise spot on which Richard was standing at the moment he received the fatal wound. See Marchangy, *Tristan le Voyageur*, vi. 398.

† "When he deceased, 1501."—1st edition, p. 95.

‡ These words of Stow completely bear out the definition of Henchmen given by Sir Harris Nicholas, in the *Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII.*, p. 327—31, where he says, "No word has been more commented upon than Henxmen or Henchmen. Without entering into the controversy, it may be sufficient to state, that in the reign of Henry VIII. it meant pages of honour. They were the sons of gentlemen, and in public processions always walked near the monarch's horse," &c.

The William Armorer here referred to, is no doubt the "William Armerer, the king's footman," mentioned in the *Privy Purse Expenses*, in which numerous payments for "cambrie for the king's shirts, for shirting for Master Weston, Knevet, and the two Guillams, &c.," are recorded as having been made to "William Armerer, the king's footman's wife."

* "Woodroffe lane towards the Tower in this parish."—1st edition, p. 97.

rebels in Kent, being by him in this his house feasted, when he had dined, like an unkind guest, robbed him of all that was there to be found worth the carriage. Next to this is one other fair house, sometime built by Angell Dune, grocer, alderman of London, since possessed by Sir John Champneis, alderman, and mayor of London. He built in this house a high tower of brick, the first that I ever heard of in any private man's house, to overlook his neighbours in this city. But this delight of his eye was punished with blindness some years before his death. Since that time, Sir Percevall Hart, a jolly courtier, and knight-harbinger * to the queen, was lodged there, &c. From this house, somewhat west, is the parish church of St. Margaret's Pattens; to the which church and house, on the north side, and as far over against on the south, stretcheth the farthest west part of this ward.

And, therefore, to begin again at the east end of Tower street, on the south side, have ye Beare lane, wherein are many fair houses, and runneth down to Thames street. The next is Sporiar lane, of old time so called, but since and of later time named Water lane, because it runneth down to the water gate by the Custom house in Thames street. Then is there Hart lane for Harpe lane, which likewise runneth down into Thames street. In this Hart lane is the Bakers' hall, sometime the dwelling house of John Chichley, chamberlain of London, who was son to William Chichley, alderman of London, brother to William Chichley, archdeacon of Canterbury, nephew to Robert Chichley, mayor of London, and to Henry Chichley, archbishop of Canterbury. This John Chichley, saith John Leland, had twenty-four children. Sir Thomas Kirrioll, of Kent, after he had been long prisoner in France, married Elizabeth, one of the daughters of this Chichley, by whom he had this Chichley's house. This Elizabeth was secondly married to Sir Ralfe Ashton, knight-marshal, and thirdly, to Sir John Burchier, uncle to the late Burchier, Earl of Essex, but she never had child. Edward Poynings made part with Burchier and Elizabeth, to have Ostenhanger in Kent, after their death, and entered into it, they living.

In Tower street, between Hart lane and Church lane, was a quadrant called Galley row, because galley men dwelt there. Then have ye two lanes out of Tower street, both called Church lanes, because one runneth down by the east end of St. Dunstan's church, and the other by the west end of the same; out of the west lane turneth another lane west towards St. Marie hill, and is called Fowle lane, which is for the most part in Tower street ward.

This church of St. Dunstone is called, in the east, for difference from one other of the same name

in the west; it is a fair and large church of an ancient building, and within a large churchyard; it hath a great parish of many rich merchants, and other occupiers of divers trades, namely salters and ironmongers.

The monuments in that church be these:—In the choir, John Kenington, parson, there buried 1374; William Islip, parson, 1382; John Kryoll, esq., brother to Thomas Kryoll, 1400; Nicholas Bond, Thomas Barry, merchant, 1445; Robert Shelly, esq., 1420; Robert Pepper, grocer, 1445; John Norwich, grocer, 1390; Alice Brome, wife to John Coventry, sometime mayor of London, 1433; William Isaack, draper, alderman, 1508; Edward Skales, merchant, 1521; John Ricroft, esq., sergeant of the larder to Henry VII. and Henry VIII., 1532; Edwaters, esq., sergeant-at-arms, 1558; Sir Bartholomew James, draper, mayor 1479, buried under a fair monument with his lady; Ralfe Greenway, grocer, alderman, put under the stone of Robert Pepper, 1559; Thomas Bledlow, one of the sheriffs 1472; James Bacon, fishmonger, sheriff, 1573; Sir Richard Champion, draper, mayor 1568; Henry Herdson, skinner, alderman, 1555; Sir James Garnado, knight; William Harriot, draper, mayor 1481, buried in a fair chapel by him built, 1517; John Tate, son to Sir John Tate, in the same chapel in the north wall; Sir Christopher Draper, ironmonger, mayor 1566, buried 1580. And many other worshipful personages besides, whose monuments are altogether defaced.

Now for the two Church lanes, they meeting on the south side of this church and church yard, do join in one, and running down to the Thames street, the same is called St. Dunstan's hill, at the lower end whereof the said Thames street towards the west on both sides almost to Belin's gate, but towards the east up to the water gate, by the bulwark of the Tower, is all of Tower street ward. In this street, on the Thames side, are divers large landing-places called wharfs or keys, for craneage up of wares and merchandise, as also for shipping of wares from thence to be transported. These wharfs and keys commonly bear the names of their owners, and are therefore changeable. I read, in the 26th of Henry VI., that in the parish of St. Dunstone in the east, a tenement, called Passeke's wharf, and another called Horner's key, in Thames street, were granted to William Harindon, esq. I read also, that in the 6th of Richard II., John Churchman, grocer, for the quiet of merchants, did newly build a certain house upon the key, called Wool wharf, in the Tower street ward, in the parish of Allhallows Barking, betwixt the tenement of Paule Salisberrie on the east part, and the lane called the water gate on the west, to serve for tronage *, or weighing of wools in the port of London; whereupon the king granted that during the life of the said John, the aforesaid tronage should be held and kept in the said house, with easements there for the balances and weights, and

* Full particulars of the duties attached to the office which was filled by this "jolly" old courtier of the queen's, may be gathered from the Ordinances made at Eltham by Henry VIII., and the other valuable documents of a similar nature which were printed by the Society of Antiquaries, under the title of *A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household*, &c. 4to, 1790. It may be stated that these duties consisted, as the name of the office implies, in providing for the proper accommodation and harbourage of the king and royal family when the court moved in Progresses. The gentleman-harbinger made the same provision for the great officers of state, and the yeoman-harbinger for the rest of the retinue.

* The term tronage, or tronage, is obviously allied to that weight now called Troy, but formerly Trone weight; and which it is stated in Strype's *Stow*, ii. p. 369, was in the time of the Saxons called the Hustings weights of London, and kept in the Hustings. So an ancient record in the *Book of Ramsay*, sects. 32 and 127:—"I, Ethelgina Countess, do bequeath two silver cups of twelve marks of the Hustings weight of London."

a counting place for the customer, controllers, clerks, and other officers of the said tronage, together with ingress and egress to and from the same, even as was had in other places, where the said tronage was wont to be kept, and that the king should pay yearly to the said John during his life forty shillings at the terms of St. Michael and Easter, by even portions, by the hands of his customer, without any other payment to the said John, as in the indenture thereof more at large appeareth.

Near unto this Customer's key towards the east, is the said water gate, and west from it Porter's key, then Galley key, where the galleys were used to unlade and land their merchandises and wares; and that part of Thames street was therefore of some called Galley row, but more commonly Petty Wales.

On the north side, as well as on the south of this Thames street, are many fair houses large for stowage, built for merchants; but towards the east end thereof, namely, over against Galley key, Wool key, and the Custom house, there have been of old time some large buildings of stone, the ruins whereof do yet remain, but the first builders and owners of them are worn out of memory, wherefore the common people affirm Julius Caesar to be the builder thereof, as also of the Tower itself. But thereof I have spoken already. Some are of another opinion, and that a more likely, that this great stone building was sometime the lodging appointed for the princes of Wales, when they repaired to this city, and that, therefore, the street in that part is called Petty Wales, which name remaineth there most commonly until this day, even as where the kings of Scotland were used to be lodged betwixt Charing cross and White hall, it is likewise called Scotland, and where the earls of Britons were lodged without Aldersgate, the street is called Britain street, &c.

The said building might of old time pertain to the princes of Wales, as is aforesaid, but is since turned to other use.

It is before noted of Galley key, that the galleys of Italie, and other parts, did there discharge their wines and merchandises brought to this city. It is like, therefore, that the merchants and owners procured the place to build upon for their lodgings and storehouses, as the merchants of the Haunce of Almaine were licensed to have a house, called *Gilda Teutonicorum*, the Guild hall of the Germans. Also the merchants of Burdeaux were licensed to build at the Vintry, strongly with stone, as may be yet seen, and seemeth old, though often repaired; much more cause have these buildings in Petty Wales, though as lately built, and partly of the like stone brought from Caen in Normandie, to seem old, which for many years, to wit, since the galleys left their course of landing there*, hath fallen to ruin, and been let out for stabling of horses, to tipplers of beer, and such like; amongst others, one Mother Mampudding (as they termed her) for many years kept this house, or a great part thereof, for victualling; and it seemeth that the builders of the hall of this house were shipwrights, and not house carpenters; for the frame thereof (being but low) is raised of certain principal posts of main timber, fixed deep in the ground, without any groundsell,

* "No galleys landed here in memorie of men living."—*Stow*.

boarded close round about on the inside, having none other wall from the ground to the roof, those boards not exceeding the length of a clap board, about an inch thick, every board ledging over other as in a ship or galley, nailed with ship nails called rough and clench, to wit, rough nails with broad round heads, and clenched on the other side with square plates of iron. The roof of this hall is also wrought of the like board, and nailed with rough and clench, and seemeth as it were a galley, the keel turned upwards; and I observed that no worm or rottenness is seen to have entered either board or timber of that hall, and therefore, in mine opinion, of no great antiquity*.

I read, in 44th of Edward III., that a hospital in the parish of Barking church was founded by Robert Denton, chaplain, for the sustentation of poor priests, and other both men and women, that were sick of the frenzy, there to remain till they were perfectly whole, and restored to good memory. Also I read, that in the 6th of Henry V. there was in the Tower ward a messuage, or great house, called Cobham's inn; and in the 37th of Henry VI. a messuage in Thames street pertaining to Richard Longville, &c. Some of the ruins before spoken of may seem to be of the foresaid hospital, belonging peradventure to some prior alien, and so suppressed among the rest in the reign of Edward III. or Henry V., who suppressed them all. Thus much for the bounds and antiquities of this ward, wherein is noted the Tower of London, three parish churches, the custom house, and two halls of companies, to wit, the clothworkers and the bakers. This ward hath an alderman, his deputy, common councillors eight, constables thirteen, scavengers twelve, wardmote men thirteen, and a beadle; it is taxed to the fifteenth at six and twenty pounds†.

ALDGATE WARD.

THE second ward within the wall, on the east part, is called Aldgate ward, as taking name of the same gate. The principal street of this ward beginneth at Aldgate, stretching west to sometime a fair well, where now a pump is placed; from thence the way being divided into twain, the first and principal street is called Aldgate street, runneth on the south side to Lime street corner, and half that street down on the left hand is also of that ward. In the mid way on that south side, betwixt Aldgate and Lime street, is Hart horn alley, a way that goeth through into Fenchurch street over against Northumberland house. Then have ye the Bricklayers' hall, and another alley called Sprinkle alley, now named Sugarloafe alley, of the like sign. Then is there a fair house, with divers tenements near adjoining, sometime belonging to a late dissolved priory, since possessed by Mistress Cornwallies, widow, and her heirs, by gift of Henry VIII., in reward of fine puddings‡ (as it was com-

* "But I leave every man to his own judgment, and pass to other matters."—1st edition, p. 101.

† "It is taxed to the fifteene at forty-six pounds, and accounted in the Exchequer at forty-five pounds ten shillings."—1st edition, p. 102.

‡ This rumour, if not altogether confirmed by the entries in Henry's *Priory Purse Expenses*, where we read, not only of rewards to my Lady Darrell's servant for bringing capons and puddings to the king, and to Robert Shere for bringing brawn and puddings to the king from my Lady Weston; but

monly said) by her made, wherewith she had presented him. Such was the princely liberality of those times. Of later time Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, knight, was lodged there. Then, somewhat more west is Belzettar's lane, so called of the first builder and owner thereof, now corruptly called Billitar lane. Betwixt this Belzetter lane and Lime street was of later time a frame of three fair houses, set up in the year 1590, in place where before was a large garden plot, enclosed from the high street with a brick wall, which wall being taken down, and the ground dug deep for cellarage, there was found right under the said brick wall another wall of stone, with a gate arched of stone, and gates of timber to be closed in the midst towards the street; the timber of the gates was consumed, but the hinges of iron still remained on their staples on both the sides. Moreover, in that wall were square windows, with bars of iron on either side of the gate. This wall was under ground about two fathoms deep, as I then esteemed it, and seemeth to be the ruins of some houses burned in the reign of King Stephen, when the fire began in the house of one Alewarde, near London stone, and consumed east to Aldgate, whereby it appeareth how greatly the ground of this city hath been in that place raised.

On the north side this principal street stretcheth to the west corner of St. Andrew's church, and then the ward turneth towards the north by St. Marie street, on the east side to St. Augustine's church in the wall, and so by Buries marks again, or about by the wall to Aldgate.

The second way from Aldgate, more towards the south, from the pump aforesaid, is called Fenchurch street, and is of Aldgate ward till ye come to Culver alley, on the west side of Ironmongers hall, where sometime was a lane which went out of Fenchurch street to the midst of Lime street, but this lane was stopped up for suspicion of thieves that lurked there by night. Again to Aldgate, out of the principal street, even by the gate and wall of the city, runneth a lane south to Crowched Friars, and then Woodroffe lane to the Tower hill, and out of this lane west a street called Hart street, which of that ward stretcheth to Sydon lane by St. Olave's church. One other lane more west from Aldgate goeth by Northumberland house toward the Crossed Friars; then have ye on the same side the north end of Mart lane and Blanch Apleton, where that ward endeth.

Thus much for the bounds; now for monuments, or places most ancient and notable.

I am first to begin with the late dissolved priory of the Holy Trinity, called Christ's church, on the right hand within Aldgate. This priory was founded by Matilda, queen, wife to Henry I., in the same place where Siredus sometime began to erect a church in honour of the Cross and of St. Marie Magdalen, of which the Dean and Chapter of Waltham were wont to receive thirty shillings. The queen was to acquit her church thereof, and in exchange gave unto them a mill. King Henry

confirmed her gift. This church was given to Norman, first canon regular in all England. The said queen also gave unto the same church, and those that served God therein, the plot of Aldgate, and the soke thereunto belonging, with all customs so free as she had held the same, and twenty-five pound blankes, which she had of the city of Excester, as appeareth by her deed, wherein she nameth the house Christ's church, and reporteth Aldgate to be of her domains, which she granteth, with two parts of the rent of the city of Excester. Norman took upon him to be prior of Christ's church, in the year of Christ 1108, in the parishes of St. Mary Magdalen, St. Michael, St. Katherine, and the Blessed Trinity, which now was made but one parish of the Holy Trinity, and was in old time of the Holy Cross or Holy Rood parish. The priory was built on a piece of ground in the parish of St. Katherine towards Aldgate, which lieth in length betwixt the King's street, by the which men go towards Aldgate, near to the chapel of St. Michael towards the north, and containeth in length eighty-three ells, half, quarter, and half-quarter of the king's iron eln, and lieth in breadth, &c. The soke and ward of Aldgate was then bounded as I have before showed. The queen was a means also that the land and English Knighten Guild was given unto the prior Norman: the honourable man, Geoffrey de Glinton, was a great helper therein, and obtained that the canons might enclose the way betwixt their church and the wall of the city, &c. This priory, in process of time, became a very fair and large church, rich in lands and ornaments, and passed all the priories in the city of London or shire of Middlesex; the prior whereof was an alderman of London, to wit, of Portsoken ward.

I read, that Eustacius, the eighth prior, about the year 1264, because he would not deal with temporal matters, instituted Theobald Fitz Ivonis, alderman of Portsoken ward under him, and that William Rising, prior of Christ's church, was sworn alderman of the said Portsoken ward in the 1st of Richard II. These priors have sitten and ridden amongst the aldermen of London, in livery like unto them, saving that his habit was in shape of a spiritual person, as I myself have seen in my childhood; at which time the prior kept a most bountiful house of meat and drink, both for rich and poor, as well within the house as at the gates, to all comers, according to their estates.

These were the monuments in this church:—Sir Robert Turke, and Dame Alice his wife; John Tirell, esquire; Simon Kempe, esquire; James Manthorpe, esquire; John Ascue, esquire; Thomas Fauset, of Scalset, esquire; John Kempe, gentleman; Robert Chirwide, esquire; Sir John Henningham, and Dame Isabel his wife; Dame Agnes, wife first to Sir William Bardolph, and then to Sir Thomas Mortimer; John Ashfield, esquire; Sir John Dedham, knight; Sir Ambrose Charcam; Joan, wife to Thomas Nuck, gentleman; John Husse, esquire; John Beringham, esquire; Thomas Goodwine, esquire; Ralph Walles, esquire; Dame Margaret, daughter to Sir Ralph Chevie, wife to Sir John Berkeley, to Sir Thomas Barnes, and to Sir W. Bursire; William Roofe; Simon Francis; John Breton, esquire; Helling, esquire; John Malwen and his wife; Antho-nie Wels, son to John Wels; Nicholas de Ave-

also, under date of the 26th Oct. 1530:—"Item, The same daye paid to the wife that made the king podings at Hampton corte, vjs. viijd." seems in conjunction with these entries, at least to establish the fact, that Henry liked "fine pud-dings."

sey, and Margarie his wife ; Anthonie, son to John Milles ; Baldwin, son to King Stephen, and Mathilde, daughter to King Stephen, wife to the Earl of Meulan ; Henry Fitzalwine, mayor of London, 1213 ; Geoffrey Mandevile, 1215 ; and many other. But to conclude of this priory : King Henry VIII., minding to reward Sir Thomas Audley, speaker of the parliament against Cardinal Wolsey, as ye may read in Hall, sent for the prior, commending him for his hospitality, promised him preferment, as a man worthy of a far greater dignity, which promise surely he performed, and compounded with him, though in what sort I never heard, so that the prior surrendered all that priory, with the appurtenances, to the king, in the month of July, in the year 1531, the 23rd of the said king's reign. The canons were sent to other houses of the same order, and the priory, with the appurtenances, King Henry gave to Sir Thomas Audley, newly knighted, and after made lord chancellor.

Sir Thomas Audley offered the great church of this priory, with a ring of nine bells well tuned, (whereof four the greatest were since sold to the parish of Stebunhith, and the five lesser to the parish of St. Stephen in Coleman street,) to the parishioners of St. Katherine Christ church, in exchange for their small parish church, minding to have pulled it down, and to have built there towards the street ; but the parishioners having doubts in their heads of after-claps, refused the offer. Then was the priory church and steeple proffered to whomever would take it down, and carry it from the ground, but no man would undertake the offer ; whereupon Sir Thomas Audley was fain to be at more charges than could be made of the stones, timber, lead, iron, &c. For the workmen, with great labour, beginning at the top, loosed stone from stone, and threw them down, whereby the most part of them were broken, and few remained whole ; and those were sold very cheap, for all the buildings then made about the city were of brick and timber. At that time any man in the city might have a cart-load of hard stone for paving brought to his door for six-pence or seven-pence, with the carriage. The said Thomas Lord Audley built and dwelt on this priory during his life, and died there in the year 1544 ; since the which time the said priory came by marriage of the Lord Audley's daughter and heir unto Thomas, late Duke of Norfolk, and was then called the Duke's place.

The parish church of St. Katherine standeth in the cemetery of the late dissolved priory of the Holy Trinity, and is therefore called St. Katherine Christ church. This church seemeth to be very old ; since the building whereof the high street hath been so often raised by pavements, that now men are fain to descend into the said church by divers steps, seven in number. But the steeple, or bell-tower thereof, hath been lately built to wit, about the year 1504 ; for Sir John Percivall, merchant-tailor, then deceasing, gave money towards the building thereof. There be the monuments of Sir Thomas Fleming, knight of Rowles, in Essex, and Margaret his wife, 1464 ; Roger Marshall, esquire ; Jane Horne, wife to Roger Marshall ; William Multon, alias Burdeaux herald ; John Goad, esquire, and Joan his wife ; Beatrix, daughter to William Browne ; Thomas Multon, esquire, son to Burdeaux, herald ; John Cliteroft, esquire ; John

Wakefelde, esquire ; William Criswicke ; Anne and Sewch, daughters to Ralph Shirley, esquire ; Sir John Rainsford, knight of Essex ; Sir Nicholas Throkemorton, chief butler of England, one of the chamberlains of the exchequer, ambassador, &c., 1570, and other.

At the north-west corner of this ward, in the said high street, standeth the fair and beautiful parish church of St. Andrew the Apostle ; with an addition, to be known from other churches of that name, of the knape * or undershaft ; and so called St. Andrew Undershaft, because that of old time, every year on May-day in the morning, it was used, that an high or long shaft, or May-pole, was set up there, in the midst of the street, before the south side of the said church ; which shaft, when it was set on end and fixed in the ground, was higher than the church steeple. Geoffrey Chaucer, writing of a vain boaster, hath these words, meaning of the said shaft :

" Right well aloft, and high ye beare your heade,
The weather cocke, with flying, as ye would kill,
When ye be stuffed, bet of wine, then brede,
Then looke ye, when your wombe doth fill,
As ye would beare the great shaft of Cornehill,
Lord, so merrily crowdeth then your croke,
That all the streete may heare your body cloke t."

This shaft was not raised at any time since evil May-day (so called of an insurrection made by apprentices and other young persons against aliens in the year 1517) ; but the said shaft was laid along over the doors, and under the pentises of one row of houses and alley gate, called of the shaft Shaft alley (being of the possessions of Rochester bridge), in the ward of Lime street. It was there, I say, hung on iron hooks many years, till the third of King Edward VI., that one Sir Stephen, curate of St. Katherine Christ's church, preaching at Paul's cross, said there that this shaft was made an idol, by naming the church of St. Andrew with the addition of "under that shaft ;" he persuaded therefore that the names of churches might be altered ; also that the names of days in the week might be changed ; the fish days to be kept any days except Friday and Saturday, and the Lent any time, save only betwixt Shrovetide and Easter. I have oft times seen this man, forsaking the pulpit of his said parish church, preach out of a high elm-tree † in the midst of the churchyard, and then entering the church, forsaking the altar, to have sung his high mass in English upon a tomb of the dead towards the north. I heard his sermon at Paule's cross, and I saw the effect that followed ; for in the afternoon of that present Sunday, the neighbours and tenants to the said bridge, over whose doors the said shaft had lain, after they had well

* Knappe, from the Anglo-Saxon Cnæp, Cnæpp, which Bosworth in his *Dictionary* defines "the top, cop, knop, button." Those who are of opinion that

Happy the age, and harmless were the days,

When every village did a Maypole raise,

are referred for full particulars of this old custom to Sir Henry Ellis' edition of *Brand's Popular Antiquities*, i. 135, et seq.

† Stow, in his marginal note to these lines, says, "CHAUCER, *Chance of Dice*." No such poem, however, is attributed to Chaucer by his best editor Tyrwhitt, nor preserved among the additions which worthy John Stow himself included in his edition of the poet's works published in 1561.

‡ "The said elm-tree, his preaching place, is lately taken down."—Stow.

dined, to make themselves strong, gathered more help, and with great labour raising the shaft from the hooks, whereon it had rested two-and-thirty years, they sawed it in pieces, every man taking for his share so much as had lain over his door and stall, the length of his house; and they of the alley divided among them so much as had lain over their alley gate. Thus was this idol (as he * termed it) mangled, and after burned.

Soon after was there a commotion of the commons in Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and other shires; by means whereof, straight orders being taken for the suppression of rumours, divers persons were apprehended and executed by martial law; amongst the which the baillif of Romford, in Essex, was one, a man very well beloved: he was early in the morning of Mary Magdalen's day, then kept holiday, brought by the sheriffs of London and the knight-marshal to the well within Aldgate, there to be executed upon a gibbet set up that morning, where, being on the ladder, he had words to this effect: "Good people, I am come hither to die, but know not for what offence, except for words by me spoken yesternight to Sir Stephen, curate and preacher of this parish, which were these: He asked me, 'What news in the country?' I answered, 'Heavy news.' 'Why?' quoth he. 'It is said,' quoth I, 'that many men be up in Essex, but, thanks be to God, all is in good quiet about us:' and this was all, as God be my judge," &c. Upon these words of the prisoner, Sir Stephen, to avoid reproach of the people, left the city, and was never heard of since amongst them to my knowledge. I heard the words of the prisoner, for he was executed upon the pavement of my door where I then kept house. Thus much by digression: now again to the parish church of St. Andrew Undershaft, for it still retaineth the name, which hath been new built by the parishioners there since the year 1520; every man putting to his helping hand, some with their purses, other with their bodies. Steven Gennings, merchant-tailor, sometime mayor of London, caused at his charges to be built † the whole north side of the great middle aisle, both of the body and choir, as appeareth by his arms over every pillar graven, and also the north isle, which he roofed with timber and sealed; also the whole south side of the church was glazed, and the pews in the south chapel made of his costs, as appeareth in every window, and upon the said pews. He deceased in the year 1524, and was buried in the Grey friars church. John Kerkbie, merchant-tailor, sometime one of the sheriffs, John Garlande, merchant-tailor, and Nicholas Levison, mercer, executor to Garlande, were great benefactors to this work; which was finished to the glazing in the year 1529, and fully finished 1532. Buried in this church ‡: Philip Malpas, one of the sheriffs, 1439; Sir Robert Dennie, knight, and after him Thomas Dennie, his son, in the year 1421; Thomas Stokes, gentleman, grocer, 1496. In the new church: John Nichell, merchant-tailor, 1537; William Draper, esquire, 1537; Isabell and Margaret, his wives; Nicholas Levison, mercer, one of the sheriffs, 1534; John Gerrarde, woolman, mer-

chant of the staple, 1546; Henry Man, doctor of divinity, bishop of Man, 1550; Stephen Kyrton, merchant-tailor, alderman, 1553; David Woodroffe, haberdasher, one of the sheriffs, 1554; Stephen Woodroffe, his son, gave one hundred pounds in money, for the which the poor of that parish receive two shillings in bread weekly for ever; Sir Thomas Offley, merchant-tailor, mayor, 1556; he bequeathed the one half of all his goods to charitable actions, but the parish received little benefit thereby; Thomas Starkey, skinner, one of the sheriffs, 1578; Hugh Offley, leatherseller, one of the sheriffs, 1588; William Hanbury, baker.

Now down St. Mary street, by the west end of the church towards the north, stand divers fair houses for merchants and other; namely, one fair great house, built by Sir William Pickering the father, possessed by Sir William his son, and since by Sir Edward Wootton of Kent. North from this place is the Fletchers' hall, and so down to the corner of that street, over against London wall, and against eastwards to a fair house lately new built, partly by Master Robert Beale, one of the clerks of the council.

Then come you to the Papey, a proper house, wherein sometime was kept a fraternity or brotherhood of St. Charity and St. John Evangelist, called the Papey *, for poor impotent priests (for in some language priests are called papes), founded in the year 1430 by William Oliver, William Barnabie, and John Stafford, chaplains or chantry priests in London, for a master, two wardens, &c., chaplains, chantry priests, conducts †, and other brethren and sisters, that should be admitted into the church of St. Augustine Papey in the wall. The brethren of this house becoming lame, or otherwise into great poverty, were here relieved, as to have chambers, with certain allowance of bread, drink, and coal, and one old man and his wife to see them served and to keep the house clean. This brotherhood, among others, was suppressed in the reign of Edward VI.; since the which time in this house hath been lodged Master Moris of Essex; Sir Francis Walsingham, principal secretary to her majesty; Master Barret of Essex, &c.

Then next is one great house, large of rooms, fair courts, and garden-plots; sometimes pertaining to the Bassets, since that to the abbots of Bury in Suffolk, and therefore called Buries markes, corruptly Bevis markes, and since the dissolution of the abbey of Bury, to Thomas Henage the father, and to Sir Thomas his son. Then next unto it is the before-spoken priory of the Holy Trinity; to wit, the west and north part thereof, which stretcheth up to Aldgate, where we first began.

Now in the second way from Aldgate, more

* Though one can scarcely doubt the accuracy of Stow's derivation of the name Papey, without incurring the risk of being considered '*fantasque comme la mule du Pape*,' nevertheless, as priests are called *papeys* in no other modern language than the Dutch and Flemish, it would seem more reasonable to derive the name Papey from the Latin Pappus, or from the old French *Papaoze*, which Roquefort, in his *Glossaire de la Langue Romaine*, defines "*héritage, bien patrimonial*."

† The following definition of the old French *conducher*, given by Roquefort, may serve to explain Stow's meaning:—"Espèce du clerc du Chanoines, et Chanoine du second rang."

* "As he, poore man, termed it."—1st edition, p. 108.

† "The one halfe, to wit."—1st edition, p. 109.

‡ "The monuments of the dead, buried in this church, are these."—1st edition, p. 109.

toward the south from the well or pump aforesaid, lieth Fenne church street; on the right hand whereof, somewhat west from the south end of Belzetter's lane, is the Ironmongers' hall; which company was incorporated in the 3rd of Edward IV. Richard Fleming was their first master; Nicholas Marshall and Richard Cox were custos, or wardens. And on the left hand, or south side, even by the gate and wall of the city, runneth down a lane to the Tower hill; the south part whereof is called Woodroffe lane, and out of this lane toward the west a street called Hart street. In this street, at the south-east corner thereof, sometime stood one house of Crouched (or crossed) friars, founded by Ralph Hosiar and William Sabernes about the year 1298. Stephen, the tenth prior of the Holy Trinity in London, granted three tenements for 13s. 8d. by the year unto the said Ralph Hosiar and William Sabernes, who afterwards became friars of St. Crosse; Adam was the first prior of that house. These friars founded their house in place of certain tenements purchased of Richard Wimbush, the twelfth prior of the Holy Trinity, in the year 1319, which was confirmed by Edward III. the 17th of his reign, valued at 52l. 13s. 4d., surrendered the twelfth of November, the 30th of Henry VIII. In this house was buried Master John Tirres; Nicholas, the son of William Kyriell, esquire; Sir Thomas Mellington, baron of Wemesse, and Dame Elizabeth his wife, daughter and heir of William Botelar, baron of Wome; Robert Mellington, esquire, and Elizabeth his wife, daughter to Ferreis of Ousley; Henry Lovell, son to William Lord Lovell; Dame Isabel, wife to William Edward, mayor of London, 1471; William Narborough, and Dame Elizabeth his wife; William Narborough, and Dame Beatrix his wife; William Brosked, esquire; William Bowes; Lionel Mollington, esquire, son of Robert Mollington; Nicholas Coderow, and Elizabeth his wife; Sir John Stratford, knight; Sir Thomas Asseldy, knight, clerk of the crown, sub-marshal of England, and justice of the shire of Middlesex; John Rest, grocer, mayor of London, 1516; Sir John Skevington, knight, merchant-tailor, sheriff, 1520; Sir John Milborne, draper, mayor in the year 1520, was buried there, but removed since to St. Edmondes in Lombard street; Sir Rice Grifith, beheaded on the Tower hill, 1531.

In place of this church is now a carpenters' yard, a tennis court, and such like; the friars' hall was made a glass-house, or house wherein was made glass of divers sorts to drink in; which house in the year 1575, on the 4th of September, burst out into a terrible fire, where being practised all means possible to quench, notwithstanding as the same house in a small time before had consumed a great quantity of wood by making of glasses, now itself having within it about forty thousand billets of wood, was all consumed to the stone walls, which nevertheless greatly hindered the fire from spreading any further.

Adjoining unto this friars' church, by the east end thereof in Woodroffe lane towards the Tower hill, are certain proper alms houses, fourteen in number, built of brick and timber, founded by Sir John Milborne, draper, sometime mayor, 1521, wherein he placed thirteen aged poor men and their wives, if they have wives: these have their

dwellings rent free, and 2s. 4d. the piece, the first day of every month, for ever. One also is to have his house over the gate, and 4s. every month: more, he appointed every Sunday for ever, thirteen penny loaves of white bread, to be given in the parish church of St. Edmonde in Lombard street, to thirteen poor people of that parish; and the like thirteen loaves to be given in the parish church of St. Michael upon Cornhill, and in either parish every year one load of chare coal, of thirty sacks in the load; and this gift to be continued for ever: for performance whereof, by the master and wardens of the drapers in London, he assured unto them and their successors twenty-three messuages and tenements, and eighteen garden-plots, in the parish of St. Olave in Hart street; with proviso, that if they perform not those points* above-mentioned, the said tenements and gardens to remain to the mayor and commonalty of the city of London.

Next to these alms houses is the Lord Lumley's house, built in the time of King Henry VIII. by Sir Thomas Wiat the father, upon one plot of ground of late pertaining to the foresaid Crossed friars, where part of their house stood: and this is the farthest part of Aldgate ward towards the south, and joineth to the Tower hill. The other side of that line, over against the Lord Lumley's house, on the wall side of the city, is now for the most part (or altogether) built even to Aldgate.

Then have you on the south side of Fenchurch street, over against the well or pump, amongst other fair and large built houses, one that sometime belonged to the prior of Monte Joves, or Monastery Cornute, a cell to Monte Joves beyond the seas, in Essex: it was the prior's inn, when he repaired to this city. Then a lane that leadeth down by Northumberland house towards the Crossed friars, as is afore showed.

This Northumberland house, in the parish of St. Katherine Colman, belonged to Henry Percie, Earl of Northumberland, in the 33rd of Henry VI., but of late being left by the earls, the gardens thereof were made into bowling alleys, and other parts into dicing houses, common to all comers for their money, there to bowle and hazard; but now of late so many bowling alleys, and other houses for unlawful gaming, hath been raised in other parts of the city and suburbs, that this their ancient and only patron of misrule, is left and forsaken of her gamesters, and therefore turned into a number of great rents, small cottages, for strangers and others.

At the east end of this lane, in the way from Aldgate toward the Crossed friars, of old time were certain tenements called the poor Jurie, of Jews dwelling there.

Next unto this Northumberland house is the parish church of St. Katherine, called Coleman; which addition of Coleman was taken of a great haw-yard †, or garden, of old time called Coleman haw, in the parish of the Trinity, now called Christ's church, and in the parish of St. Katherine and All Saints called Coleman church.

Then have you Blanch Apleton; whereof I read, in the 13th of Edward I., that a lane behind the

* "These poyntes not performed. The Drapers have unlawfully solde these tenements and garden plots, and the poore be wronged"—Stow.

† From the Anglo-Saxon *Ort-geard*,—an orchard, or garden.

said Blanch Appleton was granted by the king to be inclosed and shut up. This Blanch Appleton was a manor belonging to Sir Thomas Rocs of Hamelake, knight, the 7th of Richard II., standing at the north-east corner of Mart lane, so called of a privilege sometime enjoined to keep a mart there, long since discontinued, and therefore forgotten, so as nothing remaineth for memory but the name of Mart lane, and that corruptly termed Marke lane. I read that, in the third of Edward IV., all basket-makers, wire-drawers, and other foreigners, were permitted to have shops in this manor of Blanch Appleton, and not elsewhere, within this city or suburbs thereof; and this also being the farthest west part of this ward on that south side, I leave it, with three parish churches, St. Katherine Christ church, St. Andrew Undershaft, and St. Katherine Colemans; and three halls of companies, the Bricklayers' hall, the Fletchers' hall, and the Ironmongers' hall. It hath an alderman, his deputy, common councillors six, constables six, scavengers nine, wardmote men for inquest eighteen, and a beadle. It is taxed to the fifteen in London at five pounds*.

LIME STREET WARD.

The next is Lime street ward, and taketh the name of Lime street of making or selling of lime there (as is supposed); the east side of this Lime street, from the north corner thereof to the midst, is of Aldgate ward, as is aforesaid; the west side, for the most part from the said north corner, southward, is of this Lime street ward; the south end on both sides is of Langborne ward; the body of this Lime street ward is of the high street called Cornhill street, which stretcheth from Lime street on the south side to the west corner of Leaden hall, and on the north side from the south-west corner of St. Mary street to another corner over against Leaden hall. Now for St. Mary street; the west side thereof is of this Lime street ward, and also the street which runneth by the north end of this St. Mary street, on both sides, from thence west to an house called the Wrestlers, a sign so called, almost to Bishopsgate. And these are the bounds of this small ward.

Monuments, or places notable, in this ward be these:—In Lime street are divers fair houses for merchants and others; there was sometime a mansion-house of the kings, called the King's Artree, whereof I find record in the 14th of Edward I., but now grown out of knowledge. I read also of another great house in the west side of Lime street, having a chapel on the south and a garden on the west, then belonging to the Lord Nevill, which garden is now called the Green yard of the Leaden hall. This house, in the 9th of Richard II., pertained to Sir Simon Burley, and Sir John Burley his brother; and of late the said house was taken down, and the forefront thereof new built of timber by Hugh Offley, alderman. At the north-west corner of Lime street was of old time one great messuage called Benbrige's inn; Ralph Holland, draper, about the year 1452 gave it to John Gill, master, and to the wardens and fraternity of tailors and linen-armourers of St. John Baptist in London, and to their successors for ever. They did set up in place thereof a fair large frame of timber,

* "It is taxed to the fifteen in London at 46 li., and accounted in the Exchequer to 45l. 10s."—1st edition, p. 113.

containing in the high street one great house, and before it to the corner of Lime street three other tenements, the corner house being the largest, and then down Lime street divers proper tenements; all which the merchant-tailors, in the reign of Edward VI., sold to Stephen Kirton, merchant-tailor and alderman: he gave, with his daughter Grisild, to Nicholas Woodroffe the said great house, with two tenements before it, in lieu of a hundred pounds, and made it up in money 366l. 13s. 4d. This worshipful man, and the gentlewoman his widow after him, kept those houses down Lime street in good reparations, never put out but one tenant, took no fines, nor raised rents of them, which was ten shillings the piece yearly: but whether that favour did overlive her funeral, the tenants now can best declare the contrary.

Next unto this, on the high street, was the Lord Sowehe's messuage or tenement, and other; in place whereof, Richard Wethell, merchant-tailor, built a fair house, with a high tower, the second in number, and first of timber, that ever I learnt to have been built to overlook neighbours in this city.

This Richard, then a young man, became in a short time so tormented with gouts in his joints, of the hands and legs, that he could neither feed himself nor go further than he was led; much less was he able to climb and take the pleasure of the height of his tower*. Then is there another fair house, built by Stephen Kirton, alderman; Alderman Lee doth now possess it, and again new buildeth it.

Then is there a fair house of old time called the Green gate; by which name one Michael Pistoy Lumbard held it, with a tenement and nine shops in the reign of Richard II., who in the 15th of his reign gave it to Roger Crophull, and Thomas Bromeflet, esquires, by the name of the Green gate, in the parish of St. Andrew upon Cornhill, in Lime street ward; since the which time Philip Malpas, sometime alderman, and one of the sheriffs, dwelt therein, and was there robbed and spoiled of his goods to a great value by Jack Cade, and other rebels, in the year 1449.

Afterwards, in the reign of Henry VII., it was seized into the king's hands, and then granted, first, unto John Alston, after that unto William de la Rivers, and since by Henry VIII. to John Mutas, a Picarde or Frenchman, who dwelt there, and harboured in his house many Frenchmen, that kalendarred wolsteads, and did other things contrary to the franchises of the citizens; wherefore on evil May-day, which was in the year 1517, the apprentices and other spoiled his house; and if they could have found Mutas, they would have stricken off his head. Sir Peter Mutas†, son to the said John Mutas, sold this house to David Woodroffe, alderman, whose son, Sir Nicholas Woodroffe, alder-

* Stow appears to have viewed with considerable dislike the erection of buildings calculated "to overlook neighbours in this city;" and in this case, as in that of Alderman Champneys, who built "a high tower of brick in Tower street," and "the delight of whose eye was punished with blindness," (see ante, p. 51.) records the misfortunes which eventually befel the builders in a tone which bespeaks his feeling that their afflictions were visitations of Providence sent for the punishment of their pride.

† Sir Peter Meautys was the immediate ancestor of Sir Thomas Meautys, the secretary of Bacon, whose portrait by Vansomer has lately been engraved by the Granger Society.

man, sold it over to John Moore, alderman, that now possesseth it.

Next is a house called the Leaden porch, lately divided into two tenements; whereof one is a tavern, and then one other house for a merchant, likewise called the Leaden porch, but now turned to a cook's house. Next is a fair house and a large, wherein divers mayoralties have been kept, whereof twain in my remembrance; to wit, Sir William Bowyar and Sir Henry Huberthorne.

The next is Leaden hall, of which I read, that in the year 1309 it belonged to Sir Hugh Nevill, knight, and that the Lady Alice his widow made a feoffment thereof, by the name of Leaden hall, with the advowsons of the church of St. Peter upon Cornhill, and other churches, to Richard, Earl of Arundell and Surrey, 1362. More, in the year 1380, Alice Nevill, widow to Sir John Nevill, knight, of Essex, confirmed to Thomas Gogshall and others the said manor of Leaden hall, the advowsons, &c. In the year 1384, Humfrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, had the said manor. And in the year 1408, Robert Rikeden, of Essex, and Margaret his wife, confirmed to Richard Whittington, and other citizens of London, the said manor of Leaden hall, with the appurtenances, the advowsons of St. Peter's church, St. Margaret's Pattens, &c. And in the year 1411, the said Whittington and other confirmed the same to the mayor and commonalty of London, whereby it came to the possession of the city. Then in the year 1443, the 21st of Henry VI., John Hatherley, mayor, purchased license of the said king to take up two hundred fother of lead, for the building of water conduits, a common granary, and the cross in West Cheape, more richly, for the honour of the city. In the year next following, the parson and parish of St. Dunston, in the east of London, seeing the famous and mighty man (for the words be in the grant, *cum nobilis et potens vir*.) Simon Eyre, citizen of London, among other his works of piety, effectually determined to erect and build a certain granary upon the soil of the same city at Leaden hall, of his own charges, for the common utility of the said city, to the amplifying and enlarging of the said granary, granted to Henry Frowicke, then mayor, the aldermen and commonalty, and their successors for ever, all their tenements, with the appurtenances, sometime called the Horsemill, in Grasse street, for the annual rent of four pounds, &c. Also, certain evidences of an alley and tenements pertaining to the Horsemill adjoining to the said Leaden hall in Grasse street, given by William Kingstone, fishmonger, unto the parish church of St. Peter upon Cornhill, do specify the said granary to be built by the said honourable and famous merchant, Simon Eyre, sometime an upholsterer, and then a draper, in the year 1419. He built it of squared stone, in form as now it sheweth, with a fair and large chapel in the east side of the quadrant, over the porch of which he caused to be written, *Dextra Domini exaltavit me* (The Lord's right hand exalted me). Within the said church, on the north wall, was written, *Honorandus famulus mercator Simon Eyre hujus operis*, &c. In English thus:—"The honourable and famous merchant, Simon Eyre, founder of this work, once mayor of this city, citizen and draper of the same, departed out of this life, the 18th day of September, the year from the Incarnation of Christ 1459, and

the 38th year of the reign of King Henry VI." He was buried in the parish church of St. Mary Woolnoth, in Lombard street: he gave by his testament, which I have read, to be distributed to all prisons in London, or within a mile of that city, somewhat to relieve them. More, he gave two thousand marks, upon a condition, which not performed, was then to be distributed to maids' marriages, and other deeds of charity; he also gave three thousand marks to the drapers, upon condition they should, within one year after his decease, establish perpetually a master or warden, five secular priests, six clerks, and two choristers, to sing daily Divine service by note for ever, in his chapel of the Leaden hall; also *, one master, with an usher, for grammar, one master for writing, and the third for song, with housing there newly built for them for ever; the master to have for his salary ten pounds, and every other priest eight pounds, every other clerk five pounds six shillings and eight pence, and every other chorister five marks; and if the drapers refused this to do, within one year after his decease, then the three thousand marks to remain to the prior and convent of Christ's church in London, with condition to establish, as is aforesaid, within two years after his decease; and if they refused, then the three thousand marks to be disposed by his executors, as they best could devise, in works of charity. Thus much for his testament, not performed by establishing of Divine service in his chapel, or free schools for scholars; neither how the stock of three thousand marks, or rather five thousand marks, was employed by his executors, could I ever learn. He left issue, Thomas, who had issue, Thomas, &c. True it is, that in one year, 1464, the 3d of Edward IV., it was agreed by the mayor, alderman, and commonalty of London, that notwithstanding the king's letters patent, lately before granted unto them, touching the tronaage or weighing of wares to be holden at the Leaden hall, yet suit should be made to the king for new letters patent to be granted to the mayor of the staple for the tronaage of wools to be holden there, and order to be taken by the discretion of Thomas Cooke, then mayor, the counsel of the city, Geoffrey Filding, then mayor of the staple at Westminster, and of the king's council, what should be paid to the mayor and aldermen of the city, for the laying and housing of the wools there, that so they might be brought forth and weighed, &c.

Touching the chapel there, I find, that in the year 1466, by license obtained of King Edward IV., in the 6th of his reign, a fraternity of the Trinity, of sixty priests, besides other brethren and sisters, in the same chapel, was founded by William Rouse, John Risbie, and Thomas Ashby priests, some of the which sixty priests, every market-day in the forenoon, did celebrate Divine service there to such market-people as repaired to prayer; and once every year they met all together and had solemn service, with procession of the brethren and sisters. This foundation was in the year 1512, by a common council, confirmed to the sixty Trinity priests, and to their successors, at the will of the mayor and commonalty.

In the year 1484, a great fire happened upon this Leaden hall, by what casualty I know not, but

* "Three schoolemaisters, with an usher, to wit."—1st edition, p. 118.

much housing was there destroyed, with all the stocks for guns, and other provision belonging to the city, which was a great loss, and no less charge to be repaired by them.

In the year 1503, the 18th of Henry VII., a request was made by the commons of the city, concerning the usage of the said Leaden hall, in form as followeth:—"Please it, the lord mayor, and common council, to enact, that all Frenchmen bringing canvass, linen cloth, and other wares to be sold, and all foreigners bringing wolsteds, sayes, staimus, coverings, nails, iron work, or any other wares, and also all manner of foreigners bringing lead to the city to be sold, shall bring all such their wares aforesaid to the open market of the Leaden hall, there and no where else to be sold and uttered, like as of old time it hath been used, upon pain of forfeiture of all the said wares showed or sold in any other place than aforesaid; the show of the said wares to be made three days in the week, that is to say, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday; it is also thought reasonable that the common beam be kept from henceforth in the Leaden hall, and the farmer to pay therefore reasonable rent to the chamber; for better it is that the chamber have advantage thereby than a foreign person; and also the said Leaden hall, which is more chargeable now by half than profitable, shall better bear out the charges thereof; also the common beam for wool at Leaden hall, may yearly pay a rent to the chamber of London, toward supportation and charges of the same place; for reason it is, that a common office, occupied upon a common ground, bear a charge to the use of the commonalty; also, that foreigners bringing wools, felts, or any other merchandises or wares to Leaden hall, to be kept there for the sale and market, may pay more largely for the keeping of their goods than free men." Thus much for the request of the commons at this time.

Now to set down some proof that the said hall hath been employed and used as a granary for corn and grain (as the same was first appointed), leaving all former examples, this one may suffice: Roger Achley, mayor of London in the year 1512, the 3rd of Henry VIII., when the said mayor entered the mayoralty, there was not found one hundred quarters of wheat in all the garners of the city, either within the liberties, or near adjoining; through the which scarcity, when the carts of Stratford came laden with bread to the city (as they had been accustomed) there was such press about them, that one man was ready to destroy an other, in striving to be served for their money. But this scarcity did not last long; for the mayor in short time made such provision of wheat, that the bakers, both of London and Stratford, were weary of taking it up, and were forced to take up much more than they would, and for the rest the mayor laid out the money, and stored it up in Leaden hall, and other garners of the city. This mayor also kept the market so well, that he would be at the Leaden hall by four o'clock in the summer's mornings; and from thence he went to other markets, to the great comfort of the citizens.

I read also that in the year 1528, the 20th of Henry VIII., surveyors were appointed to view the garners of the city, namely, the Bridgehouse and the Leaden hall, how they were stored of

grain for the service of the city. And because I have here before spoken of the bread carts coming from Stratford at the Bow, ye shall understand that of old time the bakers of bread at Stratford were allowed to bring daily (except the Sabbath and principal feasts) divers long carts laden with bread, the same being two ounces in the penny wheat loaf heavier than the penny wheat loaf baked in the city, the same to be sold in Cheape, three or four carts standing there, between Guthe-ron's lane and Fauster's lane end, one cart on Cornhill, by the conduit, and one other in Grasse street. And I have read, that in the 4th year of Edward II., Richard Reffeham being mayor, a baker named John of Stratforde, for making bread less than the assize, was with a fool's hood * on his head, and loaves of bread about his neck, drawn on a hurdle through the streets of this city. Moreover, in the 44th of Edward III., John Chichester being mayor of London, I read in the Visions of Pierce Plowman, a book so called, as followeth:

"At Londone, I leve,
Liketh wel my wafres;
And louren whan thei lakken hem.
It is noight longe y passed,
There was a careful comune,
Whan no cart com to towne
With breed fro Stratforde;
Tho gonnen beggaris wepe,
And werkmen were agast a lite;
This wole be thought louge.
In the date of oure Drighte,
In a drye Aprill,
A thousand and three hundred
Twies twenty and ten,
My wafres there were gesene
Whan Chichestre was maire †."

I read also in the 20th of Henry VIII., Sir James Speneer being mayor, six bakers of Stratford were amerced in the Guildhall of London, for baking under the size appointed. These bakers of Stratford left serving of this city, I know not upon what occasion, about thirty years since.

In the year 1519 a petition was exhibited by the commons to the common council, and was by them allowed, concerning the Leaden hall, how they

* Mr. Douce, in his Dissertation on the Clowns and Fools of Shakspeare (*Illustrations of Shakspeare*, ii. p. 317.), speaking of this part of a fool's costume, tells us, "a hood, resembling a monk's cowl, which, at a very early period, it was certainly designed to imitate, covered the head entirely, and fell down over part of the breast and shoulders. It was sometimes decorated with asses' ears, or else terminated in the head and neck of a cock, a fashion as old as the fourteenth century. It often had the comb and crest only of the animal, whence the term *cock'scomb*, or *coxccomb*, was afterwards used to denote any silly upstart." Several such hoods are engraved in Mr. Douce's work, and in Du Tilliot's *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de la Fête des Fous*, while Flügel in his *Hofnarren*, sec. 52, et seq., furnishes us with an elaborate dissertation on the costume of fools generally.

† This passage is printed very incorrectly, and as prose, by Stow, who makes the date "twice thirty and ten," i.e. 1370 (which is certainly the date of Chichester's mayoralty), instead of "twice twenty and ten," i.e. 1350, which is the reading of the MSS. and of the two early printed editions. A carefully edited edition of *The Vision of Piers Ploughman* has long been wanted; and the reader is presented in the above passage with a specimen of such an one, which is about to appear under the bibliopolic care of Mr. Pickering and the editorship of Thomas Wright, Esq., M.A.

would have it used, viz. "Meekly beseeching, sheweth unto your good lordship and masterships, divers citizens of this city, which under correction think, that the great place called the Leaden hall should, nor ought not to be letten to farm to any person or persons, and in especial to any fellowship or company incorporate, to have and hold the same hall for term of years, for such inconveniences as thereby may ensue, and come to the hurt of the common weal of the said city in time to come, as somewhat more largely may appear in the articles following.

"First, If any assembly or hasty gathering of the commons of the said city, for suppressing or subduing of misruled people within the said city, hereafter shall happen to be called or commanded by the mayor, aldermen, and other governors and councillors of the said city for the time being, there is none so convenient, meet, and necessary a place, to assemble them in, within the said city, as the said Leaden hall, both for largeness of room, and their sure defence in time of their counselling together about the premises. Also, in that place hath been used the artillery, guns, and other armours of the said city, to be safely kept in a readiness for the safeguard, wealth, and defence of the said city, to be had and occupied at times when need required. As also the store of timber for the necessary reparations of the tenements belonging to the chamber of the said city, there commonly hath been kept. Item, If any triumph or nobleness were to be done, or shown by the commonalty of the city, for the honour of our sovereign lord the king and realm, and for the worship of the said city, the said Leaden hall is most meet and convenient place to prepare and issue the said triumph therein, and from thence to issue forth to the places therefore appointed. Item, at any largess or dole * of any money made unto the poor people of this city, it hath been used to be done and given in the said Leaden hall, for that the said place is most meet therefore. Item, the honourable father, that was maker of the said hall, had a special will, intent, and mind, that (as it is commonly said) the market men and women that came to the city with victuals and other things, should have their free standing within the said Leaden hall in wet weather, to keep themselves and their wares dry, and thereby to encourage them, and all other, to have the better will and desire the more plenteously to resort to the said city, to victual the same. And if the said hall should be letten to farm, the will of the said honourable father should never be fulfilled nor take effect. Item, if the said place, which is the

* The word *Largesse*, which is here used for alms generally, is more frequently applied to the present made to labourers at the conclusion of harvest, as a reward for their extra exertions.

The *Dole* was a distribution of alms at funerals, originally given, as we learn from St. Chrysostom, for the purpose of procuring rest to the soul of the deceased, and that he might find his judge propitious. "Offertories at burials did last to be frequent (if they were considerable funerals) to the middle of King James his reign, the ministers of parishes keeping up the profit of oblations as long as they could; and then offertories at funerals are spoken of in the first Liturgy of King Edward VI." Sparrow, *Rationale of Common Prayer*, and Nichols in his *History of Leicestershire*, sec. ii. part i. p. 357, speaks of the existence of the practice so lately as the year 1790.

chief fortress, and most necessary place within all the city, for the tuition and safeguard of the same, should be letten to farm out of the hands of the chief heads of the same city, and especially to another body politic, it might at length by likelihood be occasion of discord and debate between the said bodies politic, which God defend.

"For these and many other great and reasonable causes, which hereafter shall be showed to this honourable court, your said beseechers think it much necessary that the said hall be still in the hands of this city, and to be surely kept by sad and discreet officers, in such wise, that it may always be ready to be used and occupied for the common weal of the said city when need shall require, and in no wise to be letten to any body politic."

Thus much for the petition.

About the year 1534, great means were made about the Leaden hall to have the same made a burse, for the assembly of merchants, as they had been accustomed in Lombard street; many common councils were called to that end: but in the year 1535, John Champneys being mayor, it was fully concluded that the burse should remain in Lombard street as afore, and Leaden hall no more to be spoken of concerning that matter.

The use of Leaden hall in my youth was thus:—In a part of the north quadrant, on the east side of the north gate, were the common beams for weighing of wool and other wares, as had been accustomed; on the west side the gate were the scales to weigh meal; the other three sides were reserved for the most part to the making and resting of the pageants showed at Midsummer in the watch; the remnant of the sides and quadrants was employed for the storage of wool sacks, but not closed up; the lofts above were partly used by the painters in working for the decking of pageants and other devices, for beautifying of the watch and watchmen; the residue of the lofts were letten out to merchants, the wool winders and packers therein to wind and pack their wools. And thus much for Leaden hall may suffice.

Now on the north of Lime street ward in the high street are divers fair houses for merchants, and proper tenements for artificers, with an alley also called Shaft alley, of the shaft or May-pole sometime resting over the gate thereof, as I have declared in Aldgate ward. In the year 1576, partly at the charges of the parish of St. Andrew, and partly at the charges of the chamber of London, a water-pump was raised in Lime street ward, near unto Lime street corner; for the placing of the which pump, having broken up the ground, they were forced to dig more than two fathom deep * before they came to any main ground, where they found a hearth made of Britain, or rather Roman tile†, every tile half a yard square, and about two inches thick; they found coal lying there also (for that lying whole will never consume); then digging one fathom into the main, they found water sufficient, made their prall, and set up the pump; which pump, with oft repairing and great charges to the parish, continued not four-and-twenty years, but being rotted, was taken

* "Cornhill street, in some place rayed two fadome higher than of olde time, as appeared by buildings found so deepe."—Stow.

† "As they call it."—1st edition, p. 123.

up and a new set in place in the year 1600. Thus much for the high street.

In St. Marie street had ye of old time a parish church of St. Marie the Virgin, St. Ursula, and the eleven thousand Virgins, which church was commonly called St. Marie at the Axe, of the sign of an axe, over against the east end thereof, or St. Marie Pellipar, of a plot of ground lying on the north side thereof, pertaining to the Skinners in London. This parish, about the year 1565, was united to the parish church of St. Andrew Undershaft, and so was St. Mary at the Axe suppressed and letten out to be a warehouse for a merchant. Against the east end of this church was sometime a fair wall, now turned to a pump. Also against the north end of this St. Mary street, was sometime one other parish church of St. Augustine, called St. Augustine in the Wall, for that it stood adjoining to the wall of the city, and otherwise called St. Augustin's Papey, or the poor, as I have read in the reign of Edward III. About the year 1430, in the reign of Henry VI., the same church was allowed to the brethren of the Papey, the house of poor priests, whereof I have spoken in Aldgate ward. The parishioners of this church were appointed to the parish church of Allhallows in the wall, which is in Broad street ward, this brotherhood called Papey, being suppressed, the church of St. Augustin was pulled down, and in place thereof one Grey an apothecary built a stable, hay-loft, &c. It is now a dwelling-house*. Those two parish churches, both lying in the ward of Lime street, being thus suppressed, there is not any one parish church or place for Divine service in that ward, but the inhabitants thereof repair to St. Peter in Cornhill ward, St. Andrew in Aldgate ward, Allhallows in the wall in Broad street ward, and some to St. Denis in Langborne ward.

Now because of late there hath been some question, to what ward this church of St. Augustine Papey should of right belong, for the same hath been challenged by them of Aldgate ward, and without reason taken into Bishopsgate ward from Lime street ward, I am somewhat to touch it. About thirty years since the chamber of London granted a lease of ground, in these words: "lying near London wall in the ward of Lime street, from the west of the said church or chapel of St. Augustine Papey towards Bishopsgate," &c. On the which plot of ground the lease built three fair tenements, and placed tenants there; these were charged to bear scot and lot, and some of them to bear office in Lime street ward; all which they did willingly without grudging. And when any suspected or disordered persons were by the landlord placed there, the officers of Lime street ward fetched them out of their houses, committed them to ward, procured their due punishments, and banished them from thence; whereby in short time that place was reformed, and brought into good order; which thing being noted by them of Aldgate Ward, they moved their alderman, Sir Thomas Offley, to call in those houses to be of his ward; but I myself showing a fair ledger book, sometime pertaining to the late dissolved priory of the Holy Trinity within Aldgate, wherein were set down the just bounds

of Aldgate ward, before Sir Thomas Offley, Sir Rowland Heyward, the common council, and wardmote inquest of the same Lime street ward, Sir Thomas Offley gave over his challenge, and so that matter rested in good quiet until the year 1579, that Sir Richard Pye being mayor, and alderman of Bishopsgate ward, challenged those houses to be of his ward, whereunto (without reason showed) Sir Rowland Heyward yielded. And thus is that side of the street, from the north corner of St. Mary street almost to Bishopsgate, wherein is one plot of ground, letten by the chamberlain of London to the parish of St. Martin's Oteswich, to be a churchyard or burying place for the dead of that parish, &c., unjustly drawn and withholden from the ward of Lime street. Divers other proofs I could set down, but this one following may suffice.—The mayor and aldermen of London made a grant to the fraternity of Papie in these words: "Be it remembered, that where now of late the master and wardens of the fraternity of the Papie have made a brick wall, closing in the chapel of St. Augustine called Papie chapel, situate in the parish of All Saints in the Wall, in the ward of Lime street, of the city of London; from the south-east corner of the which brick wall is a scutcheon of twenty-one feet of assize from the said corner eastward. And from the same scutcheon there to a messuage of fifty-five feet and a half westward, the said scutcheon breaketh out of line right southward betwixt the measures aforesaid three feet and five inches of assize, upon the common ground of the said city aforesaid, Ralph Verney, mayor, and the aldermen of the same city, the 22d day of October, the 6th year of Edward IV., granted to John Hod, priest, and to Master John Bolte, and Thomas Pachet, priests, wardens of the fraternity of Papie aforesaid, and to their successors for ever, &c., yielding four pence sterling yearly at Michaelmas." And this is, saith my book*, enrolled in the Guildhall of London; which is a sufficient proof the same plot of ground to be of Lime street ward, and never otherwise accounted or challenged.

On the south side of this street, stretching west from St. Mary street towards Bishopsgate street, there was of old time one large messuage built of stone and timber, in the parish of St. Augustine in the Wall, now the parish of Allhallows in the same wall, belonging to the Earl of Oxford, for Richard de Vere, Earl of Oxford, possessed it in the 4th of Henry V.; but in process of time the lands of the earl fell to females, amongst the which, one being married to Wingfield of Suffolk, this house with the appurtenances fell to his lot, and was by his heir, Sir Robert Wingfield, sold to Master Edward Coke†, at this time the queen's attorney-

* Liber Papie.

† Master Edward Coke, as Stow terms the celebrated lord chief justice, received the honour of knighthood in 1603, the same year in which the second edition of the Survey was published, as we learn from the curious autobiographical notes preserved in what he used to term his *Vade Mecum*, an interleaved and annotated copy of *Littleton's Tenures*, of the edition of 1572, which now forms the Harleian MS. No. 6687. The manuscript additions to this volume, which are all in Coke's handwriting, are more than equal to twice the size of the original work, and, with the exception of some few genealogical and autobiographical memoranda, relate principally to legal subjects, and form the germ and substance of Coke's

* "Reserving the churchyard for a garden plot."—1st edition, p. 124.

general. This house being greatly ruined of late time, for the most part hath been letten out to poulterers, for stabling of horses and stowage of poultry, but now lately new built into a number of small tenements, letten out to strangers, and other mean people.

One note more of this ward, and so an end. I find of record, that in the year 1371, the 45th of Edward III., a great subsidy of one hundred thousand pounds was granted towards the king's wars in France, whereof the clergy paid fifty thousand pounds, and the laity fifty thousand pounds, to be levied to thirty-nine shires of England, containing parishes eight thousand six hundred, of every parish five pounds sixteen shillings, the greater to help the lesser. This city, as one of the shires, then containing twenty-four wards, and in them one hundred and ten parishes, was therefore assessed to six hundred and thirty-five pounds twelve shillings, whereof Lime street ward did bear thirty-four shillings and no more, so small a ward it was, and so accounted, as having no one whole parish therein, but small portions only of two parishes in that ward. This ward hath an alderman, his deputy, common councillors four, constables four, scavengers two, wardmote inquest sixteen, and a beadle; and is taxed to the fifteenth at one pound nineteen shillings and two pence three farthings.

BISHOPSGATE WARD.

THE next is Bishopsgate ward; whereof a part is without the gate and of the suburbs, from the bars by St. Mary Spittle to Bishopsgate, and a part of Houndsditch; almost half thereof, also without the wall, is of the same ward. Then within the gate is Bishopsgate street, so called of the gate, to a pump, where sometime was a fair well, with two buckets, by the east end of the parish church of St. Martin Oteswich, and then winding by the west corner of Leaden hall down Grass street to the corner over against Grass church; and this is the bounds of that ward.

Monuments most to be noted are these: The parish church of St. Buttolph without Bishopsgate, in a fair churchyard, adjoining to the town ditch, upon the very bank thereof, but of old time inclosed with a comely wall of brick, lately repaired by Sir William Allen, mayor, in the year 1571, because he was born in that parish, where also he was buried. An anchoress received 40s. the year of the sheriffs of London.

Now without this churchyard wall is a causeye, leading to a quadrant, called Petty France, of Frenchmen dwelling there, and to other dwelling-houses, lately built on the bank of the said ditch by some citizens of London, that more regarded their own private gain than the common good of the city; for by means of this causeye raised on the bank, and soilage of houses, with other filthiness cast into the ditch, the same is now forced to a

celebrated *Commentary upon Littleton*, the most authoritative of all our legal treatises. From these autobiographical memoranda, which were extracted by Mr. Bruce, and communicated by that gentleman to the *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, we learn the dates of Coke's various appointments and honours; and among others, that "22^o Maii, 1603, apud Greenwich, in privata camera, Rex Jacobus ex magno favore constitit me militem inter horas 11 et 12 die Solis."

narrow channel, and almost filled up with unsavoury things, to the danger of poisoning the whole city.

Next unto the parish church of St. Buttolph is a fair inn for receipt of travellers; then an hospital of St. Mary of Bethlem, founded by Simon Fitz Mary, one of the sheriffs of London, in the year 1246: he founded it to have been a priory of canons, with brethren and sisters; and King Edward III. granted a protection, which I have seen, for the brethren, *Milicie beate Mariæ de Bethlem*, within the city of London, the 14th year of his reign. It was an hospital for distracted people: Stephen Geninges, merchant-tailor, gave 40l. towards purchase of the patronage by his testament, 1523; the mayor and commonalty purchased the patronage thereof, with all the lands and tenements thereunto belonging, in the year 1546: the same year King Henry VIII. gave this hospital unto the city; the church and chapel whereof were taken down in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and houses built there by the governors of Christ's hospital in London. In this place people that be distraight in wits are, by the suit of their friends, received and kept as afore, but not without charges to their bringers in. In the year 1569, Sir Thomas Roe, merchant-tailor, mayor, caused to be inclosed with a wall of brick about one acre of ground, being part of the said hospital of Bethlem; to wit, on the west, on the bank of Deep Ditch, so called, parting the said hospital of Bethlem from the More field: this he did for burial and ease of such parishes in London as wanted ground convenient within their parishes. The lady his wife was there buried (by whose perswasion he inclosed it), but himself, born in London, was buried in the parish church of Hackney.

From this hospital northward, upon the street's side, many houses have been built with alleys backward, of late time too much pestered with people (a great cause of infection) up to the bars.

The other side of this high street from Bishopsgate and Hounds ditch, the first building a large inn for receipt of travellers, and is called the Dolphin, of such a sign. In the year 1513, Margaret Ricroft, widow, gave this house, with the gardens and appurtenances, unto William Gam, R. Clye, their wives, her daughters, and to their heirs, with condition they yearly do give to the warden or governors of the Grey friers church within Newgate forty shillings, to find a student of divinity in the University for ever. Then is there a fair house, of late built by John Powlet. Next to that, a far more large and beautiful house, with gardens of pleasure, bowling alleys, and such like, built by Jasper Fisher, free of the goldsmiths, late one of the six clerks of the chancery and a justice of the peace. It hath since for a time been the Earl of Oxford's place. The queen's majesty Elizabeth hath lodged there. It now belongeth to Sir Roger Manars*. This house, being so large and sumptuously built by a man of no greater calling, possessions, or wealth (for he was indebted to many) was mockingly called Fisher's folly, and a rhythm was made of it, and other the like, in this manner:

"Kirkebyes Castell, and Fishers Follie,
Spinillas pleasure, and Megses glorie."

* "To Master Cornewallus."—1st edition, p. 128.

And so of other like buildings about the city by citizens, men have not letted to speak their pleasure.

From Fisher's Folly up to the west end of Berward's lane, of old time so called, but now Hogge lane, because it meeteth with Hogge lane, which cometh from the bars without Aldgate, as is afore showed, is a continual building of tenements, with alleys of cottages, pestered, &c. Then is there a large close, called Tasel close, sometime for that there were tassels * planted for the use of cloth-workers, since letten to the cross-bow makers, wherein they used to shoot for games at the popinjay †: now the same being inclosed with a brick wall, serveth to be an artillery yard, whereunto the gunners of the Tower do weekly repair, namely, every Thursday; and there levelling certain brass pieces of great artillery against a butt of earth, made for that purpose, they discharge them for their exercise.

Then have you the late dissolved priory and hospital ‡, commonly called St. Mary Spittle, founded by Walter Bruue and Rosia his wife, for canons regular. Walter, archdeacon of London, laid the first stone in the year 1197, William, of St. Mary church, then bishop of London, dedicated to the honour of Jesus Christ and his mother, the perpetual Virgin Mary, by the name of *Domus Dei*, and *Beatae Marice*, extra Bishopsgate, in the parish of St. Buttolph; the bounds whereof, as appeareth by composition betwixt the parson and prior of the said hospital concerning tithes, beginneth at Berward's lane toward the south, and extendeth in breadth to the parish of St. Leonard of Shoreditch towards the north; and in length, from the King's street on the west to the bishop of London's field, called Lollesworth, on the east. The prior of this St. Mary Spittle, for the emortising and propriation of Bikenacar, in Essex, to his said house of St. Mary Spittle, gave to Henry VII. 400*l.* in the 22nd of his reign. This hospital, surrendered to Henry VIII., was valued to dispend 478*l.*; wherein was found, besides ornaments of the church, and other goods pertaining to the hospital, one hundred and eighty beds, well furnished, for receipt of the poor; for it was an hospital of great relief. Sir Henry Plesington, knight, was buried there 1452.

In place of this hospital, and near adjoining, are now many fair houses built for receipt and lodging of worshipful persons. A part of the large churchyard pertaining to this hospital, and severed from the rest with a brick wall, yet remaineth as of old time, with a pulpit cross therein, somewhat like to that in Paules churchyard. And against the said

pulpit on the south side, before the charnel and chapel of St. Edmond the Bishop and Mary Magdalen, which chapel was founded about the year 1391 by William Eneshan, citizen and paperer of London, who was there buried, remaineth also one fair built house, of two stories in height, for the mayor and other honourable persons, with the aldermen and sheriffs to sit in, there to hear the sermons preached in the Easter holidays. In the loft over them stood the bishop of London, and other prelates; now the ladies and aldermen's wives do there stand at a fair window, or sit at their pleasure. And here is to be noted, that, time out of mind, it hath been a laudable custom, that on Good Friday, in the afternoon, some especial learned man, by appointment of the prelates, hath preached a sermon at Paules cross, treating of Christ's Passion; and upon the three next Easter holidays, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, the like learned men, by the like appointment, have used to preach on the forenoons at the said Spittle, to persuade the article of Christ's Resurrection; and then on Low Sunday, one other learned man at Paules cross, to make rehearsal of those four former sermons, either commending or reproving them, as to him by judgment of the learned divines was thought convenient. And that done, he was to make a sermon of his own study, which in all were five sermons in one. At these sermons, so severally preached, the mayor, with his brethren the aldermen, were accustomed to be present in their violets at Paules on Good Friday, and in their scarlets at the Spittle in the holidays, except Wednesday in violet, and the mayor with his brethren on Low Sunday in scarlet, at Paules cross, continued until this day *.

Touching the antiquity of this custom, I find, that in the year 1398, King Richard having procured from Rome confirmation of such statutes and ordinances as were made in the parliament, begun at Westminster and ended at Shrewsbury, he caused the same confirmation to be read and pronounced at Paules cross, and at St. Mary Spittle, in the sermons before all the people. Philip Malpas, one of the sheriffs in the year 1439, gave twenty shillings by the year to the three preachers at the Spittle. Stephen Forster, mayor in the year 1454, gave forty pounds to the preachers at Paules cross and Spittle. I find also that the aforesaid house, wherein the mayor and aldermen do sit at the Spittle, was built for that purpose of the goods and by the executors of Richard Lawson, alderman, and Isabell his wife, in the year 1488.

* The *Tasel* of the Anglo-Saxons—*Dipsacus Fullonum*, or Fuller's Teasel of Naturalists, so called from being used in dressing cloth, for which purpose the hooked scales of its receptacle are admirably adapted.

† This old English game, which takes its name from the *Popingay*, or *Papegai*, a figure of a parrot which formed the mark at which the shooters aimed, is scarcely alluded to by Fosbrooke, or Strutt in his *Sports and Pastimes*, but is admirably described by Sir Walter Scott in a scene in *Old Mortality*, where the sheriff of Lanark is described as holding the *weppen schaw* of the county. Our musical readers will remember that Weber's celebrated opera, *Der Freischütz*, opens with a scene of shooting at the popinjay; a sport which appears to have been practised throughout the whole of Europe.

‡ "Of our blessed lady."—1st edition, p. 129.

* This pulpit cross was broken down during the troubles of Charles I.; and after the Restoration the sermons denominated Spital sermons were preached at St. Bride's, Fleet-street, but within the last thirty years have been removed to Christ church, Newgate street, where they are attended by the lord mayor, the aldermen, and the governors of Christ's, St. Bartholomew's, St. Thomas', Bridewell, and Bethlehem Hospitals.

The most celebrated Spital sermon of our times was that preached by Dr. Parr upon Easter Tuesday, in the year 1800. When Bishop Warburton died with the lord mayor, after preaching the sermon, the lord mayor told him, "The common council were much obliged to his lordship, for that this was the first time he ever heard them prayed for." "I considered them as a body who much needed the prayers of the church," was Warburton's characteristic reply.

In the year 1594, this pulpit being old was taken down, and a new set up; the preacher's face turned towards the south, which was before toward the west; also a large house, on the east side of the said pulpit, was then built for the governors and children of Christ's hospital to sit in, and this was done of the goods of William Elkens, alderman, late deceased; but within the first year the same house decaying, and like to have fallen, was again with great cost repaired at the city's charge.

On the east side of this churchyard lieth a large field, of old time called Lolesworth, now Spittle field; which about the year 1576 was broken up for clay to make brick; in the digging whereof many earthen pots, called *urnæ*, were found full of ashes, and burnt bones of men, to wit, of the Romans that inhabited here; for it was the custom of the Romans to burn their dead, to put their ashes in an urn, and then bury the same, with certain ceremonies, in some field appointed for that purpose near unto their city. Every of these pots had in them with the ashes of the dead one piece of copper money, with the inscription of the emperor then reigning: some of them were of Claudius, some of Vespasian, some of Nero, of Antoninus Pius, of Trajanus, and others. Besides those urns, many other pots were there found, made of a white earth with long necks and handles, like to our stone jugs: these were empty, but seemed to be buried full of some liquid matter long since consumed and soaked through; for there were found divers phials and other fashioned glasses, some most cunningly wrought, such as I have not seen the like, and some of crystal; all which had water in them, nothing differing in clearness, taste, or savour from common spring water, whatsoever it was at the first: some of these glasses had oil in them very thick, and earthy in savour; some were supposed to have balm in them, but had lost the virtue; many of those pots and glasses were broken in cutting of the clay, so that few were taken up whole. There were also found divers dishes and cups of a fine red-coloured earth, which showed outwardly such a shining smoothness as if they had been of coral; those had in the bottoms Roman letters printed: there were also lamps of white earth and red, artificially wrought with divers antiques about them, some three or four images made of white earth, about a span long each of them: one I remember was of Pallas, the rest I have forgotten. I myself have reserved, amongst divers of those antiquities there, one urn, with the ashes and bones, and one pot of white earth very small, not exceeding the quantity of a quarter of a wine pint, made in shape of a hare squatted upon her legs, and between her ears is the mouth of the pot. There hath also been found in the same field divers coffins of stone, containing the bones of men: these I suppose to be the burials of some especial persons in time of the Britons or Saxons, after that the Romans had left to govern here. Moreover, there were also found the skulls and bones of men without coffins, or rather whose coffins (being of great timber) were consumed. Divers great nails of iron were there found, such as are used in the wheels of shod carts, being each of them as big as a man's finger, and a quarter of a yard long, the heads two inches over; those nails were more wondered at than the rest of things there found, and

many opinions of men were there uttered of them; namely, that the men there buried were murdered by driving those nails into their heads; a thing unlikely, for a smaller nail would more aptly serve to so bad a purpose, and a more secret place would likely be employed for their burial. But to set down what I have observed concerning this matter, I there beheld the bones of a man lying (as I noted), the head north, the feet south, and round about him, as thwart his head, along both his sides, and thwart his feet, such nails were found, wherefore I conceived them to be the nails of his coffin, which had been a trough cut out of some great tree, and the same covered with a plank, of a great thickness, fastened with such nails; and therefore I caused some of the nails to be reached up to me, and found under the broad heads of them the old wood, skant turned into earth, but still retaining both the grain and proper colour: of these nails, with the wood under the head thereof, I reserved one, as also the nether jaw-bone of the man, the teeth being great, sound, and fast fixed, which, among other many monuments there found, I have yet to show; but the nail lying dry, is by sealing greatly wasted. And thus much for this part of Bishopsgate ward, without the gate; for I have in another place spoken of the gate, and therefore I am to speak of that other part of this ward which lieth within the gate.

And first to begin on the left hand of Bishopsgate street, from the gate you have certain tenements of old time pertaining to a brotherhood of St. Nicholas, granted to the parish clerks of London, for two chaplains, to be kept in the chapel of St. Mary Magdalen, near unto the Guildhall of London, in the 27th of Henry VI. The first of these houses towards the north, and against the wall of the city, was sometime a large inn or court called the Wrestlers, of such a sign, and the last in the high street towards the south was sometime also a fair inn called the Angel, of such a sign. Among these said tenements was on the same street side a fair entry, or court, to the common hall of the said parish clerks, with proper alms houses, seven in number, adjoining, for poor parish clerks, and their wives and their widows, such as were in great years not able to labour. One of these, by the said brotherhood of parish clerks, was allowed sixteen pence the week; the other six had each of them nine pence the week, according to the patent thereof granted. This brotherhood, amongst other, being suppressed, in the reign of Edward VI. the said hall, with the other buildings there, was given to Sir Robert Chester, a knight of Cambridge-shire; against whom the parish clerks commencing suit, in the reign of Queen Mary, and being like to have prevailed, the said Sir Robert Chester pulled down the hall, sold the timber, stone, and lead, and thereupon the suit was ended. The alms houses remain in the queen's hands, and people are there placed, such as can make best friends; some of them, taking the pension appointed, have let forth their houses for great rent, giving occasion to the parson of the parish to challenge tithes of the poor, &c.

Next unto this is the small parish church of St. Ethelburge Virgin, and from thence some small distance is a large court called Little St. Helens, because it pertained to the nuns of St. Helen's, and

was their house : there are seven alms rooms or houses for the poor, belonging to the company of Leathersellers. Then, somewhat more west, is another court with a winding lane, which cometh out against the west end of St. Andrew Undershaft church. In this court standeth the church of St. Helen, sometime a priory of black nuns, and in the same a parish church of St. Helen.

This priory was founded before the reign of Henry III. William Basing, dean of Paules, was the first founder, and was there buried ; and William Basing, one of the sheriffs of London, in the 2nd year of Edward II. was holden also to be a founder, or rather a helper there. This priory being valued at 31*4*l. 2*s*. 6*d*. was surrendered the 25th of November, the 30th of Henry VIII. ; the whole church, the partition betwixt the nuns' church and parish church being taken down, remaineth now to the parish, and is a fair parish church, but wanteth such a steeple as Sir Thomas Gresham promised to have built, in recompense of ground in their church filled up with his monument. The nuns' hall, and other houses thereunto appertaining, was since purchased by the company of the Leathersellers, and is their common hall ; which company was incorporate in the 21st year of Richard II.

In the church of St. Helen have you these monuments of the dead :—Thomas Langton, chaplain, buried in the choir 1350 ; Adam Frances, mayor, 1354 ; Elizabeth Vennar, wife to William Vennar, alderman, one of the sheriffs of London, 1401 ; Joan, daughter to Henry Seamer, wife to Richard, son and heir to Robert Lord Poyning, died a virgin 1420 ; John Swinflat, 1420 ; Nicholas Marshall, ironmonger, alderman, 1474 ; Sir John Crosby, alderman, 1475, and Ann his wife ; Thomas Williams, gentleman, 1495 ; Joan Cocken, wife to John Cocken, esquire, 1509 ; Marie Orrell, wife to Sir Lewes Orrell, knight ; Henry Sommer, and Katherine his wife ; Walter Huntington, esquire ; John Langthorpe, esquire, 1510 ; John Gower, steward of St. Helen's, 1512 ; Robert Rochester, esquire, sergeant of the pantry to Henry VIII. ; Sir William Sanetlo, and Sir William Sanetlo, father and son ; Eleanor, daughter to Sir Thomas Butler ; Lord Sudley ; John Southworth ; Nicholas Harpsfield, esquire ; Thomas Sanderford, or Sommerford, alderman ; Alexander Cheyney ; Walter Dawbeney ; George Fastolph, son to Hugh Fastolph ; Robert Liade ; Thomas Benolt, alias Clarenciaulx, king at arms, 1534 ; William Hollis, mayor, 1540 ; John Fauconbridge, esquire, 1545 ; Hacket, gentleman of the king's chapel ; Sir Andrew Jud, mayor, 1551 ; Sir William Pickering, and Sir William Pickering, father and son ; William Bond, alderman, 1567 ; Sir Thomas Gresham, mercer, 1579 ; William Skegges, sergeant poulter ; Richard Gresham, son to Sir Thomas Gresham, 1564.

Then have you one great house called Crosby place, because the same was built by Sir John Crosby, grocer and woolman, in place of certain tenements, with their appurtenances, letten to him by Alice Ashfed, prioress of St. Helen's, and the convent for ninety-nine years, from the year 1466 unto the year 1565, for the annual rent of 11*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*. This house he built of stone and timber, very large and beautiful, and the highest at that time in London. He was one of the sheriffs, and an alderman

in the year 1470, knighted by Edward IV. in the year 1471, and deceased in the year 1475 ; so short a time enjoyed he that his large and sumptuous building ; he was buried in St. Helen's, the parish church ; a fair monument of him and his lady is raised there. He gave towards the reforming of that church five hundred marks, which was bestowed with the better, as appeareth by his arms, both in the stone work, roof of timber, and glazing. I hold it a fable said of him to be named Crosbie, of being found by a cross, for I have read of other to have that name of Crosbie before him ; namely, in the year 1406, the 7th of Henry IV., the said king gave to his servant John Crosbie the wardship of Joan, daughter and sole heir to John Jordaine, fishmonger, &c. This Crosbie might be the father or grandfather to Sir John Crosbie.

Richard, Duke of Gloucester, and lord protector, afterward king, by the name of Richard III., was lodged in this house ; since the which time, among other, Antonie Bonvice, a rich merchant of Italy, dwelt there ; after him, Germain Cioll, then William Bond, alderman, increased this house in height, with building of a turret on the top thereof : he deceased in the year 1576, and was buried in St. Helen's church. Divers ambassadors have been lodged there ; namely, in the year 1586, Henry Ramelius, chancellor of Denmark, ambassador unto the queen's majesty of England from Frederick II., the king of Denmark ; an ambassador of France, &c. Sir John Spencer, alderman, lately purchased this house, made great reparations, kept his mayoralty there, and since built a most large warehouse near thereunto*.

From this Crosbie place up to Leaden hall corner, and so down Grass street, amongst other tenements, are divers fair and large built houses for merchants, and such like.

Now for the other side of this ward, namely, the right hand, hard by within the gate, is one fair water conduit, which Thomas Knesworth, mayor, in the year 1505, founded : he gave 60*l*., the rest was furnished at the common charges of the city. This conduit hath since been taken down and new built. David Woodrooffe, alderman, gave 20*l*. towards the conveyance of more water thereunto. From this conduit have you, amongst many fair

* Spencer, Earl of Northampton, the son of Sir John Spencer, resided at Crosby place in 1638. He was almost the first of his order who shed his blood in the cause of Charles I., having been killed by the king's side at Hopton heath in 1642. Two years before Crosby place had been leased to Sir John Langham, who was sheriff in 1642 ; during whose occupation it is said to have been used as a prison for Royalists. He was succeeded by his son Sir Stephen Langham, during whose tenancy it is supposed the fire occurred by which Crosby place was so greatly injured that from that period it ceased to be used as a dwelling-house. In 1672 the hall was converted into a Presbyterian meeting-house, and so remained for nearly a century : after its disuse as a meeting, it was converted into a packer's warehouse, and whilst thus used, received the most serious injury from the alterations which were made.

In 1831, the lease upon which the hall stood having expired, a committee having been formed, and subscriptions collected, for the purpose of restoring Crosby hall to its pristine state, extensive reparations have taken place, and much of the mansion has been rebuilt. See Blackburne's *Architectural and Historical Account of Crosby Place, and Knight's London*, i. 316—332.

tenements, divers fair inns, large for receipt of travellers, and some houses for men of worship; namely, one most spacious of all other thereabout, built of brick and timber by Sir Thomas Gresham, knight, who deceased in the year 1579, and was buried in St. Helen's church, under a fair monument, by him prepared in his life: he appointed by his testament this house to be made a college of readers, as before is said in the chapter of schools and houses of learning.

Somewhat west from this house is one other very fair house, wherein Sir William Hollies kept his mayoralty, and was buried in the parish church of St. Helen. Sir Andrew Jud also kept his mayoralty there, and was buried at St. Helen's: he built alms houses for six poor alms people near to the said parish church, and gave lands to the Skinners, out of the which they are to give 4s. every week to the six poor alms people, 8d. the piece, and 25s. 4d. the year, in coals amongst them for ever.

Alice Smith, of London, widow, late wife of Thomas Smith, of the same city, esquire, and customer of the port of London, in her last will and testament, bequeathed lands to the value of 15l. by the year for ever, to the company of Skinners, for the augmenting of the pensions of certain poor, inhabiting in eight alms houses, erected by Sir Andrew Jud, knight, her father, in the parish of Great St. Helen's, in Bishopsgate street, in London. She hath also given in her said last will and testament, in other charitable uses, as to the hospitals and to the poor of other parishes and good preachers, the sum of 300l. As also to the poor scholars in the two universities of Oxford and Cambridge the sum of 200l.; of which, her last will and testament, she made her sons, Thomas Smith, late sheriff of London, and Richard and Robert Smith, her executors, who have performed the same according to her godly and charitable mind.

Then in the very west corner, over against the east end of St. Martin's Oteswich (from whence the street windeth towards the south), you had of old time a fair well, with two buckets, so fastened that the drawing up of the one let down the other; but now of late that well is turned into a pump.

From this to the corner over against the Leaden hall, and so down Grasse street, are many fair houses for merchants and artificers, and many fair inns for travellers, even to the corner where that ward endeth, over against Grasse street. And thus much for this Bishopsgate ward shall suffice; which hath an alderman, two deputies, one without the gate, another within, common councillors six, constables seven, scavengers seven, for wardmote inquest thirteen, and a beadle: it is taxed to the fifteen at 13l.*

BROAD STREET WARD.

THE next is Brode street ward, which beginneth within Bishopsgate, from the water conduit westward on both sides of the street, by Allhallows church, to an iron grate on the channel which runneth into the water-course of Walbrooke, before you come to the postern called Mooregate; and this is the farthest west part of that ward.

Then have you Brode street, whereof the ward

* "At twenty-two pounds in London, and in the Exchequer twenty-one pounds ten shillings."—1st edition, p. 136.

taketh name, which stretcheth out of the former street from the east corner of Allhallows churchyard, somewhat south to the parish church of St. Peter the Poor on both sides, and then by the south gate of the Augustine friars west, down Throkemorton street by the Drapers' hall into Lothburie, to another grate of iron over the channel there, whereby the water runneth into the course of Walbrooke, under the east end of St. Margaret's church, certain posts of timber are there set up; and this is also the farthest west part of this ward, in the said street. Out of the which street runneth up Bartholomew lane south to the north side of the Exchange; then more east, out of the former street from over against the Friars Augustine's church south gate, runneth up another part of Brode street south to a pump over against St. Bennet's church. Then have you one other street called Three needle street, beginning at the west, with two buckets, by St. Martin's Oteswich church wall. This street runneth down on both sides to Finkes lane, and half way up that lane to a gate of a merchant's house on the west side, but not so far on the east; then the foresaid street, from this Finkes lane, runneth down by the Royal Exchange to the Stocks, and to a place formerly called Scalding house, or Scalding wick, but now Scalding alley; by the west side whereof, under the parish church of St. Mildred, runneth the course of Walbrooke; and these be the bounds of this ward.

Special monuments therein are these:—First, the parish church of Allhallows in the wall, so called of standing close to the wall of the city, in which have been buried Thomas Durrem, esquire, and Margaret his wife; Robert Beele, esquire, 1601. On the other side of that street, amongst many proper houses possessed for the most part by curriers, is the Carpenters' hall, which company was incorporated in the 17th year of King Edward IV.

Then east from the Currier's row is a long and high wall of stone, inclosing the north side of a large garden adjoining to as large an house, built in the reign of King Henry VIII. and of Edward VI. by Sir William Powlet, lord treasurer of England*. Through this garden, which of old time consisted of divers parts, now united, was sometimes a fair footway, leading by the west end of the Augustine friars church straight north, and opened somewhat west from Allhallows church against London wall towards Moregate; which footway had gates at either end, locked up every night; but now the same way being taken into those gardens, the gates are closed up with stone, whereby the people are forced to go about by St. Peter's church, and the east end of the said Friars church, and all the said great place and garden of Sir William Powlet to London wall, and so to Moregate.

This great house, adjoining to the garden afore-

* This was the celebrated Marquis of Winchester, who having been comptroller and afterwards treasurer of the household of Henry VIII., was in the fourth year of Edward VI. made lord high treasurer of England; an office in which he continued not only during the reign of Mary, but also during that of Elizabeth, until his death on the 10th of March, 1571. This politic courtier being asked by what means he had maintained himself in his high station during so many political changes, answered, "By being a willow, and not an oak."

said, stretcheth to the north corner of Brode street, and then turneth up Brode street all that side to and beyond the east end of the said Friars church. It was built by the said lord treasurer in place of Augustine friars house, cloister, and gardens, &c. The Friars church he pulled not down, but the west end thereof, inclosed from the steeple and choir, was in the year 1550 granted to the Dutch nation in London, to be their preaching place: the other part, namely, the steeple, choir, and side aisles to the choir adjoining, he reserved to household uses, as for stowage of corn, coal, and other things; his son and heir, Marquis of Winchester, sold the monuments of noblemen there buried in great number, the paving stone and whatsoever (which cost many thousands), for one hundred pounds, and in place thereof made fair stabling for horses. He caused the lead to be taken from the roofs, and laid tile in place whereof; which exchange proved not so profitable as he looked for, but rather to his disadvantage.

On the east side of this Brode street, amongst other buildings, on the back part of Gresham house, which is in Bishopsgate street, he placed eight proper alms houses, built of brick and timber by Sir Thomas Gresham, knight, for eight alms men, which he now there placed rent free, and receive each of them by his gift *6l. 13s. 4d.* yearly for ever.

Next unto Pawlet house is the parish church of St. Peter the Poor, so called for a difference from other of that name, sometime peradventure a poor parish, but at this present there be many fair houses, possessed by rich merchants and other. Buried in this church: Richard Fitzwilliams, merchant-tailor, 1520; Sir William Roch, mayor, 1540; Martin Calthrope, mayor, 1588.

Then next have you the Augustine Friars church and churchyard; the entering thereunto by a south gate to the west porch, a large church, having a most fine spired steeple, small, high, and straight, I have not seen the like; founded by Humfrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, in the year 1253. Reginald Cobham gave his messuage in London to the enlarging thereof, in the year 1344. Humfrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, re-edified this church in the year 1354, whose body was there buried in the choir. The small spired steeple of this church was overthrown by a tempest of wind in the year 1362, but was raised of new, as now it standeth, to the beautifying of the city. This house was valued at *57l.*, and was surrendered the 12th of November, the 30th of Henry VIII.

There lie buried in this Friars church, amongst others, Edward, first son to Joan, mother to King Richard II.; Guy de Merieke, Earl of St. Paule; Lucie, Countess of Kent, and one of the heirs of Barnabe Lord of Millaine, with an epitaph; Dame Ide, wife to Sir Thomas West; Dame Margaret West; Stephen Lindericle, esquire; Sir Humfrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, Lord of Brekenake*; Richard, the great Earl of Arundell, Surrey, and Warren, beheaded, 1397; Sir Edward Arundell, and Dame Elizabeth his wife; Sir Francis Ateourt†, Earl of Pembroke, which married Alice, sister to the Earl of Oxford; Dame Lucie Knowles, of Kent; Sir Peter Garinsers, of France;

the Lord John Vere, Earl of Oxford, beheaded on the Tower hill 1463; Aubry de Vere, son and heir to the Earl of Oxford; Sir Thomas Tuduan, knight; William Boursier; Lord Fitz Warren; Sir Thomas de la Lande, knight; Dame Joan Norris, the Lady of Bedford; Anne, daughter to John Viscount Welles; Walter Nevell, esquire; Sir John Manners, knight; the wife of Sir David Cradocke, knight; the mother to the Lord Spencer's wife; Sir Bartlemew Rodlegate; John, son to Sir John Wingfield; Sir Walter Mewes; Robert Newenton, esquire; Philip Spencer, son to Sir Hugh Spencer; Dame Isabell, daughter to Sir Hugh; the Lord Barons slain at Barnet field, buried there 1471. In the body of the church: Dame Julian, wife to Sir Richard Laeie; Sir Thomas Courtney, son to the Earl of Devonshire, and by him, his sister, wedded to Cheverstone; the daughter of the Lord Beaumont; two sons of Sir Thomas Morley, to wit, William and Ralph; Sir William Talmage, knight; Nicholas Blondell, esquire; Sir Richard Chamberlaine; John Halton, gentleman; Sir John Gifford, knight; Thomas Manningham, esquire; Sir William Kenude, knight; Sir William, son to Sir Thomas Terill; John Surell, gentleman. In the east wing: Margaret Barentin, gentlewoman; John Spicer, esquire, and Letis his wife; John le Percers, esquire; Roger Chibary, esquire; Peter Moreus, esquire; Thomas, son to Sir William Beckland; James Cuthing, esquire; John Chorney, esquire; William Kenley, esquire; Margery, wife to Thomas Band, and daughter to John Huteh; the Lord William, Marquis of Barkeley and Earl of Nottingham, and Dame Joan his wife. In the west wing: Sir John Tirrill, and Dame Katherine his wife; Sir Walter of Powle, knight; Sir John Blackwell, and his wife Dame Jane Sayne, daughter to Sir John Lee; Sir John Dawbeney, son and heir to Sir Giles Dawbeney; William, son to Sir Roger Scroope; Dame Joan Dawbeney, wife to Sir William Dawbeney; Thomas Charles, esquire; Sir John Dawbeney, knight, and his son Robert; Sir James Bell, knight; Sir Oliver Manny, knight; Henry Deskie, esquire; Sir Diones Mordaske; Sir Bernard Rolingcoort; Sir Peter Kayor; Sir William Tirell; Sir William, his brother knights; William Collingborne, esquire, beheaded 1484; Sir Roger Clifford, knight; Sir Thomas Coke, mayor in the year 1462; William Edward, mayor, 1471; Sir James Tirell, Sir John Windany, knights, beheaded 1502; Sir John Dawtrie, knight, 1519; Dame Margaret Rede, 1510; Edward, Duke of Buckingham, beheaded 1521; Gwiskard, Earl of Huntingdon.

On the south side, and at the west end of this church, many fair houses are built; namely, in Throgmorton street, one very large and spacious, built in the place of old and small tenements by Thomas Cromwell, master of the king's jewel-house, after that master of the rolls, then Lord Cromwell, knight, lord privy seal, vicar-general, Earl of Essex, high chamberlain of England, &c. This house being finished, and having some reasonable plot of ground left for a garden, he caused the pales of the gardens adjoining to the north part thereof on a sudden to be taken down; twenty-two feet to be measured forth right into the north of every man's ground; a line there to be drawn, a trench to be cast, a foundation laid, and a high brick wall to be built. My father had a garden there, and a house

* "Pembroke."—1st edition, p. 136.

† "Courtney."—1st edition, *ibid.*

standing close to his south pale; this house they loosed from the ground, and bare upon rollers into my father's garden twenty-two feet, ere my father heard thereof; no warning was given him, nor other answer, when he spake to the surveyors of that work, but that their master Sir Thomas commanded them so to do; no man durst go to argue the matter, but each man lost his land, and my father paid his whole rent, which was 6s. 6d. the year, for that half which was left. Thus much of mine own knowledge have I thought good to note, that the sudden rising of some men causeth them* to forget themselves.

The company of the Drapers in London bought this house, and now the same is their common hall. This company obtained of King Henry VI., in the 17th of his reign, to be incorporate†: John Gidney was chosen to be their first master, and the four wardens were, J. Wotton, J. Darbie, Robert Breton, and T. Cooke. The arms granted to the said company by Sir William Bridges, knight, first garter king at arms, in blason, are thus: Three sunbeams issuing out of three clouds of flame, crowned with three crowns imperial of gold, upon a shield azure. From this hall, on the same side down to the grates and course of Walbrook, have ye divers fair houses for merchants and other; from the which grates back again on the other side in Lethbury, so called in record of Edward III., the 38th year, and now corruptly called Lothbury, are candlestick founders placed, till ye come to Bartholomew lane, so called of St. Bartholomew's church, at the south-east corner thereof. In this lane also are divers fair built houses on both sides, and so likewise have ye in the other street, which stretcheth from the Friars Augustine's south gate to the corner over against St. Bennet's church. In this street, amongst other fair buildings, the most ancient was of old time a house pertaining to the abbot of St. Albans; John Catcher, alderman, now dwelleth there; then is the free school pertaining to the late dissolved hospital of St. Anthony, whereof more shall be shown in another place, and so up to Three needle street. On the south part of which street, beginning at the east, by the well with two buckets, now turned to a pump, is the parish church of St. Martin called Oteswich, of Martin de Oteswich, Nicholas de Oteswich, William Oteswich, and John Oteswich, founders thereof. There be monuments in this church of William Constantine, alderman, and Emme his wife; Katherine, wife to

Benedick Augustine; Sir William Driffield, knight; John Oteswich, and his wife, under a fair monument on the south side; John Churchman, one of the sheriffs, in the year 1385; Richard Naylor, tailor, alderman, 1483; James Falleron; John Melchborne; Thomas Hey, and Hellis his wife; William Clitherow, and Margaret his wife; Oliver and William, sons to John Woodroffe, esquire; Hugh Pemberton, tailor, alderman, 1500, and Katherine his wife; Matthew Pemberton, merchant-tailor, about 1514: he gave 50*l.* to the repairing of St. Lawrence chapel. The aforesaid John Churchman, for William and John Oteswich, by license of Henry IV., the 6th of his reign, gave the advowson or patronage of this church, four messuages, and seventeen shops, with the appurtenances in the parish of St. Martin's Oteswich, &c., to the master and wardens of tailors and linen-armourers, keepers of the guild and fraternity of St. John Baptist in London, and to their successors, in perpetual alms, to be employed on the poor brethren and sisters; whereupon, adjoining unto the west end of this parish church, the said master and wardens built about a proper quadrant or squared court, seven alms houses, wherein they placed seven alms men of that company, and their wives (if they had wives); each of these seven of old time had 13*d.* the week, but now of later time their stipend by the said master and wardens hath been augmented to the sum of 26*s.* the quarter, which is 5*l.* 4*s.* the year to each of them, besides coals; more, to each of them 20*s.* the year, by gift of Walter Fish, sometime master of that company, and tailor to her majesty.

Some small distance from thence is the Merchant-Tailors'-hall, pertaining to the guild and fraternity of St. John Baptist, time out of mind called of tailors and linen-armourers of London*; for I find

* The first charter of the Merchant-Tailors is dated 1st Edw. III, and is addressed to the "Tailors and Linen Armourers of the city of London." It allows them, by the name of the Tailors and Linen-armourers of the city of London, to hold their guild, with its various customs, as they had been immemorially accustomed. This charter was exemplified in the 15th of the same monarch. Richard II., in the 14th of his reign, confirmed his grandfather's grants; allowed them to elect annually from among themselves four wardens, to hold their annual elections, wear a livery, and make ordinances. In 2 Henry IV. the company received a new confirmatory charter, by the name of the "Scissors and Fraternity of St. John the Baptist in London;" and another in his 6th year, addressed to the "Scissors of London, and Keepers of the Fraternity of St. John the Baptist." The same monarch, in the 9th of his reign, confirmed to the wardens all his predecessors' charters, and incorporated the company with a common seal and extensive privileges, as "The fraternity of Tailors and Linen-armourers of the fraternity of St. John the Baptist." Henry VI., in his 18th year, added to the company's former privileges the right of search and correction of abuses throughout the trade, and confirmed the same privileges in his 31st year. The whole of the preceding charters were fully confirmed by letters patent of 5 Edward IV.

Many of the members of the company being great merchants, and Henry VII. a member thereof, he for his greater honour, by letters patent of the 18th of his reign, a.d. 1503, re-incorporated the same by the name of the "Master and Wardens of the Merchant-Tailors of the fraternity of St. John the Baptist, in the city of London," giving them their present acting charter; and which has since received the

* "In some matters."—1st edition, p. 141.

† The company of Drapers, to whom Edward III. granted a charter that they might enforce the ordinances of the *Statutum Stapule*, or statute regulating the sale of cloths, were incorporated by letters patent of Henry VI. a.d. 1439, by the title of master, wardens, brethren, and sisters of the guild or fraternity of the Blessed Mary the Virgin, of the Mystery of Drapers in the city of London. Very extensive additional privileges were granted by an inseximus charter, 6 Edward IV., and confirmed by others of the 4 and 5 Philip and Mary, and 2 of Elizabeth.

James I., in the 4th year of his reign, granted a new charter, at the petition of the "Freemen of the Mystery of Drapers of the city of London," by which he erected the Court of Assistants, and wholly re-incorporated the company; and a confirmation of this latter charter, dated 9 James I., is now the acting charter of the company. See Herbert's *Twelve Livery Companies of London*, i. 391.

that Edward I., in the 28th of his reign, confirmed this guild by the name of Tailors and Linen-armourers, and also gave to the brethren thereof authority every year at Midsummer to hold a feast, and to choose unto them a governor, or master, with wardens ; whereupon the same year, 1300, on the feast day of the nativity of St. John Baptist, they chose Henry de Ryall to be their pilgrim for the master of this mystery (as one that travelled for the whole company was then so called) until the 11th of Richard II. ; and the four wardens were then called purveyors of alms (now called quarterage) of the said fraternity. This merchant-tailors' hall, sometime pertaining to a worshipful gentleman named Edmund Creping, (Dominus Creping after some record,) he in the year of Christ 1331, the first of Edward III., for a certain sum of money to him paid, made his grant thereof by the name of his principal messuage in the wards of Cornhill and Brode street, which Sir Oliver Ingham, knight, did then hold, to John of Yakley, the king's pavilion maker. This was called the new hall, or tailors' inn, for a difference from their old hall, which was about the back side of the Red Lion in Basing lane, and in the ward of Cordwayner street.

The 21st of Edward IV., Thomas Holme, *alias* Clarenclaux king of arms for the south part of England, granted by his patents to the said fraternity and guild of St. John Baptist, of tailors and linen-armourers, to bear in a field silver, a pavilion between two mantels imperial purple garnished with gold, in a chief azure and holy Lamb, set within a sun, the crest upon the helm, a pavilion purple garnished with gold, &c. After this King Henry VII. being himself a brother of this fraternity or guild of St. John Baptist, of tailors or linen-armourers (as divers other his predecessors kings before him had been, to wit, Richard III., Edward IV., Henry V., Henry IV., and Richard II.) ; and for that divers of that fraternity had, time out of mind, been great merchants, and had frequented all sorts of merchandises into most parts of the world, to the honour of the king's realm, and to the great profit of his subjects, and of his progenitors ; and the men of the said mystery, during the time aforesaid, had exercised the buying and selling of all wares and merchandises, especially of woollen cloth, as well in gross, as by retail, throughout all this realm of England, and chiefly within the said city ; therefore he, of his especial grace, did change, transfer, and translate the guild aforesaid, and did incorporate them into the name of the Master and Wardens of the Merchant-tailors of the fraternity of St. John Baptist, in the city of London.

Some distance west from this the Merchant-tailors' hall is Finke's lane, so called of Robert Finke, and Robert Finke his son, James Finke, and Rosamond Finke. Robert Finke the elder new built the parish church of St. Bennet, commonly called Fink, of the founder ; his tenements were both of St. Bennet's parish and St. Martin's Oteswich parish. The one half of this Finke lane is of Brode street ward, to wit, on the west side up to the great and principal house wherein the said Finke dwelt ; but on the other side, namely the east, not so much

towards Cornhill. Then without this lane in the aforesaid Threeneedle street is the said parish church of St. Bennet, a proper church, in which are these monuments of the dead :—Robert Simson, and Elizabeth his wife ; Roger Strange, esquire ; Terresse ; William Coolby ; John Frey ; Thomas Briar, plumber, 1410, &c.

Some distance west is the Royal Exchange, whereof more shall be spoken in the ward of Cornhill, and so down to the little conduit, called the pissing conduit, by the Stocks market, and this is the south side of Threeneedle street.

On the north side of this street, from over against the east corner of St. Martin's Oteswich church, have ye divers fair and large houses till ye come to the hospital of St. Anthonie, sometime a cell to St. Anthonie's of Vienna. For I read that King Henry III. granted to the brotherhood of St. Anthonie of Vienna, a place amongst the Jews, which was sometime their synagogue, and had been built by them about the year 1231 ; but the Christians obtained of the king that it should be dedicated to our Blessed Lady ; and since a hospital being there built, was called St. Anthonie's in London ; it was founded in the parish of St. Bennet Finke, for a master, two priests, one schoolmaster, and twelve poor men : after which foundation, amongst other things, was given to this hospital, one messuage and garden, whereon was built the fair large free school, and one other parcel of ground, containing thirty-seven feet in length, and eighteen feet in breadth, whereon was built the alms houses of hard stone and timber, in the reign of Henry VI., which said Henry VI., in the 20th of his reign, gave unto John Carpenter, D.D., master of St. Anthonie's hospital, and to his brethren and their successors for ever, his manor of Ponington, with the appurtenances, with certain pensions and portions of Milburne, Burnworth, Charlton, and Up Winborne, in the county of Southampton, towards the maintenance of five scholars in the university of Oxford, to be brought up in the faculty of arts, after the rate of ten pence the week for every scholar, so that the said scholars shall be first instructed in the rudiments of grammar at the college of Eaton, founded by the said king.

In the year 1474, Edward IV. granted to William Say, B.D., master of the said hospital, to have priests, clerks, scholars, poor men, and brethren of the same, clerks, or laymen, choristers, proctors, messengers, servants in household, and other things whatsoever, like as the prior and convent of St. Anthonie's of Vienna, &c. He also annexed, united, and appropriated the said hospital unto the collegiate church of St. George in Windsor.

The proctors of this house were to collect the benevolence of charitable persons towards the building and supporting thereof. And amongst other things observed in my youth, I remember that the officers charged with oversight of the markets in this city, did divers times take from the market people, pigs starved, or otherwise unwholesome for man's sustenance ; these they slit in the ear. One of the proctors for St. Anthonie's tied a bell about the neck, and let it feed on the dunghills ; no man would hurt or take them up, but if any gave to them bread, or other feeding, such would they know, watch for, and daily follow, whining till they had somewhat given them ; whereupon was raised

a proverb, "Such an one will follow such an one, and whine as it were an Anthonie pig *;" but if such a pig grew to be fat, and came to good liking (as ofttimes they did), then the proctor would take him up to the use of the hospital.

In the year 1499, Sir John Tate, sometime ale-brewer, then a mercer, caused his brewhouse, called the Swan, near adjoining to the said free chapel, college, or hospital of St. Anthonie, to be taken down for the enlarging of the church, which was then new built, toward the building whereof the said Tate gave great sums of money, and finished in the year 1501. Sir John Tate deceased 1514, and was there buried under a fair monument by him prepared. Dr. Tayler, master of the rolls, and other †.

Walter Champion, draper, one of the sheriffs of London 1529, was buried there, and gave to the beadmen twenty pounds. The lands by year of this hospital were valued in the 37th year of Henry VIII. to be fifty-five pounds six shillings and eight pence.

One Johnson (a schoolmaster of the famous free-school there) became a prebend of Windsor, and then by little and little followed the spoil of this hospital. He first dissolved the choir, conveyed the plate and ornaments, then the bells, and lastly put out the alms men from their houses, appointing them portions of twelve pence the week to each (but now I hear of no such matter performed), their houses with other be letten out for rent, and the church is a preaching place for the French nation.

This school was commended in the reign of Henry VI., and sithence commended above other,

* Pigs have long been placed under the protection of St. Anthony.

"The bristled hogges doth Anthonie preserve and cherish well,"

says Barnabe Gonge in *The Popish Kingdom*, fol. 95. And in *The World of Wonders* is the following epigram upon the subject—

"Once fed'st thou, Anthony, an herd of swine,
And now an herd of moukes thou feedest still;
For wit and gut alike both charges bin;
Both loven filth alike; both like to fill
Their greedy paunch alike. Nor was that kind
More beastly, sottish, swinish, than this last,
All else agrees; one fault I only find—
Thou feedest not thy monks with oaken mast."

A very curious illustration of the custom recorded by Stow is to be found in Bale's comedy of *Three Lawes*, 1538, sign. E. viii. 6; where Infidelity begi:s his address—

"Good Christen people, I'm come hyther verelye
As a true proctour of the house of S. Antonye."

And boasts, among o:ther charms,—

"Lo here is a *belle* to hange upon your hogge,
And save your cattel from the bytynge of a dogge."

† "This goodly foundation having a free schoole and almshouses for poore men (builded of hard stone) adjoining to the west end of the church, was of olde time confirmed by Henry the Sixt, in the year 1447. The outward work of this new church was finished in the year 1501, the said John Tate deceased about the year 1514, and was there buried in a monument by him prepared, as appeareth by an indenture tripartite made between the said John Tate, the Deane of Windsor. and William Milbourn, chamberlaine."—1st edition, p. 145.

but now decayed, and come to nothing, by taking that from it what thereunto belonged.

Next is the parish church of St. Bartholomew, at the end of Bartholomew lane. Thomas Pike, alderman, with the assistance of Nicholas Yoo, one of the sheriffs of London, about the year 1438, new built this church. Sir John Fray, knight, was buried there, Margery his daughter and heir, wife to Sir John Lepington, knight, founded there a chantry the 21st of Edward IV. Alderban, a Gascoyne, was buried there; Sir Will. Capel, mayor 1509, added unto this church a proper chapel on the south side thereof, and was buried there; Sir Giles Cappell was also buried there; James Wilford, tailor, one of the sheriffs 1499, appointed by his testament a doctor of divinity, every Good Friday for ever, to preach there a sermon of Christ's Passion, from six of the clock till eight before noon, in the said church. John Wilford, merchant-tailor, alderman, 1544; Sir James Wilford, 1550; Sir George Barne, mayor 1552; John Dent; Miles Coverdale, Bishop of Excester; Thomas Dancer, and Anne his wife.

Then lower down towards the Stocks' market is the parish church of St. Christopher, but re-edified of new; for Richard Shore, one of the sheriffs 1506, gave money towards the building of the steeple. There lie buried Richard Sherington, 1392, who gave lands to that church; the Lady Margaret Norford, 1406; John Clavering, 1421, who gave lands thereunto; John Godnay, draper, mayor 1427. This Godnay, in the year 1444, wedded the widow of Robert Large, late mayor, which widow had taken the mantle and ring*. and the vow to live chaste to God during the term of her life, for the breach whereof, the marriage done, they were troubled by the church, and put to penance, both he and she. William Hampton, mayor 1472, was a great benefactor, and glazed some of the church windows; Sir William Martin, mayor 1492; Roger Achley, mayor 1511, he dwelt in Cornhill ward, in a house belonging to Cobham college, rented by the year at twenty-six shillings and eight pence; Robert Thorne, merchant-tailor, a bachelor, 1532—he gave by his testament in charity more than four

* It was formerly a common custom for widows to make a vow to observe chastity in honour of their deceased husbands. The following translation of the ceremonial observed upon such an occasion, which is given by Fosbrooke in his *British Monachism*, p. 510, will sufficiently explain Stow's allusion to the mantle and ring.

"13th March, 1393, Lady Blanch, relict of Sir Nicholas de Styvecle, knight, alleging that she was a parishioner of John Lord Bishop of Ely, humbly supplicated the said bishop, that he would think worthy to accept her vow of chastity, and from consideration of regard confer upon her the mantle and ring, &c.; and afterwards the said Lady Blanch, in the chapel of the manor of Dodyngton, in the diocese of Ely, before the high altar, in the presence of the said reverend father, then and there solemnly celebrating mass, made solemnly her vows of chastity, as follows, in these words:—

"I, Blanch, heretofore wife to Sir Nicholas de Styvecle, knight, vow to God, and our holy Lady Saint Mary, and all saints, in presence of our Reverend Father in God, John, by the grace of God, Bishop of Ely, that I will be chaste from henceforth during my life."

"And the said reverend father received her vow, and solemnly consecrated and put upon the said vowess the mantle and ring in the presence of, &c." "One of the witnesses," adds Fosbrooke, "is a notary public."

thousand four hundred and forty-five pounds; John Norryholme; Ralph Batte; Alice Percivall; Jane Drew; William Borresbie; John Broke; Richard Sutton; William Batte; James Well; Henry Beacher, alderman, 1570.

West from this church have ye Scalding alley, of old time called Scalding house, or Scalding wike, because that ground for the most part was then employed by poulterers that dwelt in the high street from the Stocks' market to the great conduit. Their poultry, which they sold at their stalls, were scalded there. The street doth yet bear the name of the Poultry, and the poulterers are but lately departed from thence into other streets, as into Grasse street, and the ends of St. Nicholas flesh shambles. This Scalding wike is the farthest west part of Brode street ward, and is by the water called Walbrook parted from Cheap ward. This Brode street ward hath an alderman, with his deputy, common councillors ten, constables ten, scavengers eight, wardmote inquest thirteen, and a beadle. It is taxed to the fifteenth in London at seven-and-twenty pounds, and accounted in the Exchequer after twenty-five pounds.

CORNEHILL WARD.

THE next ward towards the south is Cornehill ward, so called of a corn market, time out of mind there holden, and is a part of the principal high street, beginning at the west end of Leaden hall, stretching down west on both the sides by the south end of Finks lane on the right hand, and by the north end of Birchovers lane; on the left part of which lanes, to wit, to the middle of them, is of this ward, and so down to the Stockes market; and this is the bounds.

The upper or east part of this ward, and also, a part of Lime street ward, hath been (as I said) a market place, especially for corn, and since for all kind of victuals, as is partly showed in Lime street ward; yet it appeareth of record, that in the year 1522, the rippers of Rie and other places, sold their fresh fish in Leaden hall market upon Cornhill, but foreign butchers were not admitted there to sell flesh till the year 1533; and it was enacted, that butchers should sell * their beef not above a halfpenny the pound, and mutton a halfpenny half-farthing; which act being devised for the great commodity of the realm (as it was then thought) hath since proved far otherwise; for before that time a fat ox was sold in London for six-and-twenty shillings and eight pence at the most, a fat wether for three shillings and four pence, a fat calf the like price, a fat lamb for twelve pence, pieces of beef weighing two pounds and a half at the least, yea three pounds or better, for a penny, on every butcher's stall in this city, and of those pieces of beef thirteen or fourteen for twelve pence, fat mutton for eight pence the quarter, and one hundred weight of beef for four shillings and eight pence, at the dearest. What the price is now I need not to set down; many men thought the same act to rise in price, by mean that graziers knew or supposed what weight every their beasts contained, and so raising their price thereafter, the butcher

could be no gainer, but by likewise raising his price *. The number of butchers then in the city and suburbs was accounted six score, of which every one killed six oxen a piece weekly, which is in forty-six weeks thirty-three thousand one hundred and twenty oxen, or seven hundred and twenty oxen weekly. The foreign butchers for a long time stood in the high street of Lime street ward on the north side, twice every week, namely, Wednesday and Saturday, and were some gain to the tenants before whose doors they stood, and into whose houses they set their blocks and stalls; but that advantage being espied, they were taken into Leaden hall, there to pay for their standing to the chamber of London. Thus much for the market upon Cornhill.

The chief ornaments in Cornhill ward are these: first, at the east end thereof, in the middle of the high street, and at the parting of four ways, have ye a water standard, placed in the year 1582, in manner following. A certain German, named Peter Morris, having made an artificial forcier for that purpose, conveyed Thames water in pipes of lead over the steeple of St. Magnus church, at the north end of London bridge, and from thence into divers men's houses in Thames street, New Fish street, and Grasse street, up to the north-west corner of Leaden hall, the highest ground of all the city, where the waste of the main pipe rising into this standard, provided at the charges of the city, with four spouts did at every tide run (according to covenant) four ways, plentifully serving to the commodity of the inhabitants near adjoining in their houses, and also cleansed the channels of the street towards Bishopsgate, Aldgate, the bridge, and the Stockes' market. But now no such matter, through whose default I know not †.

Then have ye a fair conduit of sweet water, castellated in the midst of that ward and street. This conduit was first built of stone in the year 1282, by Henry Walles, mayor of London, to be a prison for night-walkers, and other suspicious persons, and was called the Tun upon Cornehill, because the same was built somewhat in fashion of a tun standing on the one end.

To this prison the night watches of this city committed not only night walkers, but also other persons, as well spiritual as temporal, whom they suspected of incontinence, and punished them according to the customs of this city; but complaint thereof being made, about the year of Christ 1297, King Edward I. writeth to his citizens thus:—

“Edward, by the grace of God, &c. Whereas Richard Gravesend, bishop of London, hath showed unto us, that by the Great Charter of England, the Church hath a privilege, that no clerk should be imprisoned by a lay man without our commandment, and breach of peace, which notwithstanding, some citizens of London, upon mere spite, do enter in their watches into clerks' chambers, and like felons carry them to the Tun, which Henry le Wallies, sometime mayor, built for night walkers; wherefore we will that this our commandment be

* “But the true cause of enhancing the prices both of those and other victuals are not to be disputed here.”—1st edition, p. 148.

† It would seem, from the addition of these words, which are not in the first edition, that this conduit ceased so to run between the years 1598 and 1603.

* “Their beef and mutton by weight, to wit.”—1st edition, p. 148.

proclaimed in full hustings, and that no watch hereafter enter into any clerk's chamber, under the forfeit of twenty pounds. Dated at Carlisle the 18th of March, the 25th of our reign.²⁷

More, I read that about the year of Christ 1299, the 27th of Edward I., certain principal citizens of London, to wit, T. Romane, Richard Gloucester, Nicholas Faringdon, Adam Helingburie, T. Saly, John Dunstable, Richard Ashwy, John Wade, and William Stortford, brake up this prison called the Tun, and took out certain prisoners, for which they were sharply punished by long imprisonment and great fines. It cost the citizens (as some have written) more than twenty thousand marks, which they were amerced in, before William le March, treasurer of the king's exchequer, to purchase the king's favour, and confirmation of their liberties.

Also, that in the year 1383, the 7th of Richard II., the citizens of London, taking upon them the rights that belonged to their bishops, first imprisoned such women as were taken in fornication or adultery in the said Tun, and after bringing them forth to the sight of the world, they caused their heads to be shaven, after the manner of thieves, whom they named appellators, and so to be led about the city, in sight of all the inhabitants, with trumpets and pipes sounding before them, that their persons might be the more largely known. Neither did they spare such kind of men a whit the more, but used them as hardly, saying, they abhorred not only the negligence of their prelates, but also detested their avarice, that studying for money, omitted the punishment limited by law, and permitted those that were found guilty to live favourably in their sin. Wherefore, they would themselves, they said, purge their city from such filthiness, lest, through God's vengeance, either the pestilence or sword should happen to them, or that the earth should swallow them.

Last of all to be noted, I read in the charge of the wardmote inquest in every ward of the city, these words:—"If there be any priest in service within the ward, which before time hath been set in the Tun in Cornhill for his dishonesty, and hath forsworn the city, all such shall be presented."

Thus much for the Tun in Cornhill have I read. Now for the punishment of priests in my youth: one note and no more. John Atwod, draper, dwelling in the parish of St. Michael upon Cornhill, directly against the church, having a proper woman to his wife, such an one as seemed the holiest among a thousand, had also a lusty chantry priest, of the said parish church, repairing to his house; with the which priest the said Atwod would sometimes after supper play a game at tables for a pint of ale: it chanced on a time, having haste of work, and his game proving long, he left his wife to play it out, and went down to his shop, but returning to fetch a pressing iron, he found such play to his misliking, that he forced the priest to leap out at a window over the penthouse into the street, and so to run to his lodging in the churchyard. Atwod and his wife were soon reconciled, so that he would not suffer her to be called in question; but the priest being apprehended and committed, I saw his punishment to be thus:—He was on three market days conveyed through the high street and markets of the city with a paper on his head, wherein was written his trespass. The

first day he rode in a carry, the second on a horse, his face to the horse tail, the third led betwixt twain, and every day rung with basons, and proclamations made of his fact at every turning of the street, as also before John Atwod's stall, and the church door of his service, where he lost his chantry of twenty nobles the year, and was banished the city for ever.

By the west side of the foresaid prison, then called the Tun, was a fair well of spring water, curbed round with hard stone; but in the year 1401, the said prison house, called the Tun, was made a cistern for sweet water, conveyed by pipes of lead from Tiborne, and was from thenceforth called the Conduit upon Cornhill. Then was the well planked over, and a strong prison made of timber called a cage, with a pair of stocks therein set upon it, and this was for night walkers. On the top of which cage was placed a pillory*, for the punishment of bakers offending in the assize of bread, for millers stealing of corn at the mill, for bawds, scolds, and other offenders. As in the year 1468, the 7th of Edward IV., divers persons being common jurors, such as at assizes were forsworn for rewards, or favour of parties, were judged to ride from Newgate to the pillory in Cornhill, with mitres of paper on their heads, there to stand, and from thence again to Newgate, and this judgment was given by the mayor of London. In the year 1509, the 1st of Henry VIII., Darby, Smith, and Simson, ringleaders of false inquests in London, rode about the city with their faces to the horse tails, and papers on their heads, and were set on the pillory in Cornhill, and after brought again to Newgate, where they died for very shame, saith Robert Fabian. A ringleader of inquests†, as I take it, is he that making a gainful occupation thereof, will appear on Nisi-prisises, or he be warned, or procure himself to be warned, to come on by a tales. He will also procure himself to be foreman when he can, and take upon him to overrule the rest to his opinion; such an one shall be laboured by plaintiffs and defendants, not without promise of rewards, and therefore to be suspected of a bad conscience. I would wish a more careful choice of jurors to be had; for I have known a man carted, rung with basons, and banished out of Bishopsgate ward, and afterward in Aldgate ward admitted to be a constable, a grand jurymen, and foreman of the wardmote inquest: what I know of the like, or worse men, proffered to the like offices, I forbear to write, but wish to be reformed.

The foresaid conduit upon Cornhill, was in the year 1475 enlarged by Robert Drope, draper, mayor, that then dwelt in that ward; he increased the cistern of this conduit with an east end of stone, and castellated in comely manner.

* The pillory described by Stow was probably intended to 'accommodate,' as Ancient Pistol terms it, more than one criminal at a time. In Douce's *Illustrations of Shakspeare*, i. 146—149, will be seen several engravings from early drawings of pillories placed on the tops of cages or prisons, and having iron circles or *carcans*, with holes for receiving the hands and necks of several persons at the same time.

† Ringleaders of inquests will proffer their service, and bend every way for gain. Careful choice of jurors is to be had; a man detected, and that had sworn foolishly against his brother, is not to be admitted a common juror; neither butcher nor surgeon is to be admitted."—*Stow*.

In the year 1546, Sir Martin Bowes, mayor, dwelling in Lombard street, and having his back gate opening into Cornhill against the said conduit, minded to have enlarged the cistern thereof with a west end, like as Robert Drope before had done towards the east; view and measure of the plot was taken for this work; but the pillory and cage being removed, they found the ground planked, and the well aforesaid worn out of memory, which well they revived and restored to use—it is since made a pump; they set the pillory somewhat west from the well; and so this work ceased.

On the north side of the street, from the east unto the west, have ye divers fair houses for merchants and other, amongst the which one large house is called the Wey house, where merchandises brought from beyond the seas are to be weighed at the king's beam. This house hath a master, and under him four master porters, with porters under them: they have a strong cart, and four great horses, to draw and carry the wares from the merchants' houses to the beam and back again. Sir Thomas Lovell, knight, built this house, with a fair front of tenements towards the street; all which he gave to the Grocers of London, himself being free of the city, and a brother of that company.

Then have ye the said Finke's lane, the south end of which lane on both sides is in Cornhill ward.

Then next is the Royal Exchange, erected in the year 1566, after this order, namely, certain houses upon Cornhill, and the like upon the back thereof, in the ward of Brode street, with three alleys, the first called Swan alley, opening into Cornhill, the second New alley, passing throughout of Cornhill into Brode street ward, over against St. Bartholomew lane, the third St. Christopher's alley, opening into Brode street ward, and into St. Christopher's parish, containing in all fourscore households, were first purchased by the citizens of London, for more than three thousand five hundred and thirty-two pounds, and were sold for four hundred and seventy-eight pounds, to such persons as should take them down and carry them thence; also the ground or plot was made plain at the charges of the city; and then possession thereof was by certain aldermen, in name of the whole citizens, given to Sir Thomas Gresham, knight, agent to the queen's highness, thereupon to build a burse, or place for merchants to assemble, at his own proper charges. And he, on the 7th of June, laying the first stone of the foundation, being brick, accompanied with some aldermen, every of them laid a piece of gold, which the workmen took up, and forthwith followed upon the same with such diligence, that by the month of November, in the year 1567, the same was covered with slate, and shortly after fully finished.

In the year 1570, on the 23d of January, the queen's majesty, attended with her nobility, came from her house at the Strand, called Somerset house, and entered the city by Temple Bar, through Fleet street, Cheape, and so by the north side of the burse, through Threeneedle street, to Sir Thomas Gresham's in Bishopsgate street, where she dined. After dinner her majesty returning through Cornhill, entered the burse on the south side; and after that she had viewed every part thereof above the ground, especially the pawn*, which was

richly furnished with all sorts of the finest wares in the city, she caused the same burse by an herald and trumpet to be proclaimed the Royal Exchange, and so to be called from thenceforth, and not otherwise.

Next adjoining to this Royal Exchange remaineth one part of a large stone house, and is now called the Castle of such a sign; at a tavern door there is a passage through out of Cornhill into Threeneedle street; the other part of the said stone house was taken down for enlarging the Royal Exchange: this stone house was said of some to have been a church, whereof it had no proportion, of others a Jew's house, as though none but Jews had dwelt in stone houses; but that opinion is without warrant, for besides the strong building of stone houses against the invasion of thieves in the night, when no watches were kept, in the 1st year of Richard I., to prevent the casualties of fire, which often had happened in the city, when the houses were built of timber, and covered with reed or straw, Henry Fitz Alewine being mayor, it was decreed, that from henceforth no man should build within the city but of stone, until a certain height, and to cover the same building with slate or burnt tile; and this was the very cause of such stone buildings, whereof many have remained till our time, that for winning of ground they have been taken down, and in place of some one of them being low, as but two stories above the ground, many houses of four or five stories high are placed. From this stone house down to the Stocks are divers large houses, especially for height, for merchants and artificers.

On the south side of this high street is the parish church of St. Peter upon Cornhill, which seemeth to be of an ancient building, but not so ancient as fame reporteth, for it hath been lately repaired, if not all new built, except the steeple, which is ancient. The roof of this church, and glazing, were finished in the reign of Edward IV., as appeareth by arms of noblemen and aldermen of London then living. There remaineth in this church a table whereon it is written, I know not by what authority, but of a late hand, that King Lucius founded the same church to be an archbishop's see metropolitan†, and chief church of his kingdom, and that it so endured the space of four hundred years, unto the coming of Augustin the monk.

Joceline of Furness writeth, that Thean, the first archbishop of London, in the reign of Lucius, built the said church by the aid of Ciran, chief butler to King Lucius; and also that Eluanus, the second archbishop, built a library to the same adjoining, and converted many of the Druids, learned men in the Pagan law, to Christianity. True it is, that a library there was pertaining to this parish church and its Founder," printed in Knight's *London*, (ii. p. 281, et seq.) and containing a brief history of this "glory of the merchants," supposeth the word *pawne*, by which the bazaar part of the Exchange was designated, to be a corrupted form of *bahn*, the German word for a path or walk. Probably we derived it more directly from Holland. In the Dutch language *baan* is a pathway. The reader who would be fully acquainted with the history of the Royal Exchange, and of the merchant prince by whom it was founded, should consult that valuable work, *The Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham*, by John William Burgon, Esq.

† "Archbishops of London hard to be proved, and therefore not be affirmed."—*Stow*.

* Mr. Saunders, in a paper entitled "The Royal Exchange

of old time, built of stone, and of late repaired with brick by the executors of Sir John Crosby, alderman, as his arms on the south end doth witness.

This library hath been of late time, to wit, within these fifty years, well furnished of books; John Leyland viewed and commended them; but now those books be gone, and the place is occupied by a schoolmaster and his usher, over a number of scholars learning their grammar rules, &c. Notwithstanding, before that time a grammar school had been kept in this parish, as appeareth in the year 1425, I read, that John Whitby was rector, and John Steward schoolmaster there; and in the 25th of Henry VI., it was enacted by parliament, that four grammar schools in London should be maintained, namely, in the parishes of Allhallows, in Thames street, St. Andrew in Oldbourne, St. Peter's upon Cornhill, and St. Thomas of Acars.

Monuments of the dead in this church defaced: I read, that Hugh Waltham, Nicholas Pricot, mercer, alderman, Richard Manhall, 1503; William Kingston, fishmonger, gave his tenements called the Horse mill in Grasse street to this church, and was there buried about the year 1298; John Unisbrugh, poulterer, 1410; John Law. Also Peter Mason, tailor, gave to this church seven pounds sterling yearly for ever, out of his tenements in Colechurch parish, and deceased about the year 1416. John Foxton founded a chantry there. A brotherhood of St. Peter was in this church established by Henry IV., the 4th of his reign. William Brampton and William Askham, fishmongers and aldermen, were chief procurers thereof, for the fishmongers of late buried there; Sir William Bowyer, mayor 1543; Sir Henry Huberthorn, mayor 1546; Sir Christopher Morice, master-gunner of England to King Henry VIII.; Edward Elrington, esquire, chief-butler to Edward VI.; Thomas Gardener, grocer; and Justice Smith, and other.

Then have ye the parish church of St. Michael th' Archangel; for the antiquity whereof I find that Alnothus the priest gave it to the abbot and convent of Covesham, Reynold abbot, and the convent there did grant the same to Sperling the priest, in all measures as he and his predecessors before had held it; to the which Sperling also they granted all their lands which they there had, except certain lands which Orgar le Prowde had held of them, and paid two shillings yearly; for the which grant the said Sperling should yearly pay one mark of rent to the said abbot of Covesham, and find him and his lodging, salt, water, and fire, when he came to London. This was granted 1133, about the 34th of Henry I. Thus much for antiquity; of later time I find, that Elizabeth Peake, widow, gave the patronage or gift of this benefice to the Drapers in London; she lieth buried in the belfry, 1518: her monument yet remaineth.

This hath been a fair and beautiful church, but of late years, since the surrender of their lands to Edward VI., greatly blemished by the building of lower tenements on the north side thereof towards the high street, in place of a green church yard, whereby the church is darkened, and other ways annoyed. The fair new steeple, or bell tower of this church, was begun to be built in the year 1421, which being finished, and a fair ring of five bells therein placed, a sixth bell* was added, and given

by John Whitwell, Isabel his wife, and William Rus, alderman, and goldsmith, about the year 1430, which bell, named "Rus," nightly at eight of the clock, and otherwise for knells, and in peals, rung by one man, for the space of one hundred and sixty years, of late overhauled by four or five at once, hath been thrice broken, and new cast within the space of ten years, to the charges of that parish more than one hundred marks.

And here a note of this steeple: as I have oft heard my father report, upon St. James' night, certain men in the loft next under the bells, ringing of a peal, a tempest of lightning and thunder did arise, an ugly shapen sight† appeared to them, coming in at the south window, and lighted on the north, for fear whereof they all fell down, and lay as dead for the time, letting the bells ring and cease of their own accord; when the ringers came to themselves, they found certain stones of the north window to be razed and scratched, as if they had been so much butter, printed with a lion's claw; the same stones were fastened there again, and so remain till this day. I have seen them oft, and have put a feather or small stick into the holes where the claws had entered three or four inches deep. At the same time certain main timber posts at Queene Hith were scratched and cleft from the top to the bottom; and the pulpit cross in Powle's churchyard was likewise scratched, cleft, and overturned. One of the ringers lived in my youth, whom I have oft heard to verify the same to be true.

But to return. William Rus was a special benefactor to this church; his arms yet remain in the windows. William Comerton, Symon Smith, Walter Belingham, were buried there, and founded chantries there; John Grace, 1439; Robert Drope, mayor, buried on the north side of the choir, under a fair tomb of grey marble, 1485, he gave to poor maids' marriages of that parish twenty pounds, to poor of that ward ten pounds, shirts and smocks three hundred, and gowns of broad cloth one hundred, &c.‡ Jane his wife, matching with Edward Gray, Viscount Lisle, was buried by her first husband, 1500; she gave ninety pounds in money to the beautifying of that church, and her great messuage, with the appurtenance, which was by her executors, W. Caple and other, 1517, the 9th of Henry VIII., assured to John Wardroper, parson, T. Clarke, W. Dixon, and John Murdon, wardens of the said church, and their successors for ever, they to keep yearly for her an obite, or anniversary, to be spent on the poor, and otherwise, in all three pounds, the rest of the profits to be employed in reparation of the church. In the 34th year of Henry VIII., Edward Stephan, parson, T. Spencer, P. Guntar, and G. Grouch, churchwardens, granted to T. Lodge a lease for sixty rung by six men, that was in England, for harmonye, sweetness of sound, and tune."—*Stow*.

† It is quite clear from the tone in which Stow speaks of this "ugly shapen sight," and the marks "printed with a lion's claw," that he suspected this instance of the power of the electric fluid to be nothing less than a visitation from the foul fiend himself. Franklin, though no exorcist, has proved himself a great layer of such spirits.

‡ "To the poor at his burial sixteen pound, to prisons, hospitals, and lazar houses, liberally; he also gave his house in Cornhill to be sold, and the price thereof to be spent on the amendment of highways."—*1st edition*, p. 153.

* "This was accounted the best ring of six belles, to be used

years of the said great message, with the appurtenance, which were called the Lady Lisle's lands, for the rent of eight pounds thirteen shillings and four pence the year. The parishioners since gave it up as chantry land, and wronged themselves. Also the said Robert Drope, and Lady Lisle, notwithstanding their liberality to that church and parish, their tomb is pulled down, no monument remaineth of them. Peter Hawton, late alderman, is laid in their vault, 1596. Robert Fabian, alderman, that wrote and published a Chronicle of England and of France, was buried there 1511, with this epitaph :—

"Like as the day his course doth consume,
And the new morrow springeth againe as fast,
So man and woman, by Nature's custome,
This life to pass, at last in earth are cast,
In joy and sorrow, which here their time do wast,
Never in one state, but in course transitory,
So full of change is of this world the glory."

His monument is gone. Richard Garnam, 1527, buried there; Edmond Trindle and Robert Smith*; William Dickson and Margaret his wife †, buried in the cloister under a fair tomb now defaced; Thomas Stow, my grandfather, about the year 1526, and Thomas Stow, my father, 1559; John Tolus, alderman, 1548, he gave to John Willowby, parson of that church, to Thomas Lodge, G. Hind, P. Bolde, churchwardens, and to their successors, towards the reparation of that church, and relief of the poor for ever, his tenement with the appurtenances in the parish of St. Michael, which he had lately purchased of Alvery Randolph, of Badlesmeere in Kent; but the parish never had the gift, nor heard thereof by the space of forty years after; such was the conscience of G. Barne and other the executors, to conceal it to themselves; and such is the negligence of the parishioners, that being informed thereof, make no claim thereunto. Philip Gonter, that was alderman for a time, and gave four hundred pounds to be discharged thereof, was buried in the cloister about the year 1582, and Anne his wife, &c. Thomas Houghton, father to the said Peter Houghton, Francis Beneson, and William Towersan.

This parish church hath on the south side thereof a proper cloister, and a fair church yard, with a pulpit cross, not much unlike to that in Paule's church yard. Sir John Rudstone, mayor, caused the same pulpit cross in his lifetime to be built, the church yard to be enlarged by ground purchased of the next parish, and also proper houses to be raised for lodging of choir men, such as at that time were assistants to divine service, then daily sung by note in that church. The said John Rudstone deceased 1531, and was buried in a vault under the pulpit cross; he appointed sermons to be preached there, not now performed; his tomb before the pulpit cross is taken thence, with the tomb of Richard Yaxley, Doctor of Physic to King Henry VIII. and other. The choir of that church dissolved, the lodgings of choir men were by the grave fathers of that time charitably appointed for receipt of ancient decayed parishioners, namely, widows, such as were not able to bear the charge of greater rents abroad, which blessed work of

harbouring the harbourless is promised to be rewarded in the kingdom of heaven.

Then have ye Birchover lane, so called of Birchover, the first builder and owner thereof, now corruptly called Birehin lane, the north half whereof is of the said Cornhill ward; the other part is of Langborne ward.

This lane, and the high street near adjoining, hath been inhabited for the most part with wealthy drapers, from Birchover's lane, on that side the street down to the stocks, in the reign of Henry VI., had ye for the most part dwelling Frippers or Upholders, that sold old apparel and household stuff.

I have read of a countryman, that then having lost his hood in Westminster hall, found the same in Cornhill hanged out to be sold, which he challenged, but was forced to buy, or go without it, for their stall, they said, was their market. At that time also the wine drawer of the Pope's head tavern (standing without the door in the high street) took the same man by the sleeve, and said, "Sir, will you drink a pint of wine?" whereunto he answered, "A penny spend I may;" and so drank his pint, for bread nothing did he pay, for that was allowed free*.

This Pope's head tavern, with other houses adjoining, strongly built of stone, hath of old time been all in one, pertaining to some great estate, or rather to the king of this realm, as may be supposed both by the largeness thereof, and by the arms, to wit, three leopards passant, gardant, which were the whole arms of England before the reign of Edward III., that quartered them with the arms of France, three fleur-de-lis.

These arms of England, supported between two angels, are fair and largely graven in stone on the fore front towards the high street, over the door or stall of one great house, lately for many years possessed by Mr. Philip Gunter. The Pope's head tavern is on the back part thereof towards the south, as also one other house called the stone house in Lombard street. Some say this was King John's house, which might so be; for I find in a written copy of Matthew Paris' History, that in the year 1232, Henry III. sent Hubert de Burgh, Earl of Kent, to Cornhill in London, there to answer all matters objected against him, where he wisely acquitted himself. The Pope's head tavern hath a footway through from Cornhill into Lombard street. And down lower on the high street of Cornhill, is there one other way through by the Cardinal's hat tavern into Lombard street. And so let this suffice for Cornhill ward. In which be governors:—an alderman, his deputy, common councillors four or six, constables four, scavengers four, wardmore inquest sixteen, and a beadle. It is charged to the fifteen at sixteen pounds.

LANGBORNE WARD, AND FENNIE ABOUT.

LANGBORNE ward, so called of a long bourne of sweet water, which of old time breaking out into Fenchurch street, ran down the same street and Lombard street to the west end of St. Mary Woolnoth's church, where turning south, and breaking into small shares, rills, or streams, it left the name of Small borne lane, or South borne lane (as I have

* "My godfathers."—1st edition, p. 153.

† "My godmother."—Ibid.

* "Wine one pint for a penny, and bread to drink it was given free in every tavern."—Stow.

read), because it ran south to the river of Thames. This ward beginneth at the west end of Aldgate ward in Fenne church street, by the Ironmongers' hall, which is on the north side of that street, at a place called Culver alley, where sometime was a lane, through the which men went into Lime street, but that being long since stopped up for suspicion of thieves that lurked there by night, as is shown in Lime street ward, there is now this said alley, a tennis-court, &c.

Fenne church street took that name of a fenny or moorish ground, so made by means of this borne which passed through it, and therefore until this day in the Guildhall of this city, that ward is called by the name of Langborne and Fennie about, and not otherwise; yet others be of opinion that it took that name of *Fœnum*, that is, hay sold there, as Grasse street took the name of grass, or herbs, there sold.

In the midst of this street standeth a small parish church called St. Gabriel Fen church, corruptly Fan church.

Helming Legget, esquire, by license of Edward III., in the 49th of his reign, gave one tenement, with a curtelage thereto belonging, and a garden, with an entry thereto leading, unto Sir John Harriot, parson of Fenchurch, and to his successors for ever; the house to be a parsonage-house, the garden to be a church-yard, or burying-place for the parish.

Then have ye Lombard street, so called of the Longbards, and other merchants, strangers of divers nations assembling there twice every day, of what original or continuance I have not read of record*, more than that Edward II., in the 12th of his reign, confirmed a message, sometime belonging to Robert Turke, abutting on Lombard street toward the south, and toward Cornhill on the north, for the merchants of Florence, which proveth that street to have had the name of Lombard street before the reign of Edward II. The meeting of which merchants and others there continued until the 22nd of December, in the year 1568; on the which day the said merchants began to make their meetings at the burse, a place then new built for that purpose in the ward of Cornhill, and was since by her majesty, Queen Elizabeth, named the Royal Exchange.

On the north side of this ward is Lime street, one half whereof on both the sides is of this Langborne ward, and therein on the west side is the Pewterers' hall, which company were admitted to be a brotherhood in the 13th of Edward IV.

At the south-west corner of Lime street standeth a fair parish church of St. Dionys called Backe church, lately new built in the reign of Henry VI. John Bugge, esquire, was a great benefactor to that work, as appeareth by his arms, three water budgets, and his crest, a Morian's head, graven in the stone-work of the choir, the upper end on the

north side, where he was buried. Also John Darby, alderman, added thereunto a fair aisle, or chapel, on the south side, and was there buried about the year 1466. He gave (besides sundry ornaments) his dwelling-house and others unto the said church. The Lady Wich, widow to Hugh Wich, sometime mayor of London, was there buried, and gave lands for sermons, &c. John Master, gentleman, was by his children buried there 1444; Thomas Britaine; Henry Travers, of Maidstone, in Kent, merchant, 1501; John Bond, about 1504; Robert Paget, merchant-tailor, one of the sheriffs, 1536; Sir Thomas Curteis, pewterer, then fishmonger, mayor, 1557; Sir James Harvie, ironmonger, mayor, 1581; William Peterson, esquire; William Sherington; Sir Edward Osborne, clothworker, mayor, &c.

Then by the four corners (so called of Fenchurch street in the east, Bridge street on the south, Grasse street on the north, and Lombard street on the west), in Lombard street is one fair parish church called Allhallows Grasse church, in Lombard street; I do so read it in evidences of record, for that the grass market went down that way, when that street was far broader than now it is, being straitened by incroachments.

This church was lately new built. John Warner, armourer, and then grocer, sheriff 1494, built the south aisle; his son, Robert Warner, esquire, finished it in the year 1516. The pewterers were benefactors towards the north aisle, &c. The steeple, or bell tower, thereof was finished in the year 1544, about the 36th of Henry VIII. The fair stone porch of this church was brought from the late dissolved priory of St. John of Jerusalem by Smithfield, so was the frame for their bells, but the bells being bought, were never brought thither, by reason that one old Warner, draper, of that parish deceasing, his son Marke Warner would not perform what his father had begun, and appointed, so that fair steeple hath but one bell, as friars were wont to use. The monuments of this church be these. The said Warners, and John Walden, draper.

Next is a common hostelry for travellers, called the George, of such a sign. This is said to have pertained to the Earl Ferrers, and was his London lodging in Lombard street, and that in the year 1175, a brother of the said earl, being there privily slain in the night, was there thrown down into the dirty street, as I have afore shown in the chapter of night watches.

Next to this is the parish church of St. Edmond, the king and martyr, in Lombard street, by the south corner of Birchover lane. This church is also called St. Edmond Grasse church, because the said grass market came down so low. The monuments in this church are these: Sir John Milborne, draper, mayor, deceased, 1535, buried there by Dame Joan and Dame Margaret his wives, under a tomb of touch; Humfrey Heyford, goldsmith, mayor 1477; Sir William Chester, draper, mayor 1560, with his wives, amongst his predecessors; Sir George Barne, mayor 1586; Matilde at Vine founded a chantry there, &c.

From this church down Lombard-street, by Birchover's lane (the one half of which lane is of this ward), and so down, be divers fair houses, namely, one with a very fair fore front towards the street, built by Sir Martin Bowes, goldsmith, since

* The reader is referred to the *Archæologia*, xxviii. p. 207 *et seq.*, for a very interesting paper by Edward A. Bond, Esq., containing "Extracts from the Liberate Rolls, relative to Loans supplied by Italian Merchants to the Kings of England in the 13th and 14th centuries;" with an introductory Memoir, in which is contained much valuable information on the subject of the influence which these Lombard merchants exercised, not only over the commercial, but over the financial affairs of this country.

mayor of London, and then one other, sometime belonging to William de la Pole, knight banneret, and yet the king's merchant*, in the 14th of Edward III., and after him to Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, in the 14th of Richard II., and was his merchant's house, and so down towards the Stocks market, lacking but some three houses thereof.

The south side of this ward beginneth in the east, at the chain to be drawn athwart Mart lane up into Fenchurch street, and so west by the north end of Minchen lane to St. Margaret Patten's street, or Roode lane, and down that street to the midway towards St. Margaret's church; then by Philpot lane (so called of Sir John Philpot that dwelt there, and was owner thereof), and down that lane some six or eight houses on each side, is all of this ward.

Then by Grasse church corner into Lombard street to St. Clement's lane, and down the same to St. Clement's church; then down St. Nicholas lane, and down the same to St. Nicholas church, and the same church is of this ward. Then to Abchurch church lane, and down some small portion thereof; then down Sherborne lane, a part thereof, and a part of Bearebinder lane, be of this ward; and then down Lombard street to the sign of the Angel, almost to the corner over against the Stocks market.

On the south side of this ward, somewhat within Mart lane, have you the parish church of Allhallows, commonly called Stane church (as may be supposed), for a difference from other churches of that name in this city, which of old time were built of timber, and since were built of stone. In this church have been divers fair monuments of the dead, namely, of John Costin, girdler, a great benefactor: he deceased 1244. His name remaineth painted in the church roof; if it had been set in brass, it would have been fetched down †. He gave out of certain tenements to the poor of that parish a hundred quarters of charcoals yearly for ever. Sir Robert Test, knight of the holy sepulchre, and Dame Joan his wife, about 1486; Robert Stone; Sir John Steward, and Dame Alice his wife ‡; John Bostocke, esquire; Christopher Holt; Sir Richard Tate, knight, ambassador to King Henry VIII., buried there 1554. His monument remaineth yet; the rest being all pulled down, and swept out of the church, the churchwardens were forced

to make a large account; 12s. that year for brooms, besides the carriage away of stone and brass of their own charge. And here I am to note, that being informed of the Writheleys to be buried there, I have since found them and other to be buried at St. Giles within Cripplegate, where I mind to leave them.

By this church sometime passed a lane, called Cradock's lane, from Mart lane, winding by the north side of the said church into Fenchurch street, the which lane being straitened by incroachments, is now called Church alley.

Then is the parish church of St. Nicholas Acon, or Hacon (for so have I read it in records), in Lombard street. Sir John Bridges, draper, mayor, 1520, newly repaired this church, and embattled it, and was there buried. Francis Boyer, grocer, one of the sheriffs, was buried there 1580, with other of the Boyers; so was Julian, wife to John Lambart, alderman*.

Then is there in the high street a proper parish church of St. Mary Woolnoth, of the Nativity, the reason of which name I have not yet learnt. This church is lately new built. Sir Hugh Brice, goldsmith, mayor in the first year of Henry VII., keeper of the king's exchange at London, and one of the governors of the king's mint in the Tower of London, under William Lord Hastings, the 5th of Edward IV., deceased 1496. He built in this church a chapel called the Charnell, as also part of the body of the church and of the steeple, and gave money toward the finishing thereof, besides the stone which he had prepared: he was buried in the body of the church. Guy Brice, or Boys, was buried there. Dame Joan, wife to Sir William Peach†; Thomas Nocket, draper, 1396: he founded a chantry there. Simon Eyre, 1459: he gave the tavern called the Cardinal's Hat, in Lombard street, with a tenement annexed on the east part of the tavern, and a mansion behind the east tenement, together with an alley from Lombard street to Cornhill, with the appurtenances, all which were by him new built, toward a brotherhood of our Lady in St. Mary Woolnoth's church. John Moaiger, pewterer, and Emme his wife, in St. John's chapel; Sir John Percivall, merchant-tailor, mayor, about 1504; Thomas Roch, and Andrew Michael, vintners, and Joan their wife; William Hilton, merchant-tailor, and tailor to King Henry VIII., was buried there 1519, under the chapel of St. George, which chapel was built by George Lufken, sometime tailor to the prince; Robert Amades, goldsmith, master of the king's jewels; Sir Martin Bowes, mayor, buried about 1569: he gave lands for the discharge of that Langbourn ward, of all fiftene to be granted to the king by parliament; George Hasken, Sir Thomas Ramsey, late mayor,

ley, daughter of Richard Warmeforde; Barbara Hungerford, daughter to Sir John Writheley, wife to Anthony Hungerford, son to Sir Thomas Hungerford, of Deumampney, in the county of Gloucester."

The cause for the omission of these names is explained at the close of the paragraph in the text; which is however so indistinctly expressed, that its meaning could not very well be ascertained except by a reference to what was originally written.

* "Mother of William Lambert, yet living."—1st edition, p. 160.

† "Hugh Acton, tailor."—Ibid.

* "Noblemen of this realm of old time, as also of late years, have dealt in merchandises."—*Stow*.

† "If it had been in brasse, it would not have remained there so long."—1st edition, p. 159.

‡ In the first edition, p. 159, the following passage is here inserted:—

"Alice, William, and John, wife and sons to Thomas Clarel; Agnes, daughter to Thomas Niter, gent.; William Atwell; Felix, daughter to Sir Thomas Gisers, and wife to Travers Thomas Mason, esquire; Edmond Wartar, esquire; Joan, wife to John Chamberlaine, esquire, daughter to Roger Lewkner, esquire; William Frier; John Hamburger, esquire; Hugh Moresby; Gilbert Prince, alderman; Oliver Chorley, gentleman; Sir John Writhe, or Writheley, *alias* Garter principal king at arms, sometime laid under a fair tomb in the choir, now broken down and gone; Joan, wife to Thomas Writheley, son to Sir John Writheley, Garter, daughter and heir to William Hall, esquire; John Writheley the younger, son to Sir John Writheley, and Alienor, Eleanor, second wife to John Writheley, daughter and heir to Thomas Arnalde, and Agnes his wife; John Writheley, son of Thomas; Agnes Arnold, first married to William Writhe-

&c. Thus have ye seven parishes in this ward, one hall of a company, divers fair houses for merchants, and other monuments none. It hath an alderman, his deputy, common councillors eight, constables fifteen, scavengers nine, men of the wardmote inquest seventeen, and a beadle. It is taxed to the fifteen *, in the exchequer, at 20*l.* 9*s.* 8*d.*

BILLINGSGATE WARD.

BILLINGSGATE ward beginneth at the west end of Tower street ward in Thames street, about Smart's key, and runneth down along that street on the south side to St. Magnus church at the bridge foot, and on the north side of the said Thames street, from over against Smart's key, till over against the north-west corner of St. Magnus church aforesaid, on this north side of Thames street, is St. Marie hill lane, up to St. Margaret's church, and then part of St. Margaret Patten's street, at the end of St. Marie hill lane. Next out of Thames street is Lucas lane, and then Buttolph lane, and at the north end thereof Philpot lane; then is Rother lane, of old time so called, and thwart the same lane is Little Eastcheape; and these be the bounds of Billingsgate ward.

Touching the principal ornaments within this ward. On the south side of Thames street, beginning at the east end thereof, there is first the said Smart's key, so called of one Smart sometime owner thereof; the next is Belinsgate, whereof the whole ward taketh name; the which (leaving out of the fable, thereof feigning it to be built by King Beline, a Briton, long before the incarnation of Christ), is at this present a large water-gate, port, or harbor, for ships and boats, commonly arriving there with fish, both fresh and salt, shell-fishes, salt, oranges, onions, and other fruits and roots, wheat, rye, and grain of divers sorts, for service of the city and the parts of this realm adjoining. This gate is now more frequented than of old time, when the Queen's hithe was used, as being appointed by the kings of this realm, to be the special or only port for taking up of all such kind of merchandises brought to this city by strangers and foreigners, and the drawbridge of timber at London bridge was then to be raised or drawn up for passage of ships with tops thither.

Touching the ancient customs of Belinsgate in the reign of Edward III., every great ship landing there paid for standage two-pence, every little ship with oreloekes a penny, the lesser boat called a Battle a halfpenny; of two quarters of corn measured the king was to have one farthing, of a combe of corn a penny, of every weight going out of the city a halfpenny, of two quarters of sea coal measured a farthing, and of every tun of ale going out of England beyond the seas, by merchant strangers, four-pence, of every thousand herrings a farthing, except franchises, &c.

Next to this is Sommer's key, which likewise took that name of one Sommer dwelling there, as did Lion key of one Lion, owner thereof, and since of the sign of a Lion.

Then is there a fair wharf, or key, called Buttolph's gate, by that name so called in the times of William the Conqueror, and of Edward the Confessor, as I have shown already in the description of the gates.

Next is the parish church of St. Buttolphs, a proper church, and hath had many fair monuments therein, now defaced and gone: notwithstanding I find, by testimonies abroad, that these were buried there; to wit, Roger Coggar, 1384; Andrew Pike-man, and Joan his wife, 1391; Nicholas James, ironmonger, one of the sheriffs, 1423; William Rainwell, fishmonger, and John Rainwell, his son, fishmonger, mayor 1426, and deceasing 1445, buried there with this epitaph:

"Citizens of London, call to your remembrance,
The famous John Rainwell, sometime your Maior.
Of the staple of Callis, so was his chance.
Here lieth now his corps; his soule bright and faire,
Is taken to heaven's blisse, thereof is no dispaire.
His acts beare witness, by matters of recorde,
How charitable he was, and of what accorde,
No man hath bene so beneficiall as hee,
Unto the Citie in giving liberallie," &c.

He gave a stone house to be a revestrie to that church for ever; more, he gave lands and tenements to the use of the commonalty, that the mayor and chamberlain should satisfy unto the discharge of all persons inhabiting the wards of Belinsgate, Downegate, and Aldgate, as oft as it shall happen any fifteen, by parliament of the king to be granted, also to the Exchequer, in discharge of the sheriffs, ten pounds yearly, which the sheriffs used to pay for the farm of Southwark, so that all men of the realm, coming or passing with carriage, should be free quitted and discharged of all toll and other payments, aforesaid claimed by the sheriffs. Further, that the mayor and chamberlain shall pay yearly to the sheriffs eight pounds, so that the said sheriffs take no manner of toll or money of any person of this realm for their goods, merchandises, victuals, and carriages, for their passages at the great gate of the bridge of the city, nor at the gate called the Drawbridge, &c. The overplus of money coming of the said lands and tenements, divided into even portions; the one part to be employed to instore the granaries of the city with wheat for the release of the poor commonalty, and the other moiety to clear and cleanse the shelves, and other stoppages of the river of Thames, &c.

Stephen Forstar, fishmonger, mayor in the year 1454, and Dame Agnes his wife, lie buried there. William Bacon, haberdasher, one of the sheriffs 1480, was there buried, besides many other persons of good worship, whose monuments are all destroyed by bad and greedy men of spoil.

This parish of St. Buttolph is no great thing, notwithstanding divers strangers are there harboured, as may appear by a presentment, not many years since made of strangers, inhabitants in the ward of Billingsgate, in these words: "In Billingsgate ward were one and fifty households of strangers, whereof thirty of these households inhabited in the parish of St. Buttolph, in the chief and principal houses, where they give twenty pounds the year for a house lately letten for four marks; the nearer they dwell to the water-side the more they give for houses, and within thirty years before there was not in the whole ward above three Netherlanders; at which time there was within the said parish levied, for the help of the poor, seven and twenty pounds by the year; but since they came so plentifully thither, there cannot be gathered above eleven pounds, for the stranger will not contribute

* "In London at twenty-one pound."—1st edition, p. 160.

to such charges as other citizens do." Thus much for that south side of this ward.

On the north side is Bosse alley, so called of a boss* of spring water continually running, which standeth by Billingsgate against this alley, and was sometime made by the executors of Richard Whittington.

Then is St. Marie hill lane, which runneth up north from Billingsgate to the end of St. Margaret Pattens, commonly called Roode lane, and the greatest half of that lane is also of Belinsgate ward. In this St. Marie hill lane is the fair parish church of St. Marie, called on the hill, because of the ascent from Billingsgate.

This church hath been lately built, as may appear by this that followeth. Richard Hackney, one of the sheriffs in the year 1322, and Alice his wife, were there buried, as Robert Fabian writeth, saying thus :—" In the year 1497, in the month of April, as labourers digged for the foundation of a wall, within the church of St. Marie hill, near unto Belinsgate, they found a coffin of rotten timber, and therein the corpse of a woman, whole of skin, and of bones undis severed, and the joints of her arms pliable, without breaking of the skin, upon whose sepulchre this was engraven :—" Here lieth the bodies of Richard Hackney, fishmonger, and Alice his wife †." The which Richard was sheriff in the 15th of Edward II. Her body was kept above ground three or four days without nuisance, but then it waxed unsavoury, and so was again buried. John Mordand, stock-fishmonger, was buried there, 1387; Nicholas Exton, fishmonger, mayor 1387; William Cambridge, mayor 1420; Richard Goslin, sheriff 1422; William Philip, sergeant-at-arms, 1473; Robert Reuell, one of the sheriffs 1490, gave liberally toward the new building of this church and steeple, and was there buried; William Remington, mayor 1500; Sir Thomas Blanke, mayor 1582; William Holstocke, esquire, comptroller of the king's ships; Sir Cuthbert Buckle, mayor 1594.

This lane on both sides is furnished with many fair houses for merchants; and hath at the north end thereof one other lane, called St. Margaret Pattens, because of old time pattens were there usually made and sold; but of latter time this is called Roode lane, of a roode there placed in the churchyard of St. Margaret, whilst the old church was taken down, and again newly built; during which time the oblations made to this roode were employed towards building of the church; but in the year 1536, about the 23d of May, in the morning, the said rood was found to have been in the night preceding, by people unknown, broken all to pieces, together with the tabernacle wherein it had been placed. Also, on the 27th of the same month, in the same parish, amongst the basket makers, a great and sudden fire happened in the night season, which within the space of three hours consumed more than a dozen houses, and nine persons were burnt to death there: and thus ceased that work of this church, being at that time nigh finished to the steeple.

The lane on both sides beyond the same church

* Probably from the Dutch *Buis*—a conduit pipe.

† "Alice Hackney found uncorrupted more than one hundred and seventy yeres after she was buried."—*Stow*.

to the midway towards Fenchurch street, is of Belinsgate ward.

Then again out of Thames street, by the west end of St. Mary hill church, runneth up one other lane, of old time called Roape lane, since called Lucas lane, of one Lucas, owner of some part thereof, and now corruptly called Love lane; it runneth up by the east end of a parish church of St. Andrew Hubbard, or St. Andrew in East Cheap, This church, and all the whole lane called Lucas lane, is of this Belinsgate ward.

Then have ye one other lane out of Thames street, called Buttolph lane, because it riseth over against the parish church of St. Buttolph, and runneth up north by the east end of St. George's church to the west end of St. Andrew's church, and to the south end of Philpot lane.

This parish church of St. George in Buttolph lane is small, but the monuments for two hundred years past are well preserved from spoil, whereof one is of Adam Bamme, mayor 1397; Richard Bamme, esquire, his son, of Gillingham in Kent, 1452; John Walton, gentleman, 1401; Marpor, a gentleman, 1400; John St. John, merchant of Levant, and Agnes his wife, 1400; Hugh Spencer, esquire, 1424; William Combes, stockfishmonger, one of the sheriffs 1452, who gave forty pounds towards the works of that church; John Stokar, draper, one of the sheriffs 1477; Richard Dryland, esquire, and Katherine his wife, daughter to Morrice Brune, knight, of Southuckenton in Essex, steward of household to Humfrey Duke of Gloucester, 1437; Nicholas Patrich, one of the sheriffs 1519. In the churchyard: William Forman, mayor 1538; James Munford, esquire, surgeon to King Henry VIII., buried 1544; Thomas Gayle, haberdasher, 1340; Nicholas Wilford, merchant-tailor, and Elizabeth his wife, about the year 1551; Edward Heyward, 1573, &c. Roger Delakere founded a chantry there.

Then have ye one other lane called Rother lane, or Red Rose lane, of such a sign there, now commonly called Pudding lane, because the butchers of Eastcheap have their scalding house for hogs there, and their puddings, with other filth of beasts, are voided down that way to their dnnng boats on the Thames.

This lane stretcheth from Thames street to Little East Cheape, chiefly inhabited by basket-makers, turners, and butchers, and is all of Billingsgate ward. The Garland in Little East Cheape, sometime a brewhouse, with a garden on the backside, adjoining to the garden of Sir John Philpot, was the chief house in this East Cheape; it is now divided into sundry small tenements, &c.

This ward hath an alderman, and his deputy, common councillors, constables eleven, scavengers six, for the wardmote inquest fourteen, and a beadle; it is taxed to the fifteen in London at thirty-two pounds, and in the Exchequer at thirty-one pounds ten shillings.

BRIDGE WARD WITHIN.

BRIDGE ward within, so called of London bridge, which bridge is a principal part of that ward, and beginneth at the stulpes on the south end by Southwark, runneth along the bridge, and north up Bridge street, commonly called (of the fish market) New Fish street, from Fish street hill, up Grasse street, to the north corner of Grasse church; all the

bridge is replenished on both the sides with large, fair, and beautiful buildings, inhabitants for the most part rich merchants, and other wealthy citizens, mercers, and haberdashers.

In New Fish street be fishmongers and fair taverns on Fish street hill and Grasse street, men of divers trades, grocers and haberdashers.

In Grasse street have ye one fair conduit of sweet water castellated with crest and vent, made by the appointment of Thomas Hill, mayor 1484, who gave by his testament one hundred marks towards the conveyance of water to this place. It was begun by his executors in the year 1491, and finished of his goods whatsoever it cest.

On the east side of this bridge ward have ye the fair parish church of St. Magnus; in the which church have been buried many men of good worship, whose monuments are now for the most part utterly defaced. I find John Blund, mayor 1307; Henry Yeuclé, freemason * to Edward III., Richard II., and Henry IV., who deceased 1400; his monument yet remaineth; William Brampton; John Michell, mayor 1436; John French, baker, yeoman of the crown to Henry VII., 1510; Robert Clarke, fishmonger, 1521; Richard Turke, one of the sheriffs, 1549; William Steede, alderman; Richard Morgan, knight, chief justice of the common pleas, 1556; Mauritius Griffith, Bishop of Rochester, 1559; Robert Blanch, girdler, 1567; Robert Belgrave, girdler; William Brame; John Couper, fishmonger, alderman, who was put by his turn of mayoralty 1584; Sir William Garrard, haberdasher, mayor 1555; a grave, wise, and discreet citizen, equal with the best and inferior to none of our time, deceased 1571 in the parish of St. Christopher, but was buried in this church of St. Magnus as in the parish where he was born; a fair monument is there raised on him; Robert Harding, salter, one of the sheriffs 1563; Simon Low, merchant-tailor, esquire, &c.

Then is the parish church of St. Margaret on Fish street hill, a proper church, but monuments it hath none: a footway passeth by the south side of this church from Fish street hill unto Rother lane.

* To the uninitiated in the secrets of Freemasonry this passage affords a strong argument against the antiquity of this mysterious institution. It is clear that no one would now speak of any member of the craft being *Freemason* to Queen Victoria. The name must therefore have borne a different signification from that now attached to it—viz., that of a member of a secret association. Those who feel interested in the investigation of this curious historical problem should read the *Historico-Critical Inquiry into the Origin of the Rosicrucians and Freemasons*, which the English Opium-eater abstracted and re-arranged from the German work of Professor Buhle, and communicated to the *London Magazine* for Jan. 1824. Its perusal can scarcely fail to produce a conviction of the accuracy of the writer's conclusion, that "To a hoax played off by a young man of extraordinary talents in the beginning of the 17th century (i.e. about 1610-14), but for a more elevated purpose than most hoaxes involve, the reader will find that the whole mysteries of freemasonry, as now existing all over the world after a lapse of more than two centuries, are here distinctly traced." On the other hand, those brothers of the craft who are sticklers for its antiquity will doubtless be satisfied with the confirmation of their views, which they will find in the curious poem on Freemasonry, communicated by Mr. Halliwell to the Society of Antiquaries, and since printed in a separate form, under the title of *Early History of Freemasonry in England*.

Up higher on this hill is the parish church of St. Leonard, Milke church, so termed of one William Melker, an especial builder thereof, but commonly called St. Leonard's in East Cheape, because it standeth at East Cheape corner. Monuments there be of the Doggets, namely, Walter Dogget, vintner, one of the sheriffs, 1380; John Dogget, vintner, and Alice his wife, about 1456; this John Dogget gave lands to that church; William Dogget, &c.

This church, and from thence into Little East Cheape to the east end of the said church, is of the Bridge ward.

Then higher in Grasse street is the parish church of St. Bennet, called Grasse church, of the herb-market there kept: this church also is of the Bridge ward, and the farthest north end thereof. Some monuments remain there undefaced, as of John Harding, salter, 1576; John Sturgeon, haberdasher, chamberlain of London; Philip Cushen, Florentine, a famous merchant, 1600.

The customs of Grass church market, in the reign of Edward III., as I have read in a book of customs, were these: Every foreign cart* laden with corn or malt, coming thither to be sold, was to pay one halfpenny, every foreign cart bringing cheese two-pence, every cart of corn and cheese together (if the cheese be more worth than the corn) two-pence, and if the corn be more worth than the cheese, it was to pay a halfpenny; of two horses laden with corn or malt the bailiff had one farthing; the cart of the franchise of the Temple and of St. Martin le Grand paid a farthing; the cart of the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem paid nothing for their proper goods, and if the corn were brought by merchants to sell again, the load paid a halfpenny, &c.

On the west side of this ward, at the north end of London bridge, is a part of Thames street, which is also of this ward, to wit, so much as of old time was called Stocke Fishmonger row, of the stock fishmongers dwelling there, down west to a water-gate, of old time called Ebgate, since Ebgate lane, and now the Old Swan, which is a common stair on the Thames, but the passage is very narrow by means of encroachments. On the south side of Thames street, about the midway betwixt the bridge foot and Ebgate lane, standeth the Fishmongers' hall, and divers other fair houses for merchants.

These fishmongers were sometimes of two several companies, to wit, Stock-fishmongers and Salt-fishmongers, of whose antiquity I read, that by the name of fishmongers of London, they were, for forestalling, &c., contrary to the laws and constitutions of the city, fined to the king at five hundred marks, the 18th of King Edward I. More, that the said fishmongers, hearing of the great victory obtained by the same king against the Scots, in the 26th of his reign, made a triumphant and solemn show through the city, with divers pageants, and more than one thousand horsemen, &c., as in the chapter of sports and pastimes. These two companies of stock-fishmongers and salt-fishmongers of old time had their several halls; to wit, in Thames street twain, in New Fish street twain, and in Old Fish street twain: in each place one for either company, in all six several halls, the

* By every foreign cart is meant every cart not belonging to a citizen of London.

company was so great, as I have read, and can prove by records. These fishmongers having been jolly citizens, and six mayors of their company in the space of twenty-four years; to wit, Walter Turke, 1350; John Lofkin, 1359; John Wroth, 1361; John Pechie, 1362; Simon Morden, 1369; and William Walworth, 1374. It followed that in the year 1382, through the counsel of John Northampton, draper, then being mayor, William Essex, John More, mercer, and Richard Northburie, the said fishmongers were greatly troubled, hindered of their liberties, and almost destroyed by congregations made against them, so that in a parliament at London the controversy depending between the mayor and aldermen of London, and the fishmongers there, Nicholas Exton, speaker for the fishmongers, prayeth the king to receive him and his company into his protection, for fear of corporal hurt: whereupon it was commanded, either part to keep the peace, on pain of losing all they had; hereupon, a fishmonger, starting up, replied that the complaint brought against them by the movers, &c., was but matter of malice, for that the fishmongers, in the reign of Edward III., being chief officers of the city, had for their misdemeanors then done, committed the chief exhibitors of those petitions to prison. In this parliament the fishmongers, by the king's charter patents, were restored to their liberties; notwithstanding in the year next following, to wit, 1383, John Cavendish, fishmonger, craveth the peace against the chancellor of England, which was granted, and he put in sureties the Earls of Stafford and Salisburie. Cavendish challengeth the chancellor for taking of a bribe of ten pounds for favour of his case, which the chancellor by oath upon the sacrament avoideth. In further trial it was found that the chancellor's man, without his master's privity, had taken it; whereupon Cavendish was adjudged to prison, and to pay the chancellor one thousand marks for slandering him.

After this, many of the nobles assembled at Reading to suppress the seditious stirs of the said John Northampton, or Combarton, late mayor, that had attempted great and heinous enterprises, of the which he was convicted; and when he stood mute, nor would utter one word, it was decreed that he should be committed to perpetual prison, his goods confiscate to the king's use, and that he should not come within one hundred miles of London during his life. He was therefore sent to the castle of Tintegall in the confines of Cornewall, and in the mean space the king's servants spoiled his goods. John More, Richard Northburie, and other, were likewise there convicted, and condemned to perpetual prison, and their goods confiscate, for certain congregations by them made against the fishmongers in the city of London, as is aforesaid; but they obtained and had the king's pardon, in the 14th of his reign, as appeareth of record; and thus were all these troubles quieted. Those stock-fishmongers and salt-fishmongers were united in the year 1536, the 28th of Henry VIII.; their hall to be but one, in the house given unto them by Sir John Cornwall, Lord Fanhope, and of Amptull, in the parish of St. Michael in Crooked lane, in the reign of Henry VI. Thus much have I thought good to note of the fishmongers*, men ignorant of

their antiquities, not able to show a reason why or when they were joined in amity with the goldsmiths, do give part of their arms, &c. Neither, to say aught of Sir William Walworth*, the glory of their company, more than that he slew Jack Straw, which is a mere fable, for the said Straw was after overthrowing of the rebels, taken, and by judgment of the mayor beheaded; whose confession at the gallows is extant in my Annals, where also is set down the most valiant and praiseworthy act of William Walworth against the principal rebel Walter Tighlar. As in reproof of Walworth's monument in St. Michael's church, I have declared, and wished to be reformed there, as in other places.

On that south side of Thames street have ye Drinkwater wharf and Fish wharf, in the parish of St. Magnus. On the north side of Thames street is St. Martin's lane; a part of which lane is also of this ward, to wit, on the one side to a well of water, and on the other side as far up as against the said well. Then is St. Michael's lane, part whereof is also of this ward up to a well there, &c. Then at the upper end of New Fish street is a lane turning towards St. Michael's lane, and is called Crooked lane, of the crooked windings thereof.

Above this lane's end, upon Fish street hill, is one great house, for the most part built of stone, which pertained sometime to Edward the Black Prince, son to Edward III., who was in his lifetime lodged there. It is now altered to a common hostelry, having the Black Bell for a sign.

Above this house, at the top of Fish street hill, is a turning into Great Eastcheape, and so to the corner of Lombard street, over against the north-west corner of Grasse church; and these be the whole bounds of this Bridge ward within: the which hath an alderman and his deputy, for the common council sixteen, constables fifteen, scavengers six, for the wardmote inquest sixteen, and a beadle. It is taxed to the fifteen in London at forty-seven pounds†.

CANDLEWICK STREET WARD.

CANDLEWICK street, or Candlewright street ward, beginneth at the east end of Great Eastcheape; it passeth west through Eastcheape to Candlewright street, and through the same, down to the north end of Suffolk lane on the south side, and down that lane by the west end of St. Laurence churchyard, which is the farthest west part of that ward. The street of Great Eastcheape is so called of the market there kept in the east part of the city, as Westcheape is a market so called of being in the west.

This Eastcheape is now a flesh market of butchers there dwelling on both sides of the street: it had sometime also cooks mixed amongst the butchers, and such other as sold victuals ready dressed of all sorts. For of old time, when friends did meet, and were disposed to be merry, they went

1—120, will be found a fully detailed account of the history of this company, whose earliest extant charter is a patent in French, dated 10th of July, 37th of Edward III., but who now act under a new charter of incorporation, dated 2d of James I.

* "W. Walworth slandered by a fable of Jack Straw."—*Stow*.

† "In London at fifty pounds, and in the Exchequer at forty-nine pounds ten sbillings."—1st edition, p. 169.

* In Herbert's *Twelve Livery Companies of London*, ii.

not to dine and sup in taverns, but to the cooks, where they called for meat what they liked, which they always found ready dressed at a reasonable rate, as I have before showed.

In the year 1410, the 11th of Henry IV., upon the even of St. John Baptist, the king's sons*, Thomas and John, being in Eastcheape at supper (or rather at breakfast, for it was after the watch was broken up, betwixt two and three of the clock after midnight), a great debate happened between their men and other of the court, which lasted one hour, till the mayor and sheriffs with other citizens, appeased the same; for the which afterwards the said mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs were called to answer before the king, his sons, and divers lords, being highly moved against the city. At which time, William Gascoyne, chief justice, required the mayor and aldermen, for the citizens, to put them in the king's grace; whereunto they answered, that they had not offended, but (according to the law) had done their best in stinting debate and maintaining of the peace; upon which answer the king remitted all his ire, and dismissed them. And to prove this Eastcheape to be a place replenished with cooks, it may appear by a song called London Lickepennie, made by Lidgate, a monk of Berrie, in the reign of Henry V., in the person of a countryman coming to London, and travelling through the same. In Westcheape (saith the song) he was called on to buy fine lawn, Paris thread, cotton umble, and other linen clothes, and such like (he speaketh of no silks†), in Cornhill, to buy old apparel; and household stuff, where he was forced to buy his own hood, which he had lost in Westminster hall: in Candlewright street drapers proffered him cheap cloth, in Eastcheape the cooks cried hot ribs of beef roasted, pies well baked, and other victuals: there was clattering of pewter-pots, harp, pipe, and sawtry, yea by cock, nay by cock, for greater oaths were spared: some sang of Jenken, and Julian, &c.; all which melody liked well the passenger, but he wanted money to abide by it, and therefore gat him into Gravesend barge, and home into Kent.

Candlewright (so called in old records of the Guildhall, of St. Marie Overies, and other), or Candlewick street, took that name (as may be supposed) either of chandlers, or makers of candles, both of

* "The king's sons beaten in Eastcheape; there was no tavern then in Eastcheape."—*Stow*.

† "In Westcheape linen cloth sold, but no silks spoken of."—*Stow*.

Stow, in his side note, as well as in the text, treats it as a fact deserving attention, that Lydgate in this ballad "speaketh of no silks." This it will be seen is an error, *vide* note, p. 31, where we have quoted this very ballad, in which it will be found that the writer speaks of

"Velvet, sylke, and lawne."

‡ "Fripparia, upholders upon Cornhill, sellers of old apparel and household stuff in Eastcheape."—*Stow*.

The following is the stanza alluded to by Stow from Mr. Halliwell's edition of *Lydgate's Minor Poems*, p. 106:

"Then into Corn hyl anon I rode,
Where was much stolen gere amonge;
I saw where honge myne owne hoode,
That I had lost amonge the thronge:
To by my own hoode I thought it wronge;
I knew it well as I did my crede,
But for lack of money I could not spede."

wax and tallow; for candlewright is a maker of candles, or of wick, which is the cotton or yarn thereof; or otherwise wike*, which is the place where they used to work them, as Scalding wike by the Stocks market was called of the poulterers scalding and dressing their poultry there; and in divers countries, dairy houses, or cottages, wherein they make butter and cheese, are usually called wicks. There dwelt also of old time divers weavers of woollen clothes, brought in by Edward III. For I read, that in the 44th of his reign, the weavers, brought out of Flanders, were appointed their meetings to be in the churchyard of St. Laurence Poultney, and the weavers of Brabant in the churchyard of St. Mary Sommerset. There were then in this city weavers of divers sorts; to wit, of drapery, or tapery, and napery. These weavers of Candlewright street being in short time worn out, their place is now possessed by rich drapers, sellers of woollen cloth, &c.

On the north side of this ward, at the west end of Eastcheape, have ye St. Clement's lane; a part whereof on both sides is of Candlewick street ward, to wit, somewhat north beyond the parish church of St. Clement in Eastcheape. This is a small church, void of monuments, other than of Francis Barnam, alderman, who deceased 1575, and of Benedicke Barnam, his son, alderman also, 1598. William Charnetey and William Overie founded a chantry there.

Next is St. Nicholas lane, for the most part on both sides of this ward, almost to St. Nicholas church. Then is Abchurch lane, which is on both the sides almost wholly of this ward, the parish church there (called of St. Marie Abchurch, Apechurch, or Upchurch, as I have read it), standeth somewhat near unto the south end thereof, on a rising ground: it is a fair church. Simon de Winchcomb founded a chantry there the 19th of Richard II.; John Littleton founded another, and Thomas Hondon another; and hath the monuments of J. Long, esquire, of Bedfordshire, 1442; William Wikenson, alderman, 1519; William Jawdrell, tailor, 1440; Sir James Hawes, mayor 1574; Sir John Branch, mayor 1580; John Miners; William Kettle, &c.

On the south side of this ward, beginning again at the east, is St. Michael's lane, which lane is almost wholly of this ward, on both sides down towards Thames street, to a well or pump there. On the east side of this lane is Crooked lane aforesaid, by St. Michael's church, towards New Fish street. One the most ancient house in this lane is called the Leaden porch, and belonged sometime to Sir John Merston, knight, the 1st of Edward IV. It is now called the Swan in Crooked lane, possessed of strangers, and selling of Rhenish wine. The parish church of this St. Michael's was sometime but a small and homely thing, standing upon part of that ground wherein now standeth the parsonage-house; and the ground there about was a filthy plot, by reason of the butchers in Eastcheape, who made the same their laystall. William de

* "Wike is a working place."—*Stow*.

It is the Anglo-Saxon *Wic, Wyc*, which Bosworth in his Dictionary defines—*Dwelling-place, habitation, village, street*; as a termination it signifies a *dwelling, station, village, castle, or bay*.

Burgo gave two messages to that church in Candlewick street, 1317. John Lofkin, stock-fishmonger, four times mayor, built in the same ground this fair church of St. Michael, and was buried there in the choir, under a fair tomb, with the images of him and his wife, in alabaster. The said church hath been since increased with a new choir, and side chapels by Sir William Walworth, stock-fishmonger, mayor, sometime servant to the said John Lofkin: also the tomb of Lofkin was removed, and a flat stone of grey marble garnished with plates of copper laid on him, as it yet remaineth in the body of the church. This William Walworth is reported to have slain Jack Straw*, but Jack Straw being afterward taken, was first adjudged by the said mayor, and then executed by the loss of his head in Smithfield.

True it is that this William Walworth, being a man wise, learned, and of an incomparable manhood†, arrested Wat Tyler, a presumptuous rebel, upon whom no man durst lay hand, whereby he delivered the king and kingdom from most wicked tyranny of traitors. The mayor arrested him on the head with a sound blow, whereupon Wat Tyler furiously struck the mayor with his dagger, but hurt him not, by reason he was well armed. The mayor, having received his stroke, drew his basilard, and grievously wounded Wat in the neck, and withal gave him a great blow on the head; in the which conflict, an esquire of the king's house, called John Cavendish, drew his sword, and wounded Wat twice or thrice even to the death; and Wat, spurring his horse, cried to the commons to revenge him: the horse bare him about eighty feet from the place, and there he fell down half dead; and by and by they which attended on the king envied him about, so as he was not seen of his company: many of them thrust him in divers places of his body, and drew him into the hospital of St. Bartholomew, from whence again the mayor caused him to be drawn into Smithfield, and there to be beheaded. In reward of this service (the people being dispersed) the king commanded the mayor to put a basinet on his head; and the mayor requesting why he should do so, the king answered, he being much bound unto him, would make him knight: the mayor answered, that he was neither worthy nor able to take such estate upon him, for he was but a merchant, and had to live by his merchandise only; notwithstanding, the king made him to put on his basinet, and then with a sword in both his hands he strongly stroke him on the neck, as the manner was then; and the same day he made three other citizens knights for his sake in the same place; to wit, John Philpot, Nicholas Brember, and Robert Launde, alderman. The king gave to the mayor one hundred pounds land by year, and to each of the other forty pounds land yearly, to them and their heirs for ever.

After this, in the same year, the said Sir William Walworth founded in the said parish church of St. Michael a college of a master and nine priests, or chaplains, and deceased 1385, was there buried in the

* "In Smithfield, and there to have been knighted by the king, but that is not true."—1st edition, p. 172.

† "Fable of William Walworth and Jack Straw reproved. Praise of W. Walworth for his manhood in arresting of Wat Tyler. The mayor was well armed, and had on his head a basinet."—Stow.

north chapel by the choir; but his monument being amongst other by bad people defaced in the reign of Edward VI., and again since renewed by the fishmongers, for lack of knowledge of what before had been written in his epitaph, they followed a fabulous book, and wrote Jack Straw instead of Wat Tilar, a great error meet to be reformed there and elsewhere; and therefore have I the more at large discoursed of this matter.

It hath also been, and is now grown to a common opinion, that in reward of this service done by the said William Walworth against the rebel, King Richard added to the arms of this city (which was argent, a plain cross gules) a sword or dagger (for so they term it), whereof I have read no such record, but to the contrary. I find that in the 4th year of Richard II.*, in a full assembly made in the upper chamber of the Guildhall, summoned by this William Walworth, then mayor, as well of aldermen as of the common council, in every ward, for certain affairs concerning the king, it was there by common consent agreed and ordained, that the old seal of the office of the mayoralty of the city being very small, old, unapt, and uncomely for the honour of the city, should be broken, and one other new should be had, which the said mayor commanded to be made artificially, and honourable for the exercise of the said office thereafter, in place of the other; in which new seal, besides the images of Peter and Paul, which of old were rudely engraven, there should be under the feet of the said images a shield of the arms of the said city, perfectly graved†, with two lions supporting the same, with two sergeants of arms; another part, one, and two tabernacles, in which above should stand two angels; between whom, above the said images of Peter and Paul, shall be set the glorious Virgin. This being done, the old seal of the office was delivered to Richard Odiham, chamberlain, who brake it, and in place thereof was delivered the new seal to the said mayor, to use in his office of mayoralty, as occasion should require. This new seal seemeth to be made before William Walworth was knighted, for he is not here entitled Sir, as afterwards he was; and certain it is that the same new seal then made is now in use, and none other in that office of the mayoralty; which may suffice to answer the former fable, without showing of any evidence sealed with the old seal, which was the cross and sword of St. Paul, and not the dagger of William Walworth.

Now of other monuments in that church. Simon Mordon, mayor 1368, was buried there; John Olney, mayor 1446; Robert March, stock-fishmonger, gave two pieces of ground to be a churchyard; John Radwell, stock-fishmonger, buried 1415; George Gowre, esquire, son to Edward Gowre, stock-fishmonger, esquire, 1470; Alexander Purpoint, stock-fishmonger, 1373; Andrew Burel, gentleman of Gray's-inn, 1487; John Shrow, stock-fishmonger, 1487, with this epitaph:

"Farewell, my friends, the tide abideth no man,
I am departed hence, and so shall ye.
But in this passage the best song that I can,

* Dunthorne.

† "The armes of this city were not altered, but remayne as afore; to witte, argent, a playne crosse gules, a sword of S. Paul in the first quarter, and no dagger of W. Walworth, as is fabuled."—Stow.

Is requiem æternam, now Jesus grant it me,
When I have ended all mine adversitie,
Grant me in Paradise to have a mansion,
That sheedest thy blood for my redemption."

John Finkell, one of the sheriffs 1487, was knighted, and gave forty pounds to this church, the one half for his monument. John Pattesley, mayor 1441; Thomas Ewen, grocer, bare half the charges in building of the steeple, and was buried 1501; William Combes, gentleman, of Stoke, by Guilford in Surrey, 1502; Sir John Brudge, mayor 1530, gave fifty pounds for a house called the College in Crooked lane; he lieth buried in St. Nicholas Hacon. Walter Faifereford; Robert Barre; Alexander Heyban; John Motte; John Gramstone; John Brampton; John Wood, stock-fishmonger, 1531; Sir Henry Ameots, mayor 1548, &c. Hard by this St. Michael's church, on the south side thereof, in the year 1560, on the fifth of July, through the shooting of a gun, which brake in the house of one Adrian Arten, a Dutchman, and set fire on a firkin and barrel of gunpowder, four houses were blown up, and divers other sore shattered; eleven men and women were slain, and sixteen so hurt and bruised, that they hardly escaped with life.

West from this St. Michael's lane is St. Martin Orgar lane, by Candlewick street, which lane is on both sides down to a well, replenished with fair and large houses for merchants, and it is of this ward; one of which houses was sometime called Beauchamp's inn, as pertaining unto them of that family. Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, commonly for his time was lodged there.

The parish church of St. Martin Orgar is a small thing. William Crowmer, mayor, built a proper chapel on the south side thereof, and was buried there 1533; John Mathew, mayor 1490; Sir William Huet, mayor 1559, with his lady and daughter, wife to Sir Edward Osburne; Ralph Tabinham, alderman; Alice, wife to Thomas Winslow; Thorudon; Benedicte Reding; Thomas Harding; James Smith; Richard Gainford, esquire; John Bold, &c.

Then is there one other lane called St. Laurence, of the parish church there. This lane, down to the south side of the churchyard, is of Candlewick street ward. The parish church of St. Laurence was increased with a chapel of Jesus by Thomas Cole, for a master and chaplain; the which chapel and parish church was made a college of Jesus and of Corpus Christi, for a master and seven chaplains, by John Poultry, mayor, and was confirmed by Edward III., the 20th of his reign: of him was this church called St. Laurence Poultry, in Candlewick street; which college was valued at 79*l.* 17*s.* 11*d.*, and was surrendered in the reign of Edward VI. Robert Ratcliffe, Earl of Essex, and Henry Ratcliffe, Earl of Sussex, were buried there; Alderman Beswicke was buried there; John Oliffe, alderman, Robert Browne, and others. Thus much for this ward, and the antiquities thereof. It hath now an alderman, his deputy, common councillors eight, constables eight, scavengers six, wardmote inquest men twelve, and a beadle. It is taxed to the fifteen at sixteen pounds.

WALBROOK WARD.

WALBROOK ward beginneth at the west end of Candlewick street ward. It runneth down Caudlewick

street west towards Budge row. It hath on the north side thereof St. Swithen's lane, so called of St. Swithen, a parish church by London stone. This lane is replenished on both the sides with fair built houses, and is wholly of Walbrook ward.

The said parish church of St. Swithen standeth at the south-west corner of this lane. License was procured to new build and increase the said church and steeple in the year 1420. Sir John Hent, draper, mayor, was an especial benefactor thereunto, as appeareth by his arms in the glass windows, even in the tops of them, which is in a field silver, a chief azure, a lion passant silver, a cleveron azure, three escalops silver: he lieth buried in the body of this church, with a fair stone laid on him, but the plates and inscriptions are defaced. Roger Depham, alderman, Thomas Aylesborough, William Neve, and Matilda Caxton, founded chantries, and were buried there; John Butler, draper, one of the sheriffs, 1420; Ralph Jecoline, mayor, a benefactor, buried in a fair tomb; William White, draper, one of the sheriffs, 1482, and other.

On the north side of this church and churchyard is one fair and large built house, sometime pertaining to the prior of Tortington in Sussex, since to the earls of Oxford, and now to Sir John Hart, alderman; which house hath a fair garden belonging thereunto, lying on the west side thereof. On the back side of two other fair houses in Walbrook, in the reign of Henry VII., Sir Richard Empson, knight, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, dwelt in the one of them, and Edmond Dudley, esquire, in the other; either of them had a door of intercourse into this garden, wherein they met and consulted of matters at their pleasures. In this Oxford place Sir Ambrose Nicholas kept his mayoralty, and since him the said Sir John Hart.

On the south side of this high street, near unto the channel, is pitched upright a great stone called London stone*, fixed in the ground very deep, fast-

* This stone, of which a small fragment still remains encased in another stone, now stands against the south wall of St. Swithin's church in Cannon street. Mr. Thomas Marden, of Sherbourn lane, printer, when that church was about to undergo a repair in 1798, prevailed on the parish-officers to consent that the stone should be placed where it still remains, after it had been doomed to destruction as a nuisance. For before this it stood close to the edge of the kerb-stone on the same side of the street, to which it seems it had been removed from its original position on the opposite side in December 1742.

Camden considers this stone to have been the central *Miliarium*, or milestone, similar to that in the forum at Rome, from which the British high roads radiated, and the distances on them were reckoned.

Its foundations, which were uncovered during the operations which took place after the great fire, were found to be so extensive that Wren, who does not appear to have doubted that they were Roman, was inclined to think that they must have supported some more considerable monument than even the central *Miliarium*. "In the adjoining ground to the south," says the *Parentalia*, "were discovered some tessellated pavements, and other remains of Roman workmanship and buildings." "Probably," adds the account, "this might in some degree have imitated the *Miliarium Aureum* at Constantinople, which was not in the form of a pillar as at Rome, but an eminent building; for under its roof, according to Codrenus and Suidas, stood the statues of Constantine and Helena, Trajan, an equestrian statue of Hadrian, a statue of Fortune, and many other figures and decorations."

ened with bars of iron, and otherwise so strongly set, that if carts do run against it through negligence, the wheels be broken, and the stone itself unshaken.

The cause why this stone was set there, the time when, or other memory hereof, is none, but that the same hath long continued there is manifest, namely, since (or rather before) the Conquest; for in the end of a fair written Gospel book given to Christ's church in Canterbury, by Ethelstane, King of the West Saxons, I find noted of lauds * or rents in London belonging to the said church, whereof one parcel is described to lie near unto London stone. Of later time we read, that in the year of Christ 1135, the 1st of King Stephen, a fire, which began in the house of one Ailward, near unto London stone, consumed all east to Aldgate, in the which fire the priory of the Holy Trinity was burnt, and west to St. Erkenwald's shrine in Paule's church. And these be the eldest notes that I read thereof.

Some have said this stone to be set as a mark in the middle of the city within the walls; but in truth it standeth far nearer unto the river of Thames than to the wall of the city; some others have said the same to be set for the tendering and making of payment by debtors to their creditors at their appointed days and times, till of later time payments were more usually made at the font in Pont's church, and now most commonly at the Royal Exchange; some again have imagined the same to be set up by one John or Thomas London-stone dwelling there against; but more likely it is, that such men have taken name of the stone than the stone of them, as did John at Noke, Thomas at Stile, William at Wall, or at Well, &c.

Down west from this parish church, and from London stone, have ye Walbrooke corner; from whence runneth up a street, north to the Stocks, called Walbrook, because it standeth on the east side of the same brook, by the bank thereof, and the whole ward taketh the name of that street. On the east side of this street, and at the north corner thereof, is the Stocks market, which had this beginning. About the year of Christ 1282, Henry Wales, mayor, caused divers houses in this city to be built towards the maintenance of London bridge, namely, one void place near unto the parish church called Woole church, on the north side thereof, where sometime (the way being very large and broad) had stood a pair of stocks for punishment of offenders; this building took name of these stocks, and was appointed by him to be a market place for fish and flesh in the midst of the city. Other houses he built in other places, as by the patent of Edward I. it doth appear, dated the 10th of his reign. After this, in the year 1322, the 17th of Edward II., a decree was made by Hamond Chickwell, mayor, that none should sell fish or flesh out of the markets appointed, to wit, Bridge street, East Cheape, Old Fish street, St. Nicholas' shambles, and the said Stocks, upon pain to forfeit such fish or flesh as were sold, for the first time, and the second time to lose their freedom; which act was made by commandment of the king under his letters patent, dated at the Tower the 17th of his reign, and then was this stocks let to farm for 46*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*. by year. This Stocks market was again begun to be built in the year 1410, in the

11th of Henry IV., and was finished in the year next following. In the year 1507, the same was rented 56*l*. 19*s*. 10*d*. And in the year 1543, John Cotes being mayor, there were in this Stocks market for fishmongers twenty-five boards or stalls, rented yearly to 34*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*., there were for butchers eighteen boards or stalls, rented at 41*l*. 16*s*. 4*d*., and there were also chambers above, sixteen, rented at 5*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*., in all 82*l*. 3*s*.

Next unto this Stocks is the parish church of St. Mary Wool church, so called of a beam placed in the church yard, which was thereof called Wool church haw, of the tronage, or weighing of wool there used; and to verify this, I find amongst the customs of London written in French in the reign of Edward II., a chapter intituled *Les Customes de Woolchurch Haw*, wherein is set down what was there to be paid for every parcel of wool weighed. This tronage or weighing of wool, till the 6th of Richard II., was there continued; John Churchman then built the Custom house upon Wool key, to serve for the said tronage, as is before showed in Tower street ward. This church is reasonable fair and large, and was lately new built by license granted in the 20th of Henry VI., with condition to be built fifteen foot from the Stocks market, for sparing of light to the same Stocks. The parson of this church is to have four marks the year for tithe of the said Stocks, paid him by the masters of the Bridge house, by special decree made the 2d of Henry VII. John Winyar, grocer, mayor 1504, was a great helper to the building of this church, and was there buried 1505; he gave unto it by his testament two large basons of silver, and twenty pounds in money. Also Richard Shore, draper, one of the sheriffs 1505, was a great benefactor in his life, and by his testament gave twenty pounds to make a porch at the west end thereof, and was there buried; Richard Hatfield of Stemplemorden in Cambridgeshire, lieth entombed there, 1467; Edward Deoly, esquire, 1467. John Handford, grocer, made the font of that church, very curiously wrought, painted, and gilded, and was there buried; John Archer, fishmonger, 1487; Anne Cawode founded a chantry there, &c.

From the Stocks' market and this parish church east up into Lombard street, some four or five houses on a side, and also on the south side of Wool church, have ye Bearbinder lane, a part whereof is of this Walbrooke ward; then lower down in the street called Walbrooke, is one other fair church of St. Stephen, lately built on the east side thereof, for the old church stood on the west side, in place where now standeth the parsonage house, and therefore so much nearer the brook, even on the bank. Robert Chicheley, mayor in the year 1428, the 6th of Henry VI., gave to this parish of St. Stephen one plot of ground, containing two hundred and eight feet and a half in length, and sixty-six feet in breadth, thereupon to build their new church, and for their church yard; and in the 7th of Henry VI. the said Robert, one of the founders, laid the first stone for himself, the second for William Stoddon, mayor, with whose goods the ground that the church standeth on, and the housing, with the ground of the church yard, was bought by the said Chicheley for two hundred marks from the Grocers, which had been letten before for six-and-twenty marks the year; Robert

* Lib. Trinitate.

Whittingham, draper, laid the third stone, Henry Barton then mayor, &c. The said Chicheley gave more, one hundred pounds to the said work, and bare the charges of all the timber work on the procession way, and laid the lead upon it of his own cost; he also gave all the timber for the roofing of the two side aisles, and paid for the carriage thereof. This church was finished in the year 1439; the breadth thereof is sixty-seven feet, and length one hundred and twenty-five feet, the church yard ninety feet in length, and thirty-seven in breadth and more. Robert Whittingham (made Knight of the Bath), in the year 1432, purchased the patronage of this church from John Duke of Bedford, uncle to Henry VI., and Edward IV., in the 2d of his reign, gave it to Richard Lee, then mayor. There be monuments in this church of Thomas Southwell, first parson of this new church, who lieth in the choir; John Dunstable, master of astronomy and music, in the year 1453; Sir Richard Lee, mayor, who gave the said parsonage to the Grocers; Rowland Hill, mayor 1549; Sir Thomas Pope, first treasurer of the augmentations, with his wife Dame Margaret; Sir John Cootes, mayor 1542; Sir John Yorke, knight, merchant-tailor, 1549; Edward Jackman, sheriff 1564; Richard Achley, grocer; Dr. Owyn, physician to King Henry VIII.; John Kirby, grocer, 1578; and others.

Lower down from this parish church be divers fair houses, namely, one wherein of late Sir Richard Baker, a knight of Kent, was lodged, and wherein dwelt Master Thomas Gore, a merchant famous for hospitality. On the west side of this Walbrooke street, over against the Stocks' market, is a part of the high street called the Poultrie, on the south side west till over against St. Mildrede's church, and the Skalding wike is of this ward. Then down again Walbrooke street some small distance, is Buckles bury, a street so called of Buckle, that sometime was owner thereof, part of which street on both sides, three or four houses, to the course of the brook, is of this ward, and so down Walbrooke street to the south corner; from thence west down Budge row some small distance, to an alley, and through that alley south by the west end of St. John's church upon Walbrooke, by the south side and east end of the same again to Walbrooke corner.

This parish church is called St. John upon Walbrooke, because the west end thereof is on the very bank of Walbrooke, by Horseshew bridge, in Horseshew bridge street. This church was also lately new built; for about the year 1412, license was granted by the mayor and commonalty to the parson and parish, for enlarging thereof, with a piece of ground on the north part of the choir, twenty-one feet in length, seventeen feet and three inches in breadth, and on the south side of the choir one foot of the common soil. There be no monuments in this church of any account, only I have learned, William Cobarton, skinner, who gave lands to that church, was there buried 1410, and John Stone, tailor, one of the sheriffs 1464, was likewise buried there.

On the south side of Walbrooke ward, from Candlewicke street, in the mid way betwixt London stone and Walbrooke corner, is a little lane with a turnpike in the midst thereof, and in the same a proper parish church, called St. Mary

Bothaw, or Boatehaw by the Erber; this church being near unto the Downegate on the river of Thames, hath the addition of Boathaw or Boat haw, of near adjoining to a haw or yard, wherein of old time boats were made, and landed from Downegate to be mended, as may be supposed, for other reason I find none why it should be so called. Within this church, and the small cloister adjoining, divers noblemen and persons of worship have been buried, as appeareth by arms in the windows, the defaced tombs, and print of plates torn up and carried away: there remain only of John West, esquire, buried in the year 1408; Thomas Huytley, esquire, 1539, but his monument is defaced since; Lancelot Bathurst, &c.

The Erbar is an ancient place so called, but not of Walbrooke ward, and therefore out of that lane to Walbrooke corner, and then down till over against the south corner of St. John's church upon Walbrooke. And this is all that I can say of Walbrooke ward. It hath an alderman, and his deputy, common councillors eleven, constables nine, scavengers six, for the wardmote inquest thirteen, and a beadle. It is taxed to the fifteen in London to 33*l.* 5*s.**

DOWNEGATE WARD.

DOWNEGATE ward beginneth at the south end of Walbrooke ward over against the east corner of St. John's church upon Walbrooke, and descendeth on both the sides to Downegate on the Thames, and is so called of that down going or descending thereunto; and of this Downegate the ward taketh name. This ward turneth into Thames street westward, some ten houses on a side to the course of Walbrooke, but east in Thames street on both sides to Elbgate lane, or Old Swan, the land side whereof hath many lanes turning up, as shall be shown when I come to them.

But first to begin with the high street called Dowgate; at the upper end thereof is a fair conduit of Thames water, castellated, and made in the year 1568, at charges of the citizens, and is called the conduit upon Downegate. The descent of this street is such, that in the year 1574, on the 4th of September, in the afternoon, there fell a storm of rain, where through the channels suddenly arose, and ran with such a swift course towards the common shores, that a lad of eighteen years old, minding to have leapt over the channel near unto the said conduit, was taken with the stream, and carried from thence towards the Thames with such a violence, that no man with staves or otherwise could stay him, till he came against a cart wheel that stood in the said watergate, before which time he was drowned, and stark dead.

On the west side of this street is the Tallow-chandlers' hall, a proper house, which company was incorporated in the 2d year of Edward IV.

Somewhat lower standeth the Skinners' hall, a fair house, which was sometime called Copped hall, by Downegate, in the parish of St. John upon Walbrooke. In the 19th year of Edward II., Ralph Cobham possessed it with five shops, &c.†

* "In London to forty pound, and in the Exchequer to thirty-nine pound."—1st edition, p. 181.

† The origin and history of the Skinners' Company are treated of at great length in Herbert's *Twelve Livery Companies of London*, ii. 299, et seq; from which it appears that

This company of Skinners in London were incorporated by Edward III. in the 1st of his reign; they had two brotherhoods of Corpus Christi, viz. one at St. Mary Spittle, the other at St. Mary Bothlem without Bishopsgate. Richard II., in the 18th of his reign, granted them to make their two brotherhoods one, by the name of the fraternity of Corpus Christi. Of Skinners, divers royal persons were named to be founders and brethren of this fraternity, to wit, kings six, dukes nine, earls two, lords one. Kings, Edward III., Richard II., Henry IV., Henry V., Henry VI., and Edward IV. This fraternity had also once every year, on Corpus Christi day afternoon, a procession passed through the principal streets of the city, wherein was borne more than one hundred torches of wax (costly garnished) burning light, and above two hundred clerks and priests, in surplices and copes, singing. After the which were the sheriffs' servants, the clerks of the compters, chaplains for the sheriffs, the mayor's sergeants, the counsel of the city, the mayor and aldermen in scarlet, and then the Skinners in their best liveries. Thus much to stop the tongues of unthankful men, such as used to ask, Why have ye not noted this, or that? and give no thanks for what is done.

Then lower down was a college of priests, called Jesus' Commons, a house well furnished with brass, pewter, napery, plate, &c. besides a fair library well stored with books, all which of old time was given to a number of priests that should keep commons there, and as one left his place, by death or otherwise, another should be admitted into his room, but this order within this thirty years being discontinued, the said house was dissolved, and turned to tenements.

Down lower have ye Elbow lane; and at the corner thereof was one great stone house, called Olde hall; it is now taken down, and divers fair houses of timber placed there. This was sometime pertaining to William de Pont le Arch, and by him given to the priory of St. Mary Overy in Southwark, in the reign of Henry I. In this Elbow lane is the Innholders' hall, and other fair houses; this lane runneth west, and suddenly turneth south into Thames street, and therefore of that bending is called Elbow lane. On the east side of this Downegate street is the great old house before spoken of, called the Erber, near to the church of St. Mary Bothaw; Geoffrey Scroope held it by the gift of Edward III., in the 14th of his reign; it belonged since to John Nevell, Lord of Rabie, then to Richard Nevell, Earl of Warwick; Nevell, Earl of Salisbury, was lodged there 1457; then it came to George Duke of Clarence, and his heirs male, by the gift of Edward IV., in the 14th of his reign. It was lately new built by Sir Thomas Pullison, mayor, and was afterward inhabited by Sir Francis Drake, that famous mariner. Next to this great house is a lane turning to Bush lane, (of old time called Carter lane, of carts and carmen having stables there,) and now called Chequer lane, or Chequer alley, of an inn called the Chequer.

In Thames street, on the Thames side, west from Downegate, is Greenwich lane, of old time so called, and now Frier lane, of such a sign there

set up. In this lane is the Joiners' hall, and other fair houses.

Then is Grantham's lane, so called of John Grantham, sometime mayor, and owner thereof, whose house was very large and strong, built of stone, as appeareth by gates arched, yet remaining. Raph Dodmer, first a brewer, then a mercer, mayor 1529, dwelt there, and kept his mayoralty in that house; it is now a brewhouse as it was afore.

Then is Dowgate, whereof is spoken in another place. East from this Dowgate is Cosin lane, named of William Cosin that dwelt there in the 4th of Richard II., as divers his predecessors, father, grandfather, &c. had done before him. William Cosin was one of the sheriffs in the year 1306. That house standeth at the south end of the lane, having an old and artificial conveyance of Thames water into it, and is now a dyehouse called Lambard's messuage. Adjoining to that house there was lately erected an engine to convey Thames water unto Downegate conduit aforesaid.

Next to this lane, on the east, is the Steelyard, as they term it, a place for merchants of Almaine, that used to bring hither as well wheat, rye, and other grain, as cables, ropes, masts, pitch, tar, flax, hemp, linen cloth, waincoats, wax, steel, and other profitable merchandises. Unto these merchants, in the year 1259, Henry III., at the request of his brother Richard, Earl of Cornewell, king of Almaine, granted that all and singular the merchants, having a house in the city of London, commonly called *Gilda Aula Theutonicorum*, should be maintained and upholden through the whole realm, by all such freedoms, and free usages, or liberties, as by the king and his noble progenitors' time they had and enjoyed, &c. Edward I. renewed and confirmed that charter of liberties granted by his father. And in the 10th year of the same Edward, Henry Wales being mayor, a great controversy did arise between the said mayor, and the merchants of the Haunce of Almaine*, about the reparations of Bishopsgate, then likely to fall, for that the said merchants enjoyed divers privileges in respect of maintaining the said gate, which they now denied to repair; for the appeasing of which controversy the king sent his writ to the treasurer and barons of his Exchequer, commanding that they should make inquisition thereof; before whom the merchants being called, when they were not able to discharge themselves, sith they enjoyed the liberties to them granted for the same, a precept was sent to the mayor and sheriffs to distrain the said merchants to make reparations, namely, Gerard Marbod, alderman of the Haunce, Ralph de Cusarde, a citizen of Colen, Ludero de Denevar, a burgess of Trivar, John of Aras, a burgess of Trivon, Bartram of Hamburde, Godestalke of Hوندdale, a burgess of Trivon, John de Dele, a bur-

* The history of the Hanse merchants has hitherto received little attention in this country. They are said by their German historians to have succeeded in establishing storehouses in London as early as 1250; at Bruges in 1252; at Novogorod in 1272; and at Mons in 1278. See further, Sartorius, *Geschichte des Ursprungs der Deutschen Hansa*, and its continuation by Dr. Lappenberg; a translation of whose learned and valuable *History of England* is preparing by Benjamin Thorpe, Esq., the distinguished editor of the *Anglo-Saxon Laws and Institutes*, and of that invaluable *Anglo-Saxon MS. Liber Exoniensis*, lately published by the Society of Antiquaries.

gess of Munstar, then remaining in the said city of London, for themselves and all other merchants of the Haunce, and so they granted two hundred and ten marks sterling to the mayor and citizens, and undertook that they and their successors should from time to time repair the said gate, and bear the third part of the charges in money and men to defend it when need were. And for this agreement the said mayor and citizens granted to the said merchants their liberties, which till of late they have enjoyed, as namely, amongst other, that they might lay up their grain which they brought into this realm in inns, and sell it in their garners, by the space of forty days after they had laid it up, except by the mayor and citizens they were expressly forbidden, because of dearth, or other reasonable occasions. Also they might have their aldermen as they had been accustomed, foreseeing always that he were of the city, and presented to the mayor and aldermen of the city, so oft as they should be chosen, and should take an oath before them to maintain justice in their courts, and to behave themselves in their office according to law, and as it stood with the customs of the city. Thus much for their privileges; whereby it appeareth that they were great merchants of corn brought out of the east parts hither, insomuch that the occupiers of husbandry in this land were enforced to complain of them for bringing in such abundance when the corn of this realm was at such an easy price; whereupon it was ordained by parliament, that no person should bring into any part of this realm, by way of merchandise, wheat, rye, or barley, growing out of the said realm, when the quarter of wheat exceed not the price of 6s. 8d., rye 4s. the quarter, and barley 3s. the quarter, upon forfeiture the one half to the king, the other half to the seizor thereof. These merchants of Haunce had their Guildhall in Thames street in place aforesaid by the said Cosin lane. Their hall is large, built of stone, with three arched gates towards the street, the middlemost whereof is far bigger than the other, and is seldom opened, the other two be mured up; the same is now called the old hall.

Of later time, to wit, in the 6th of Richard II., they hired one house next adjoining to their old hall, which sometime belonged to Richard Lions, a famous lapidary, one of the sheriffs of London in the 49th of Edward III., and in the 4th of Richard II., by the rebels of Kent, drawn out of that house and beheaded in West Cheap. This also was a great house with a large wharf on the Thames, and the way thereunto was called Windgoose, or Wildgoose lane, which is now called Windgoose alley, for that the same alley is for the most part built on by the stilyard merchants.

The abbot of St. Alban's had a messuage here with a key, given to him in the 34th of Henry VI. Then is one other great house, which sometime pertained to John Rainwell, stockfishmonger, mayor, and it was by him given to the mayor and commonalty, to the end that the profits thereof should be disposed in deeds of piety; which house, in the 15th of Edward IV., was confirmed unto the said merchants, in manner following, namely:—"It is ordaind by our sovereign lord and his parliament, that the said merchants of Almaine, being of the companie called the *Guildhall Teutonicorum* (or

the Flemish gild), that now be, or hereafter shall be, shall have, hold, and enjoy, to them and their successors for ever, the said place called the Steel house, yeelding to the said mayor and communaltie an annuall rent of 70l. 3s. 4d. &c."

In the year 1551, and the 5th of Edward VI., through complaint of the English merchants, the liberty of the steelyard merchants was seized into the king's hands, and so it resteth.

Then is Church lane, at the west end of Alhallowes church, called Alhallowes the More in Thames street, for a difference from Alhallowes the Less in the same street; it is also called Alhallowes *ad fenum* in the Ropery, because hay sold near thereunto at Hay wharf, and ropes of old time made and sold in the high street. This is a fair church, with a large cloister on the south side thereof about their churchyard, but foully defaced and ruined.

The church also hath had many fair monuments, but now defaced. There remaineth in the choir some plates on grave stones—namely, of William Lichfield, D.D., who deceased the year 1447: he was a great student, and compiled many books, both moral and divine, in prose and in verse, namely, one intituled "The Complaint of God unto Sinful Man." He made in his time three thousand and eighty-three sermons, as appeared by his own handwriting, and were found when he was dead. One other plate there is of John Brickles, draper, who deceased in the year 1451; he was a great benefactor to that church, and gave by his testament certain tenements to the relief of the poor, &c. Nicholas Loven and William Peston founded chantries there.

At the east end of this church goeth down a lane called Hay wharf lane, now lately a great brew-house, built there by one Pot; Henry Campion, esquire, a beer-brewer, used it, and Abraham his son now possesseth it. Then was there one other lane, sometime called Woolfe's gate, now out of use; for the lower part thereof upon the bank of Thames is built by the late Earl of Shrewsburie, and the other end is built on and stopp'd up by the chamberlain of London. John Butler, draper, one of the sheriffs in the year 1420, dwelt there; he appointed his house to be sold, and the price thereof to be given to the poor; it was of Alhallowes parish the less. Then is there the said parish church of Alhallowes called the Less, and by some Alhallowes on the Cellars, for it standeth on vaults; it is said to be built by Sir John Poultney, sometime mayor. The steeple and choir of this church standeth on an arched gate, being the entry to a great house called Cold Harbrough. The choir of late being fallen down, is now again at length, in the year 1594, by the parishioners new built. Touching this Cold Harbrough, I find, that in the 13th of Edward II., Sir John Abel, knight, demised or let unto Henry Stow, draper, all that his capital messuage called the Cold Harbrough, in the parish of All Saints *ad fenum*, and all the appurtenances within the gate, with the key which Robert Hartford, citizen, son to William Hartford, had, and ought; and the foresaid Robert paid for it the rent of thirty-three shillings the year. This Robert Hartford being owner thereof, as also of other lands in Surrey, deceasing without issue male, left two daughters his coheirs, to wit, Idonia, married

to Sir Raph Bigot, and Maude, married to Sir Stephen Cosenton, knights, between whom the said house and lands were parted. After the which, John Bigot, son to the said Sir Ralph, and Sir John Cosenton, did sell their moieties of Cold Harbrough unto John Poultney, son of Adam Poultney, the 8th of Edward III. This Sir John Poultney dwelling in this house, and being four times mayor, the said house took the name of Poultney's inn. Notwithstanding this, Sir John Poultney, the 21st of Edward III., by his charter, gave and confirmed to Humfrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, his whole tenement called Cold Harbrough, with all the tenements and key adjoining, and appurtenances, sometime pertaining to Robert de Hereford, on the way called Hay wharf lane, &c. for one rose at Midsummer *, to him and to his heirs for all services, if the same were demanded. This Sir John Poultney deceased 1349, and left issue, by Margaret his wife, William Poultney, who died without issue, and Margaret his mother was married to Sir Nicholas Lovel, knight, &c. Philip S. Cleare gave two messuages pertaining to this Cold Harbrough in the Roperie, towards the enlarging of the parish church and churchyard of All Saints, called the Less, in the 20th of Richard II.

In the year 1397, the 21st of Richard II., John Holland, Earl of Huntington, was lodged there, and Richard II., his brother, dined with him : it was then counted a right fair and stately house ; but in the next year following I find that Edmond, Earl of Cambridge, was there lodged, notwithstanding the said house still retained the name of Poultney's inn, in the reign of Henry VI., the 26th of his reign. It belonged since to H. Holland, Duke of Excester, and he was lodged there in the year 1472. In the year 1485, Richard III., by his letters patent, granted and gave to John Writh, alias Garter, principal king of arms of Englishmen, and to the rest of the king's heralds and pursuivants of arms, all that messuage, with the appurtenances, called Cold Harbrough, in the parish of All Saints the Little in London, and their successors for ever. Dated at Westminster the 2d of March, *anno regni primo*, without fine or fee. How the said heralds departed therewith I have not read ; but in the reign of Henry VIII. the Bishop of Durham's house near Charing cross, being taken into the king's hand, Cuthbert Tunstal, Bishop of Durham, was lodged in this Cold Harbrough ; since the which time it hath belonged to the Earls of Shrewsbury, by composition (as is supposed) from the said Cuthbert Tunstal. The last deceased earl took it down, and in place thereof built a great number of small tenements now letten out for great rents to people of all sorts.

Then is the Dyers' hall, which company was made a brotherhood or guild, in the 4th of Henry VI., and appointed to consist of a guardian or warden, and a commonalty, the 12th of Edward IV. Then be there divers large brewhouses and others, till you come to Ebgate lane, where that

ward endeth in the east. On the north side of Thames street be divers lanes also ; the first is at the south end of Elbow lane, before spoken of, west from Downgate, over against Greenwich lane : then be divers fair houses for merchants and others all along that side. The next lane east from Downgate is called Bush lane, which turneth up to Candlewicke street, and is of Downgate ward. Next is Suffolke lane, likewise turning up to Candlewicke street. In this lane is one notable grammar school, founded in the year 1561 by the master, wardens, and assistants, of the Merchant-Tailors, in the parish of St. Laurence Poultny ; Richard Hilles, sometime master of that company, having before given 500*l.* towards the purchase of a house, called the manor of the Rose, sometime belonging to the Duke of Buckingham, wherein the said school is kept *. Then is there one other lane which turneth up to St. Laurence hill, and to the south-west corner of St. Laurence churchyard ; then one other lane called Poultney lane, that goeth up of this ward to the south-east corner of St. Laurence churchyard, and so down again, and to the west corner of St. Martin Orgar lane, and over against Ebgate lane ; and this is all of Downgate ward, the thirteenth in number lying east from the water-course of Walbrook, and hath not any one house on the west side of the said brook. It hath an alderman, his deputy, common councillors nine, constables eight, scavengers five, for the wardmote inquest fourteen, and a beadle. It is taxed to the fifteen eight and-twenty pounds †.

WARDS ON THE WEST SIDE OF WALBROOKE, AND FIRST OF VINTRY WARD.

Now I am to speak of the other wards, twelve in number, all lying on the west side of the course of Walbrooke. And first of Vintry ward, so called of vintners, and of the vintry, a part of the bank of the river of Thames, where the merchants of Burdeaux craned their wines out of lighters and other vessels, and there landed and made sale of them within forty days after, until the 28th of Edward I., at which time the said merchants complained that they could not sell their wines, paying poundage, neither hire houses or cellars to lay them in ; and it was redressed by virtue of the king's writ, directed to the mayor and sheriffs of London, dated at Carlaveroke, or Carlisle, since the which time many fair and large houses, with vaults and cellars for stowage of wines, and lodging of the Burdeaux merchants have been built in place where before time were cooks' houses ; for Fitzstephen, in the reign of Henry II., writeth, that upon the river's side, between the wine in ships, and the wine to be sold in taverns, was a common cookery or cooks' row, &c., as in another place I have set down ; whereby it appeareth, that in those days (and till of late time) every man lived by his professed trade, not any one interrupting another : the cooks dressed meat, and sold no wine, and the taverner sold wine, but dressed no meat for sale, &c.

This ward beginneth in the east at the west end

* A payment somewhat more difficult to be rendered, viz., that of a red rose at Christmas, and a snowball at Midsummer, was to be yearly made to Godfrey Bosville, esq., as the rent of a farm at Brook House in Langsett in the parish of Peniston in the county of York. See Blount's *Fragmenta Antiquitatis*; or, *Ancient Tenures*, p. 243, ed. Beckwith.

* This school is for two hundred and fifty boys, who are admitted at any age by presentation from the court of the Company. See further the *History of Merchant-Tailors' School*, published by Dr. Wilson in 1812.

† "In London at thirty-six pound, and in the Exchequer at thirty-four pound ten shillings."—1st edition, p. 189.

of Downegate ward, as the water-course of Walbrooke parteth them, to wit, at Grantham's lane, on the Thames side, and at Elbow lane on the land side ; it runneth along in Thames street west some three houses beyond the Old Swanne, a brewhouse, and on the land side some three houses west beyond St. James' at Garlicke Hith. In breadth this ward stretcheth from the Vintry, north to the wall of the west gate of the Tower Royall ; the other north part is of Cordwayner street ward. Out of this Royal street, by the south gate of Tower Royall, runneth a small street east to St. John's upon Walbrooke, which street is called Horshew bridge, of such a bridge sometime over the brook there, which is now vaulted over. Then from the said south gate west, runneth one other street, called Knight riders' street, by St. Thomas Apostle's church on the north side, and Wringwren lane by the said church, at the west end thereof, and to the east end of the Trinitie church in the said Knight-riders' street, where this ward endeth on that south side the street ; but on the north side it runneth no further than the corner against the new built tavern and other houses, in a plot of ground where sometime stood Ormond place ; yet have ye one other lane lower down in Royall street, stretching from over against St. Michael's church, to, and by the north side of St. James' church by Garlicke Hith ; this is called Kerion lane. And thus much for the bounds of Vintry ward. Now, on the Thames' side, west from Grantham's lane, have ye Herber lane, or Brikels' lane, so called of John Brikels, sometime owner thereof.

Then is Simpson's lane, of one Simpson, or Emperor's head lane, of such a sign. Then the Three Cranes' lane, so called not only of a sign of three cranes at a tavern door, but rather of three strong cranes of timber placed on the Vintry wharf by the Thames side, to crane up wines there, as is afore showed. This lane was of old time, to wit, the 9th of Richard II., called The Painted Tavern lane, of the tavern being painted.

Then next over against St. Martin's church, is a large house built of stone and timber, with vaults for the stowage of wines, and is called the Vintry. There dwelt John Gisers, vintner, mayor of London, and constable of the Tower, and then was Henry Picard, vintner, mayor. In this house Henry Picard feasted four kings in one day (as in my Summary I have showed). Then next is Vanner's lane, so called of one Vanner that was owner thereof ; it is now called Church lane, of the coming up from the wharf to St. Martin's church. Next is Brode lane, for that the same is broader for the passage of carts from the Vintrie wharf, than be the other lanes. At the north-west corner of this lane is the Parish Clerks' hall, lately by them purchased, since they lost their old hall in Bishopsgate street. Next is Spittle lane, of old time so called, since Stodie's lane, of the owner thereof named Stodie. Sir John Stodie, vintner, mayor in the year 1357, gave it with all the quadrant wherein Vintners' hall now standeth, with the tenements round about unto the Vintners ; the Vintners built for themselves a fair hall, and also thirteen alms houses there for thirteen poor people, which are kept of charity rent free.

The Vintners in London were of old time called Merchant-vintners of Gascoyne ; and so I read

them in the records of Edward II., the 11th year, and Edward III., the 9th year : they were as well Englishmen as strangers born beyond the seas, but then subjects to the kings of England, great Burdeaux merchants of Gascoyne and French wines, divers of them were mayors of this city, namely John Adrian, vintner, Reginald at conduit, John Oxenford, Hen. Picard, that feasted the kings of England, France, Scotland, and Cypres, John Stodie, that gave Stodie's lane to the Vintners ; which four last named were mayors in the reign of Edward III. : and yet Gascoyne wines were then to be sold at London not above fourpence, nor Rhenish wine above sixpence the gallon. I read of sweet wines, that in the 50th of Edward III., John Peachie, fishmonger, was accused, for that he procured a license for the only sale of them in London ; which notwithstanding he justified by law, he was imprisoned and fined. More, I read, that in the 6th of Henry VI., the Lombards corrupting their sweet wines, when knowledge thereof came to John Rainwell, mayor of London, he in divers places of the city commanded the heads of the butts and other vessels in the open streets to be broken, to the number of one hundred and fifty, so that the liquor running forth, passed through the city like a stream of rain water, in the sight of all the people, from whence there issued a most loathsome savour.

I read, in the reign of Henry VII., that no sweet wines were brought into this realm but Malmesies by the Longbards, paying to the king for his license six shillings and eight pence of every butt, besides twelvepence for bottle large. I remember within this fifty-four years Malmsey not to be sold more than one penny halfpenny the pint. For proof whereof, it appeareth in the church book of St. Andrew Undershafte, that in the year 1547 I. G. and S. K., then churchwardens, for eighty pints of Malmsey spent in the church, after one penny halfpenny the pint, paid at the year's end for the same ten shillings. More, I remember that no sacks were sold but Rumney, and that for medicine more than for drink, but now many kinds of sacks are known and used. And so much for wines.

For the Vintry, to end therewith *, I read, that in the reign of Henry IV., the young prince Henry, Thomas Duke of Clarence, John Duke of Bedford, and Humfrey Duke of Gloucester, the king's sons, being at supper among the merchants of London in the Vintry, in the house of Lewes John, Henry Scogan sent to them a ballad beginning thus :—

" My noble sonnes and eke my lords deare,
I your father, called unworthily,
Send unto you this ballad following here,
Written with mine own hand full rudely,
Although it be that I not reverently
Have written to your estates, I you pray
Mine unceasing, taketh benignly,
For God's sake, and hearken what I say."

Then fellow in like metre twenty-three staves, containing a persuasion from losing of time folly in lust and vice, but to spend the same in virtue and godliness, as ye may read in Geoffrey Chawcer's works lately printed. The successors of those

* Consult, for further history of the Vintners' company, and much valuable illustration of Stow's narrative, Herbert's *Twelve Livery Companies of London*, ii. 625, et seq.

vintners and wine-drawers that retailed by the gallons, pottle, quart, and pint, were all incorporated by the name of Wine-tunners* in the reign of Edward III., and confirmed in the 15th of Henry VI.

Next is Palmer's lane, now called Anchor lane; the Plumbers have their hall there, but are tenants to the Vintners. Then is Worcester house, sometime belonging to the Earls of Worcester, now divided into many tenements; the Fruiterers have their hall there. Then is the Old Swan, a great brewhouse. And this is all on the Thames' side that I can note in this ward.

On the land side is the Royall street and Pater-noster lane, I think of old time called Arches; for I read that Robert de Suffolke gave to Walter Darford his tenement with the appurtenance in the lane called Les Arches, in the parish of St. Michael de Paternoster church, between the wall of the field called Winchester field on the east, and the same lane on the West, &c. More, I read of a stone house called Sto da de Winton juxta Stenden bridge, which in that lane was over Walbrooke water.

Then is the fair parish church of St. Michael called Paternoster church in the Royall. This church was new built, and made a college of St. Spirit and St. Mary, founded by Richard Whittington, mercer †, four times mayor, for a master,

* In this place, in the first edition, occurs the following passage, which is at once explanatory of Stow's reason for not entering more fully into the history of the several Companies, and highly illustrative of that spirit of inquiry and anxiety for truth which gives so great a charm to his narrative.

"Having thus much, not without travail and some charges, noted for the antiquitie of the Vintners, about two years since or more I repayed to the common-hall of that company, and there showed and read it in a court of assistance, requiring them, as being one of the principal companies in the citie (of whom I meant therefore to write the more at large) that if they knew any more which might sound to their worship or commendation, at their leisure to send it me, and I would joyne it to my former collection; at which time I was answered by some that tooke upon them the speech, that they were none of the principall, but of the inferior companies; and so willing me to leave them, I departed, and never since heard from them, which hath somewhat discouraged me any farther to travaill amongst the companies to learne ought at their handes."—1st edition, p. 192.

His comment (in a side note) is equally worth preserving: "The readiest to speake not alwaies the wisest men."

† The nursery story of "Whittington and his Cat," the main incident of which is one of the most remarkable and wide-spread in the whole circle of legendary lore, as the reader may learn from Keightley's *Tales and Popular Fictions*, affords striking evidence of the influence of national character upon the popular tales of a country. Neither in the *Bibliothèque Bleue* of the French, nor in any of the German *Folksbücher* is there to be found any similar tale, developing, as this obviously does, the two grand principles of action which distinguish the merchants of England—integrity and perseverance. Tales of love, and tales of war, are there in plenty; but a tale in which the success of the hero is made to depend upon the happy issue of a commercial enterprise, could only be expected to have its rise among a people whom Buonaparte, in the bitterness of his heart, designated "a nation of shopkeepers."

The earliest narrative of Richard Whittington's adventures is in Johnson's *Crown Garland of Golden Roses*, 1612;

four fellows—masters of art, clerks, conducts, chorists, &c. and an alms house called God's house, or hospital, for thirteen poor men, one of them to be tutor, and to have sixteen pence the week; the other twelve, each of them to have fourteen pence the week for ever, with other necessary provisions, a hutch with three locks, a common seal, &c. These were bound to pray for the good estate of Richard Whittington and Alice his wife, their founders, and for Sir William Whittington, knight, and Dame Joan his wife, and for Hugh Fitzwarens, and Dame Molde his wife, the fathers and mothers of the said Richard Whittington and Alice his wife, for King Richard II., and Thomas of Woodstocke, Duke of Gloucester, special lords and promoters of the said Richard Whittington, &c. The license for this foundation was granted by King Henry IV., the 11th of his reign, and in the 12th of the same king's reign, the mayor and commonalty of London granted to Richard Whittington a vacant piece of ground, thereon to build his college in the Royall, all which was confirmed by Henry VI., the 3rd of his reign, to John Coventrie, Jenkin Carpenter, and William Grove, executors to Richard Whittington. This foundation was again confirmed by parliament, the 10th of Henry VI., and was suppressed by the statute of Edward VI.

The alms houses, with the poor men, do remain, and are paid by the Mercers. This Richard Whittington was in this church three times buried: first by his executors under a fair monument; then in the reign of Edward VI., the parson of that church, thinking some great riches (as he said) to be buried with him, caused his monument to be broken, his body to be spoiled of his leaden sheet, and again the second time to be buried; and in the reign of Queen Mary the parishioners were forced to take him up, to lap him in lead as afore, to bury him the third time, and to place his monument, or the like, over him again, which remaineth, and so he resteth. Thomas Windford, alderman, was buried in this church 1448; Arnold Macknam, vintner, a merchant of Burdeaux, 1457; Sir Heere Tanke, or Hartancleux, knight of the garter, born in Almayne, a noble warrior in Henry V. and Henry VI. days; Sir Edmond Mulshew, knight, near to Thomas Cokham, recorder of London; the Lady Kyme; Sir William Oldhall, knight, 1460; William Bar-nocke; Sir John Yong, grocer, mayor 1466; Agnes, daughter to Sir John Yong, first married to Robert Sherington, after to Robert Mulleneux, then to William Cheyney, esquire; John Having, gentleman; William Roswell, esquire; William Postar, clerk of the crown, 1520; Sir William Bayly, draper, mayor 1533, with Dame Katherine his wife, leaving sixteen children; John Haydon, mercer, sheriff 1582, who gave legacies to the

but a still earlier allusion to the "famous fable of Whittington and his puss," is in the play of *Eastward Hoe*, written soon after 1603; and the popularity of the story is shown by Granger (*Biographical History of England*, l. 65), who, describing the print of Whittington, engraved by Elstrake, in which he is represented in a collar of SS, with his right hand on a cat, adds:—

"The cat has been inserted, as the common people did not care to buy the print without it: there was none originally in the plate, but a skull in the place of it. I have seen only two proofs of the portrait in its first state, and these were fine impressions."

thirteen alms men, and otherwise, for a lecture.

At the upper end of this street is the Tower Royall, whereof that street taketh name. This Tower and great place was so called of pertaining to the kings of this realm, but by whom the same was first built, or of what antiquity continued, I have not read more than that in the reign of Edward I., the 2d, 4th, and 7th years, it was the tenement of Symon Beawmes; also, that in the 36th of Edward III., the same was called the Royall, in the parish of St. Michael de Paternoster, and that in the 43d of his reign, he gave it by the name of his inn, called the Royall, in the city of London, in value twenty pounds by year, unto his college of St. Stephen at Westminster; notwithstanding, in the reign of Richard II. it was called the Queen's Wardrobe, as appeareth by this that followeth:—King Richard having in Smithfield overcome and dispersed his rebels, he, his lords, and all his company, entered the city of London, with great joy, and went to the lady princess his mother, who was then lodged in the Tower Royall, called the Queen's Wardrobe, where she had remained three days and two nights, right sore abashed; but when she saw the king her son she was greatly rejoiced, and said, "Ah, son! what great sorrow have I suffered for you this day?" The king answered and said, "Certainly, madam, I know it well; but now rejoice, and thank God, for I have this day recovered mine heritage, and the realm of England, which I had near hand lost."

This tower seemeth to have been at that time of good defence; for when the rebels had beset the Tower of London, and got possession thereof, taking from thence whom they listed, as in my Annals I have shown, the princess being forced to fly, came to this Tower Royall, where she was lodged, and remained safe, as ye have heard; and it may be also supposed that the king himself was at that time lodged there. I read, that in the year 1386, Lyon King of Armonie, being chased out of his realm by the Tartarians, received innumerable gifts of the king and of his nobles, the king then lying in the Royall, where he also granted to the said king of Armonie, a charter of a thousand pounds by year during his life. This for proof may suffice that kings of England have been lodged in this tower, though the same of later time have been neglected and turned into stabling for the king's horses, and now letten out to divers men, and divided into tenements.

In Horsebridge street is the Cutlars' hall. Richard de Wilehale, 1295, confirmed to Paul Butelar this house and edifices in the parish of St. Michael Paternoster church and St. John's upon Walbrooke, which sometime Lawrens Gisors and his son Peter Gisors did possess, and afterward Hugonis de Hingham, and lieth between the tenement of the said Richard towards the south, and the lane called Horseshew bridge towards the north, and between the way called Paternoster church on the west, and the course of Walbrooke on the east, paying yearly one clove of Gereflowers* at Easter, and to the prior and convent of St. Mary

Overy six shillings. This house sometime belonged to Simon Dolesly, grocer, mayor 1359. They of this company were of old time divided into three arts or sorts of workmen: to wit, the first were smiths, forgers of blades, and therefore called bladers, and divers of them proved wealthy men, as namely, Walter Nele, blader, one of the sheriffs the 12th of Edward III., deceased 1352, and buried in St. James' Garlickie Hith; he left lands to the mending of high ways about London, betwixt Newgate and Wicombe, Aldgate and Chelmsford, Bishopsgate and Ware, Southwark and Rochester, &c. The second were makers of hafts, and otherwise garnishers of blades. The third sort were sheathmakers, for swords, daggers, and knives. In the 10th of Henry IV. certain ordinances were made betwixt the bladers and the other cutlers; and in the 4th of Henry VI. they were all three companies drawn into one fraternity or brotherhood by the name of Cutlers.

Then is Knightriders' street, so called (as is supposed) of knights well armed and mounted at the Tower Royall, riding from thence through that street west to Creed lane, and so out at Ludgate towards Smithfield, when they were there to tourney, joust, or otherwise to show activities before the king and states of the realm.

In this street is the parish church of St. Thomas Apostle, by Wringwren lane, a proper church, but monuments of antiquity be there none, except some arms in the windows, as also in the stone work, which some suppose to be of John Barns, mercer, mayor of London in the year 1371, a great builder thereof; H. Causton, merchant, was a benefactor, and had a chantry there about 1396; T. Roman, mayor 1310, had also a chantry there 1319; Fitzwilliams, also a benefactor, had a chantry there. More, Sir William Lilliesbery, *alias* Horne (for King Edward IV. so named him, because he was a most excellent blower in a horn); he was a salter and merchant of the staple, mayor of London in the year 1487, and was buried in this church, having appointed by his testament the bells to be changed for four new bells of good tune and sound, but that was not performed; he gave five hundred marks to the repairing of highways betwixt London and Cambridge; his dwelling-house, with a garden and appurtenances in the said parish to be sold, and bestowed in charitable actions, as his executors would answer before God; his house, called the George, in Bred street, he gave to the Salters, they to find a priest in the said church, to have *6l. 13s. 4d.* the year, to every preacher at Paul's cross and at the Spittle fourpence for ever; to the prisoners of Newgate, Ludgate, Marshalsey, and King's Bench, in victuals, ten shillings at Christmas, and ten shillings at Easter for ever; which legacies are not performed.

old French writers, and *clove gilofre* of Chaucer. See his *Romance of Sir Thopas*—

"Ther springen herbes grete and smale,
The licoris and the setewale,
And many a clove gilofre."

Tyrwhitt, in his notes upon the passage, interprets it, "a clove tree, or the fruit of it." The common stock is called the *gilliflow* by the old herbalists, from the French *gilliflor*, but pinks and carnations, *clove gilliflowers*, from smelling like the clove.

* This is an instance of tenure by the yearly payment of a flower similar to that recorded in page 89. The flower alluded to is a pink or carnation, the *clou de gilofre*, of the

William Shipton, William Champneis, and John de Burford, had chantries there; John Martin, butcher, one of the sheriffs, was buried there 1533; &c. Then west from the said church, on the same side, was one great messuage, sometime called Ipres inn, of William Ipres, a Fleming, the first builder thereof. This William was called out of Flanders, with a number of Flemings, to the aid of King Stephen against Maude the empress, in the year 1138, and grew in favour with the said king for his services, so far that he built this his house near Tower Royall, in the which tower it seemeth the king was then lodged, as in the heart of the city, for his more safety.

Robert, Earl of Gloucester, brother to the empress, being taken, was committed to the custody of this William, to be kept in the castle of Rochester, till King Stephen was also taken, and then the one was delivered in exchange for the other, and both set free. This William of Ipres gave Edredes hithe, now called the Queen's hithe, to the prior and canons of the Holy Trinity in London: he founded the abbey of Boxley in Kent, &c. In the first of Henry II., the said William, with all the other Flemings, fearing the indignation of the new king, departed the land; but it seemeth that the said William was shortly called back again, and restored both to the king's favour and to his old possessions here, so that the name and family continued long after in this realm, as may appear by this which followeth.

In the year 1377, the 51st of Edward III., the citizens of London, minding to have destroyed John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and Henry Percie, marshal (for cause shown in my Annals), sought up and down, and could not find them, for they were that day to dine with John of Ipres at his inn, which the Londoners wist not of, but thought the duke and marshal had been at the Savoy, and therefore posted thither; but one of the duke's knights seeing these things, came in great haste to the place where the duke was, and after that he had knocked and could not be let in, he said to Haveland the porter, "If thou love my lord and thy life, open the gate;" with which words he gat entry, and with great fear he tells the duke, that without the gate were infinite numbers of armed men, and unless he took great heed, that day would be his last; with which words the duke leapt so hastily from his oisters, that he hurt both his legs against the form: wine was offered, but he could not drink for haste, and so fled with his fellow Henry Percie out at a back gate, and entering the Thames, never stayed rowing until they came to a house near the manor of Kennington, where at that time the princess lay with Richard the young prince, before whom he made his complaint, &c.

On the other side, I read of a messuage called Ringed hall. King Henry VIII., the 32nd of his reign, gave the same, with four tenements adjoining, unto Morgan Philip, *alias* Wolfe, in the parish of St. Thomas Apostles, in London, &c.

Over against Ipres inn, in Knight riders street, at the corner towards St. James at Garlick hithe, was sometime a great house built of stone, and called Ormond place, for that it sometimes belonged to the Earls of Ormond. King Edward IV., in the 5th of his reign, gave to Elizabeth his wife the manor of Greenwich, with the tower and park, in

the county of Kent. He also gave this tenement called Ormond place, with all the appurtenances to the same, situate in the parish of St. Trinitie in Knight riders street, in London. This house is now lately taken down, and divers fair tenements are built there, the corner house whereof is a tavern. Then lower down in Royall street is Kerion lane, of one Kerion sometime dwelling there. In this lane be divers fair houses for merchants, and amongst others is the Glaziers' hall.

At the south corner of Royall street is the fair parish church of St. Martin called in the Vintny, sometime called St. Martin de Beremand church. This church was new built about the year 1399 by the executors of Mathew Columbars, a stranger born, a Burdeaux merchant of Gascoyne and French wines; his arms remain yet in the east window, and are between a cheveron, three columbins. There lie buried in this church—Sir John Gisors, mayor 1311; Henry Gisors, his son, 1343, and John Gisors, his brother, 1350; he gave to his son Thomas his great mansion-house called Gisors hall, in the parish of St. Mildred, in Bread street. This Thomas had issue, John and Thomas; John made a feoffment, and sold Gisors hall and other his lands in London, about the year 1386; Thomas deceased 1395. Henry Vennar; Bartholomew de la Vauch; Thomas Cornwalles, one of the sheriffs 1384; John Cornwalles, esquire, 1436; John Mustrell, vintner, 1424; William Hodson; William Castleton; John Gray; Robert Dalusse, barber, in the reign of Edward IV., with this epitaph:

"As flowers in the field thus passeth life,
Naked, then clothed, feeble in the end,
It sheweth by Robert Dalusse, and Alison his wife,
Christ them save from the power of the fiend."

Sir Raph Austrie, fishmonger, new roofed this church with timber, covered it with lead, and beautifully glazed it: he deceased 1494, and was there buried with his two wives; Raph Austrie, his son, gentleman; William Austrie, and other of that name; Bartrand, wife to Grimond Descure, esquire, a Gascoyne and merchant of wines, 1494; Thomas Batson; Alice Fowler, daughter and heir to John Howton, wife to John Hulton; James Bartlet, and Alice his wife; William Fennor; Roger Cotton; Robert Stocker; John Pemberton; Philip de Plasse; John Stapleton; John Mortimer; William Lee; William Hamstead; William Stoksbie, and Gilbert March, had chantries there.

Then is the parish church of St. James, called at Garlick hithe, or Garlick hive; for that of old time, on the bank of the river of Thames, near to this church, garlick was usually sold. This is a proper church, whereof Richard Rothing, one of the sheriffs 1326, is said to be the new builder, and lieth buried in the same: so was Walter Nele, blader, one of the sheriffs 1337; John of Oxenford, vintner, mayor 1341. I read, in the 1st of Edward III., that this John of Oxenford gave to the priory of the Holy Trinity in London two tofts of land, one mill, fifty acres of land, two acres of wood, with the appurtenances, in Kentish town, in value 20s. 3d. by year. Richard Goodcheape, John de Cressingham, and John Whitthorne, and before them, Galfrid Moncey, 1281, founded a chantry there.

Monuments remaining there: Robert Gabeter,

esquire, mayor of Newcastle-upon-Tyne 1310 ; John Gisors ; William Tiligham ; John Stanley ; Lord Strange, eldest son to the Earl of Derby, 1503 ; Nicholas Statham ; Robert de Luton, 1361 ; Richard Lions, a famous merchant of wines, and a lapidary, sometime one of the sheriffs, beheaded in Cheape by Wat Tyler and other rebels in the year 1381 ; his picture on his grave-stone, very fair and large, is with his hair rounded by his ears, and curled ; a little beard forked ; a gown, girt to him down to his feet, of branched damask, wrought with the likeness of flowers ; a large purse on his right side, hanging in a belt from his left shoulder ; a plain hood about his neck, covering his shoulders, and hanging back behind him. Sir John Wroth, fishmonger, mayor 1361, deceased 1407 ; Thomas Stonarde, of Oxfordshire ; John Bromer, fishmonger, alderman 1474 ; the Lady Stanley, mother to the Lord Strange ; the Countess of Huntington ; the Lady Harbert ; Sir George Stanley ; Gilbert Bovet, 1398 ; a Countess of Worcester, and one of her children ; William More, vintner, mayor 1395 ; William Venor, grocer, mayor 1389 ; Robert Chicheley, mayor 1421 ; James Spencer, vintner, mayor 1543 ; Richard Plat, brewer, founded a free school there 1601.

And thus an end of Vintry ward, which hath an alderman, with a deputy, common councillors nine, constables nine, scavengers four, wardmore inquest fourteen, and a beadle. It is taxed to the fifteen * at 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

CORDWAINER STREET WARD.

THE next is Cordwainer street ward, taking that name of cordwainers, or shoemakers, curriers, and workers of leather, dwelling there ; for it appeareth in the records of Henry VI., the 9th of his reign, that an order was taken then for cordwainers and curriers in Corney street and Sopars lane.

This ward beginneth in the east, on the west side of Walbrook, and turneth west through Budge row (a street so called of the Budge furre, and of skinners dwelling there), then up by St. Anthony's church through Aetheling (or Noble street), as Leland termeth it, commonly called Wathling street, to the Red Lion, a place so called of a great lion of timber placed there at a gate, entering a large court, wherein are divers fair and large shops, well furnished with broad cloths and other draperies of all sorts, to be sold : and this is the farthest west part of this ward.

On the south side of this street from Budge row lieth a lane turning down by the west gate of the Tower Royal, and to the south end of the stone wall beyond the said gate is of this ward, and is accounted a part of the Royal street : against this west gate of the Tower Royal is one other lane that runneth west to Cordwainer street, and this is called Turnebasse lane ; on the south side whereof is a piece of Wringwren lane, to the north-west corner of St. Thomas Church the Apostle. Then again, out of the high street called Wathling, is one other street, which runneth thwart the same ; and this is Cordwainer street, whereof the whole ward taketh name. This street beginneth by West

Cheape, and St. Mary Bow church is the head thereof on the west side, and it runneth down south through that part which of later time was called Hosier lane, now Bow lane, and then by the west end of Aldmary church to the new built houses, in place of Ormond house, and so to Garlick hill, or hithe, to St. James' church. The upper part of this street towards Cheape was called Hosier lane, of hosiers dwelling there in place of shoemakers ; but now those hosiers being worn out by men of other trades (as the hosiers had worn out the shoemakers), the same is called Bow lane of Bow church. On the west side of Cordwainers street is Basing lane, right over against Turnebasse lane. This Basing lane west to the back gate of the Red Lion, in Wathling street, is of this Cordwainers street ward.

Now again, on the north side of the high street in Budge row, by the east end of St. Anthony's church, have ye St. Sithes lane, so called of St. Sithes church (which standeth against the north end of that lane), and this is wholly of Cordwainers street ward : also the south side of Needlers lane, which reacheth from the north end of St. Sithes lane west to Soper's lane ; then west from St. Anthony's church is the south end of Soper's lane, which lane took that name, not of soap-making, as some have supposed, but of Alen le Soper, in the 9th of Edward II. I have not read or heard of soap-making in this city till within this fourscore years ; that John Lane, dwelling in Grasse street, set up a boiling-house for this city, of former time, was served of white soap in hard cakes (called Castell soap, and other), from beyond the seas, and of grey soap *, speckled with white, very sweet and good, from Bristow, sold here for a penny the pound, and never above a penny farthing, and black soap for a halfpenny the pound. Then in Bow lane (as they now call it) is Goose lane, by Bow church. William Essex, mercer, had tenements there in the 26th of Edward III.

Then from the south end of Bow lane, by Wathling street, till over against the Red Lion : and these be the bounds of Cordwainer street ward.

Touching monuments therein, first you have the fair parish church of St. Anthony's in Budge row, on the north side thereof. This church was lately re-edified by Thomas Knowles, grocer, mayor, and by Thomas Knowles, his son, both buried there, with epitaphs, of the father thus :

" Here lieth graven vnder this stone,
Thomas Knowles, both flesh and bone ;
Grocer and alderman, yeares fortie,
Shirifte, and twice maior truly.
And for he should not lie alone,
Here lieth with him his good wife Joan.
They were together sixtie yeare,
And nineteene children they had in feere, " &c.

Thomas Holland, mercer, was there buried 1456 ; Thomas Windent, mercer, alderman, and Katherine his wife ; Thomas Hind, mercer, 1528 ; he was a benefactor to this church, to Aldermarie church, and to Bow ; Hugh Acton, merchant-tailor, buried 1520 ; he gave thirty-six pounds to the repairing of the steeple of this church. Simon Street, gro-

* " In London at six and thirty pounds, and in the Exchequer at thirty-five pounds five shillings."—1st edition, p. 195.

* " Gray soap made in London dearer than bought from Bristol."—Stow.

cer, lieth in the church wall toward the south ; his arms be three colts, and his epitaph thus :

"Such as I am, such shall you be,
Grocer of London sometime was I,
The king's wayer more then yeares twentie,
Simon Streete called in my place,
And good fellowship faime would trace ;
Therefore in heaven, everlasting life,
Jesu send me, and Agnes my wife :
Kerlie Merlie *, my words were tho,
And *Deo gratias* I coupled thereto :
I passed to God in the yeare of grace,
A thousand foure hundred it was," &c.

William Dauntsey, mercer, one of the sheriffs, buried 1542. Henry Collet, mercer, mayor, a great benefactor to this church ; the pictures of him, his wife, ten sons, and ten daughters, remain in the glass window on the north side of the church ; but the said Henry Collet was buried at Stebunhith. Henry Halton, grocer, one of the sheriffs, deceased 1415 ; Thomas Spight, merchant-tailor, 1533 ; and Roger Martin, mercer, mayor, deceased 1573. John Grantham and Nicholas Bull had chantries there.

Next on the south side of Budge row, by the west corner thereof, and on the east side of Cordwainer street, is one other fair church called Aldemarie church, because the same was very old, and elder than any church of St. Marie in the city, till of late years the foundation of a very fair new church was laid there by Henry Keble, grocer, mayor, who deceased 1518, and was there buried in a vault by him prepared, with a fair monument raised over him on the north side the choir, now destroyed and gone : he gave by his testament one thousand pounds towards the building up of that church, and yet not permitted a resting-place for his bones there. Thomas Roman, mayor 1310, had a chantry there. Richard Chawcer †, vintner, gave to that church his tenement and tavern, with the appurtenance, in the Royal street, the corner of Kerion lane, and was there buried 1348. John Briton ; Ralph Holland, draper, one of the sheriffs, deceased 1452 ; William Taylor, grocer, mayor, deceased 1483 : he discharged that ward of fifteens to be paid by the poor. Thomas Hinde, mercer, buried in St. Anthonies, gave ten fodder of lead to the covering of the middle aisle of this Aldemarie church. Charles Blunt, Lord Mountjoy, was buried there about the year 1545 ; he made or glazed the east window, as appeareth by his arms : his epitaph, made by him in his lifetime, thus :

"Willingly have I fought, and willingly have I found
The fatal end that wrought thither as dutie bound :

* Probably a vulgar form of the "Kyrie Eleison."

† "Richard Chaucer, father to Geoffrey Chaucer, the poet, as may be supposed."—*Stow*.

Leland says that Chaucer's father was of a noble family ; Pitts, that Chaucer was the son of a knight ; Speght, who says that he was the son of a vintner, had John Stow for his authority ; but Sir Harris Nicolas, who has given great attention to the question, states "that the names of Chaucer's parents are unknown, and the conjectures that have been hazarded on the subject are too vague to justify the adoption of either of them."—*Scrope and Grosvenor Roll*, li. 404.

Discharged I am of that I ought to my country by honest wound,
My soule departed Christ hath bought, the end of man is ground."

Sir William Laxton, grocer, mayor, deceased 1556, and Thomas Lodge, grocer, mayor 1583, were buried in the vault of Henry Keble, whose bones were unkindly cast out, and his monument pulled down * ; in place whereof monuments are set up of the later buried. William Blunt, Lord Mountjoy, buried there 1594, &c.

At the upper end of Hosier lane, toward Westcheape, is the fair parish church of St. Mary Bow. This church, in the reign of William Conqueror, being the first in this city built on arches of stone, was therefore called New Marie church, of St. Marie de Arcubus †, or Le Bow, in West Cheaping ; as Stratford bridge being the first built (by Matilde the queen, wife to Henry I.) with arches of stone, was called Stratford le Bow ; which names to the said church and bridge remaineth till this day. The court of the Arches ‡ is kept in this church, and taketh name of the place, not the place of the court ; but of what antiquity or continuation that court hath there continued I cannot learn.

This church is of Cordwainer street ward, and for divers accidents happening there, hath been made more famous than any other parish church of the whole city or suburbs. First, we read, that in the year 1090, and the 3rd of William Rufus, by tempest of wind, the roof of the church of St. Marie Bow, in Cheape, was overturned, wherewith some persons were slain, and four of the rafters, of twenty-six feet in length, with such violence were pitched in the ground of the high street, that scanty four feet of them remained above ground, which were fain to be cut even with the ground, because they could not be plucked out (for the city of London was not then paved, and a marish ground).

* "Sir William Laxton, grocer, mayor, deceased 1556, was buried in the vault prepared by Henry Keble, principall founder of that church, for himself, but now his bones are unkindly cast out, his monuments pulled downe, and the bodies of the said Sir William Laxton, and of Sir Thomas Lodge, grocer, mayor, are laid in place, with monuments over them for the time, till an other give money for their place, and then away with them."—1st edition, p. 199.

† "Called de Arcubus of the stone arches or bowes on the top of the steeple or bell tower thereof, which arching was as well on the old steeple as on the new, for no other part of the church seemeth to have been arched at any time ; yet hath the said church never been knowne by any other name than St. Mary Bow, or le Bow ; neither is that church so called of the court there kept, but the said court taketh name of the place wherein it is kept, and is called the Court of Arches."—1st edition, p. 203.

‡ "The Court of Arches is a court of appeal belonging to the Archbishop of Canterbury ; whereof the Judge is called the *Dean of the Arches*, because he anciently held his court in the church of *St. Mary le Bow* (*Sancta Maria de Arcubus*), though all the principal spiritual courts are now holden at Doctors' Commons. His proper jurisdiction is only over the thirteen peculiar parishes belonging to the archbishop in London ; but the office of Dean of the Arches having been for a long time united with that of the archbishop's principal officer, he now, in right of the last-mentioned officer (as doth also the official principal of the Archbishop of York), receives and determines appeals from the sentences of all inferior ecclesiastical courts within the province."—*Blackstone's Commentaries*, book iii. cap. 5. § 1.

In the year 1196, William Fitz Osbert, a seditious tailor, took the steeple of Bow, and fortified it with munitions and victuals, but it was assailed, and William with his accomplices were taken, though not without bloodshed, for he was forced by fire and smoke to forsake the church; and then, by the judges condemned, he was by the heels drawn to the Elms in Smithfield, and there hanged with nine of his fellows; where, because his favourers came not to deliver him, he forsook Mary's son (as he termed Christ our Saviour), and called upon the devil to help and deliver him. Such was the end of this deceiver, a man of an evil life, a secret murderer, a filthy fornicator, a polluter of concubines, and (amongst other his detestable facts) a false accuser of his elder brother*, who had in his youth brought him up in learning, and done many things for his preferment.

In the year 1271, a great part of the steeple of Bow fell down, and slew many people, men and women. In the year 1284, the 13th of Edward I., Laurence Ducket, goldsmith, having grievously wounded one Ralph Crepin in Westcheape, fled into Bow church; into the which in the night time entered certain evil persons, friends unto the said Ralph, and slew the said Laurence lying in the steeple, and then hanged him up, placing him so by the window as if he had hanged himself, and so was it found by inquisition; for the which fact Laurence Ducket, being drawn by the feet, was buried in a ditch without the city; but shortly after, by relation of a boy, who lay with the said Laurence at the time of his death, and had hid him there for fear, the truth of the matter was disclosed; for the which cause, Jordan Goodcheape, Ralph Crepin, Gilbert Clarke, and Geoffrey Clarke, were attainted; a certain woman named Alice, that was chief causer of the said mischief, was burnt, and to the number of sixteen men were drawn and hanged, besides others that being richer, after long imprisonment, were hanged by the purse.

The church was interdicted, the doors and windows were stopped up with thorns, but Laurence was taken up, and honestly buried in the churchyard.

The parish church of St. Mary Bow, by mean of incroachment and building of houses, wanting room in their churchyard for burial of the dead, John Rotham, or Rodham, citizen and tailor, by his testament, dated the year 1465, gave to the parson and churchwardens a certain garden in Hosier lane to be a churchyard, which so continued near a hundred years; but now is built on, and is a private man's house. The old steeple of this church was by little and little re-edified, and new built up, at the least so much as was fallen down, many men giving sums of money to the furtherance thereof; so that at length, to wit, in the year 1469, it was ordained by a common council that the Bow bell should be nightly rung at nine of the clock. Shortly after, John Donne, mercer, by his testament, dated 1472, according to the trust of Reginald Longdon, gave to the parson and churchwardens of

St. Mary Bow two tenements, with the appurtenances, since made into one, in Hosier lane, then so called, to the maintenance of Bow bell, the same to be rung as aforesaid, and other things to be observed, as by the will appeareth.

This bell being usually rung somewhat late, as seemed to the young men 'prentices, and other in Cheape, they made and set up a rhyme against the clerk, as followeth:

"Clarke of the Bow bell with the yellow lockes,
For thy late ringing thy head shall have knocks."

Whereunto the clerk replying, wrote,

"Children of Cheape, hold you all still.
For you shall have the Bow bell rung at your will *."

Robert Harding, goldsmith, one of the sheriffs 1478, gave to the new work of that steeple forty pounds; John Haw, mercer, ten pounds; Doctor Allen, four pounds; Thomas Baldry, four pounds, and other gave other sums, so that the said work of the steeple was finished in the year 1512. The arches or bowes thereupon, with the lanthorns, five in number, to wit, one at each corner, and one on the top in the middle upon the arches, were also afterward finished of stone, brought from Caen in Normandy, delivered at the Customers key for 4s. 8d. the ton; William Copland, tailor, the king's merchant, and Andrew Fuller, mercer, being churchwardens 1515 and 1516. It is said that this Copland gave the great bell, which made the fifth in the ring, to be rung nightly at nine of the clock. This bell was first rung as a knell at the burial of the same Copland. It appeareth that the lanthorns on the top of this steeple were meant to have been glazed, and lights in them placed nightly in the winter, whereby travellers to the city might have the better sight thereof, and not to miss of their ways.

In this parish also was a grammar school, by commandment of King Henry VI., which school was of old time kept in a house for that purpose prepared in the churchyard; but that school being decayed, as others about this city, the school-house was let out for rent, in the reign of Henry VIII., for four shillings the year, a cellar for two shillings the year, and two vaults under the church for fifteen shillings both.

The monuments in this church be these; namely, of Sir John Coventrie, mercer, mayor 1425; Richard Lambert, alderman; Nicholas Alwine, mercer, mayor 1499; Robert Harding, goldsmith, one of the sheriffs 1478; John Loke, one of the sheriffs 1461; Edward Bankes, alderman, haberdasher, 1566; John Warde; William Pierson, scrivener and attorney in the Common Pleas. In a proper chapel on the south side the church standeth a tomb, elevated and arched †. Ade de Buke, hatter, glazed the chapel and most part of the church, and was there buried. All other monuments be defaced. Hawley and Southam had chantries there.

Without the north side of this church of St.

* "A false accuser of his elder brother, in the end was hanged."—*Stow*.

In his first edition, p. 203, this note is continued as follows: "God amend, or shortly send such an end to such false brethren."

* From the absence of every allusion on the part of Stow to the common definition of a cockney, "a person born within the sound of Bow bells," the saying would appear to be of somewhat more recent date.

† "Of some unknowne founder."—*1st edition*, p. 205.

Mary Bow, towards West Cheape, standeth one fair building of stone, called in record Seldam, a shed, which greatly darkeneth the said church; for by means thereof all the windows and doors on that side are stopped up. King Edward III. upon occasion, as shall be shown in the ward of Cheape *, caused this sild or shed to be made, and to be strongly built of stone, for himself, the queen, and other estates to stand in, there to behold the joustings and other shows at their pleasures. And this house for a long time after served to that use, namely, in the reign of Edward III. and Richard II.; but in the year 1410, Henry IV., in the 12th of his reign, confirmed the said shed or building to Stephen Spilman, William Marchford, and John Whateley, mercers, by the name of one New Seldam, shed, or building, with shops, cellars, and edifices whatsoever appertaining, called Crounsilde, or Tamersilde †, situate in the mercery in West Cheape, and in the parish of St. Mary de Arcubus in London, &c. Notwithstanding which grant, the kings of England, and other great estates, as well of foreign countries, repairing to this realm, as inhabitants of the same, have usually repaired to this place, therein to behold the shows of this city passing through West Cheape, namely, the great watches accustomed in the night, on the even of St. John Baptist, and St. Peter at Midsummer, the examples whereof were over long to recite, wherefore let it suffice briefly to touch one. In the year 1510, on St. John's even, at night, King Henry VIII. came to this place, then called the King's Head in Cheape, in the livery of a yeoman of the guard, with an halbert on his shoulder (and there beholding the watch) departed privily when the watch was done, and was not known to any but to whom it pleased him; but on St. Peter's night next following, he and the queen came royally riding to the said place, and there with their nobles beheld the watch of the city, and returned in the morning.

This church of St. Mary, with the said shed of stone, all the housing in or about Bow church yard, and without on that side the high street of Cheape to the Standard, be of Cordwainer street ward. These houses were of old time but sheds; for I read of no housing otherwise on that side the street, but of divers sheds from Sopar's lane to the Standard, &c. Amongst other, I read of three shops or sheds by Sopar's lane, pertaining to the priory of the Holy Trinity within Aldgate; the one was let out for twenty-eight shillings, one other for twenty shillings, and the third for twelve shillings, by the year. Moreover, that Richard Goodchepe, mercer, and Margery his wife, son to Jordaine Goodchepe, did let to John Dalinges the younger, mercer, their shed and chamber in West Cheape, in the parish of St. Mary de Arches for three shillings and fourpence by the year. Also the men of Bread street ward contended with the men of Cordwayner street ward for a seld or shed opposite to the Standard, on the south side, and it was found to be of Cordwayner street ward; W. Waldorne being

then mayor, the 1st of Henry VI. Thus much for Cordwayner street ward; which hath an alderman, his deputy, common councillors eight, constables eight, scavengers eight, wardmote inquest men fourteen, and a beadle. It standeth taxed to the fifteen in London at 52l. 16s., in the Exchequer at 52l. 6s.*

CHEAPE WARDE.

NEXT adjoining is Cheape ward, and taketh name of the market there kept, called West Cheping. This ward also beginneth in the east, on the course of Walbrooke in Buckles bury, and runneth up on both the sides to the great conduit in Cheape. Also on the south side of Buckles bury, a lane turning up by St. Sithes church, and by St. Pancrates church, through Needler's lane, on the north side thereof, and then through a piece of Sopar's lane, on both sides up to Cheape, be all of Cheape ward.

Then to begin again in the east upon the said course of Walbrooke, is St. Mildred's church in the Poultrie, on the north side, and over against the said church gate, on the south, to pass up all that high street called the Poultrie, to the great conduit in Cheape, and then Cheape itself, which beginneth by the east end of the said conduit, and stretcheth up to the north-east corner of Bow lane on the south side, and to the Standard on the north side; and thus far to the west is of Cheape ward.

On the south side of this high street is no lane turning south out of this ward, more than some portion of Sopar's lane, whereof I have before written. But on the north side of this high street is Conyhope lane, about one quarter of Old Jury lane on the west side, and on the east side almost as much, to the sign of the Angel. Then is Ironmonger's lane, all wholly on both sides, and from the north end thereof through Catton street, west to the north end of St. Lawrence lane, and some four houses west beyond the same on that side, and over against Ironmonger's lane end on the north side of Catton street up by the Guildhall and St. Lawrence church in the Jurie, is altogether of Cheape ward. Then again in Cheape, more towards the west, is of St. Lawrence lane before named, which is all wholly of this ward. And last of all is Honey lane, and up to the Standard on the north side of Cheape. And so stand the bounds of Cheape ward.

Now for antiquities there. First is Buckles bury, so called of a manor and tenements pertaining to one Buckle, who there dwelt and kept his courts. This manor is supposed to be the great stone building, yet in part remaining on the south side of the street, which of late time hath been called the Old Barge, of such a sign hanged out near the gate thereof. This manor or great house hath of long time been divided and letten out into many tenements; and it hath been a common speech, that when Walbrooke did lie open, barges were rowed out of the Thames, or towed up so far, and therefore the place hath ever since been called the Old Barge.

Also on the north side of this street, directly over against the said Buckles bury, was one ancient and

* In the first edition there is inserted an account of this building, which Stow afterwards amplified and transferred to the ward of Cheap, where the reader will now find it, at p. 101 of the present edition.

† "And in the 8th of the same Henry called Tamarsilde."—1st edition, p. 206.

* "In London at 72l. 16s., in the Exchequer at 72l."—1st edition, p. 207.

strong tower of stone, the which tower King Edward III., in the 18th of his reign, by the name of the king's house, called Cornette stoure in London, did appoint to be his Exchange of money there to be kept. In the 29th he granted it to Frydus Guynysane and Landus Bardeole, merchants of Luke, for twenty pounds the year. And in the 32d he gave the same tower to his college or free chapel of St. Stephen at Westminster, by the name of Cernet's Tower at Buckles bury in London. This tower of late years was taken down by one Buckle, a grocer, meaning in place thereof to have set up and built a goodly frame of timber; but the said Buckle greedily labouring to pull down the old tower, a part thereof fell upon him, which so sore bruised him that his life was thereby shortened, and another that married his widow set up the new prepared frame of timber, and finished the work.

This whole street called Buckles bury on both the sides throughout is possessed of grocers and apothecaries towards the west end thereof: on the south side breaketh out one other short lane, called in records Peneritch street; it reacheth but to St. Sythe's lane, and St. Sythe's church is the farthest part thereof, for by the west end of the said church beginneth Needlar's lane, which reacheth to Sopar's lane, as is aforesaid. This small parish church of St. Sith hath also an addition of Bennet shorne (or Shrog or Shorehog), for by all these names have I read it, but the most ancient is Shorne, wherefore it seemeth to take that name of one Benedict Shorne, sometime a citizen and stock-fishmonger of London, a new builder, repairer, or benefactor thereof, in the reign of Edward II., so that Shorne is but corruptly called Shrog, and more corruptly Shorehog.

There lie buried in this church, John Froysh, mercer, mayor 1394; John Rochford and Robert Rochford; John Hold, alderman; Henry Frowe-ke, mercer, mayor 1435; Edward Warrington; John Morrice; John Huntley; Richard Lincoln, fellmonger, 1546; Sir Raph Warren, mercer, mayor 1553; Sir John Lion, grocer, mayor 1554: these two last have monuments, the rest are all defaced. Edward Hall, gentleman of Greys inn, common sergeant of this city, and then undersheriff of the same; he wrote the large chronicles from Richard II. till the end of Henry VIII., and was buried in this church.

Then in Needelars lane have ye the parish church of St. Pancrate, a proper small church, but divers rich parishioners therein, and hath had of old time many liberal benefactors, but of late such as (not regarding the order taken by her majesty), the least bell in their church being broken, have rather sold the same* for half the value than put the parish to charge with new casting; late experience hath proved this to be true, besides the spoil of monuments there. In this church are buried Sir Aker; John Aker; John Barens, mercer, mayor 1370; John Beston and his wife; Robert Rayland; John Hamber; John Gage; John Rowley; John Lambe; John Hadley, grocer, mayor 1379; Richard Gardener, mercer, mayor 1478; John Stockton, mercer, mayor 1470; John Dane, mercer; John Parker; Robert Marshall,

alderman, 1439; Robert Corcheforde; Robert Hatfelde; and Robert Hatfield; Nicholas Wilfild, and Thomas his son; the monuments of all which be defaced and gone. There do remain of Robert Burley, 1360; Richard Wilson, 1525; Robert Packenton, mercer, slain with a gun shot at him in a morning*, as he was going to morrow mass from his house in Cheape to St. Thomas of Aears, in the year 1536; the murderer was never discovered, but by his own confession made when he came to the gallows at Banbury to be hanged for felony; T. Wardbury, haberdasher, 1545; James Huish, grocer, 1590; Ambrose Smith, &c. Then is a part of Soper's lane turning up to Cheape.

By the assent of Stephen Abunden, mayor, the Pepperers in Soper's lane were admitted to sell all such spices and other wares as grocers now use to sell, retaining the old name of pepperers in Soper's lane, till at length, in the reign of Henry VI., the same Soper's lane was inhabited by cordwainers and curriers, after that the pepperers or grocers had seated themselves in a more open street, to wit, in Buckles bury, where they yet remain. Thus much for the south wing of Cheape ward.

Now to begin again on the bank of the said Walbrooke, at the east end of the high street called the Poultrie, on the north side thereof, is the proper parish church of St. Mildred, which church was new built upon Walbrooke in the year 1457. John Saxton their parson gave thirty-two pounds towards the building of the new choir, which now standeth upon the course of Walbrooke. Lovell and Puery, and Richard Keston, have their arms in the east window as benefactors. The roofing of that church is garnished with the arms of Thomas Archehull, one of the churchwardens in the year 1455, who was there buried; Thomas Morsted, esquire, and chirurgion to King Henry IV., V., and VI., one of the sheriffs of London in the year 1436, gave unto this church a parcel of ground, containing in length from the course of Walbrooke toward the west forty-five feet, and in breadth from the church toward the north thirty-five feet, being within the gate called Scalding wike, in the said parish, to make a churchyard wherein to bury their dead. Richard Shore, draper, one of the sheriffs 1505, gave fifteen pounds for making a porch to this church. Salomon Lanuare had a chantry there in the 14th of Edward II. Hugh Game had one other. Buried here, as appeareth by monuments, John Hildye, poulter, 1416; John Kendall, 1468; John Garland, 1476; Robert Bois, 1485, and Simon Lee, poulterers, 1487; Thomas Lee of Essex, gentleman; William Hallingridge; Christopher Feliocke, 1494; Robert Draiton, skinner, 1484; John Christopherson, doctor of physic, 1524; William Turner, skinner, 1536; Blase White, grocer, 1558; Thomas Hobson, haberdasher, 1559; William Hobson, haberdasher, 1581; Thomas Tusser †, 1580, with this epitaph:—

"Here Thomas Tusser, clad in earth, doth lie.
That sometime made the Poyntes of Husbandrie;
By him then learne thou maist, here learne we must,
When all is done we sleepe and turne to dust,
And yet through Christ to heaven we hope to go,
Who reads his bookes shall find his faith was so."

* "Justices charged to punish such as sel bels from their churches, Elizabeth 14."—Stowe.

* "The 13th of November."—1st edition, p. 210.
† Tusser's Hundred good Pointes of Husbandrie, first

On the north side of the churchyard remain two tombs of marble, but not known of whom, or otherwise than by tradition it is said, they were of Thomas Monshampe and William, brothers, about 1547, &c.

Some four houses west from this parish church of St. Mildred is a prison house pertaining to one of the sheriffs of London, and is called the Compter in the Poultrie. This hath been there kept and continued time out of mind, for I have not read of the original thereof. West from this compter was a proper chapel, called of Corpus Christi, and St. Mary, at Conyhope lane end, in the parish of St. Mildred, founded by one named Ion. Irunnes, a citizen of London, in the reign of Edward III., in which chapel was a guild, or fraternity, that might dispend in lands better than twenty pounds by year: it was suppressed by Henry VIII., and purchased by one Thomas Hobson, haberdasher; he turned this chapel into a fair warehouse and shops towards the street, with lodgings over them.

Then is Conyhope lane, of old time so called of such a sign of three conies hanging over a poulterer's stall at the lane's end. Within this lane standeth the Grocers' hall, which company being of old time called Pepperers*, were first incorporated by the name of Grocers in the year 1345, at which time they elected for custos, or guardian, of their fraternity, Richard Oswin and Laurence Haliwell, and twenty brethren were then taken in to be of their society. In the year 1411, the custos, or guardian, and the brethren of this company, purchased of the Lord Ro. Fitzwaters one plot of ground, with the building thereupon, in the said Conyhope lane, for three hundred and twenty marks, and then laid the foundation of their new common hall.

About the year 1429, the Grocers had license to purchase five hundred marks land, since the which time, near adjoining unto the Grocers' hall, the said company had built seven proper houses for seven aged poor alms people. Thomas Knowles, grocer, mayor, gave his tenement in St. Anthone's churchyard to the Grocers, towards the relief of the poor brethren in that company. Also H. Keeble, grocer, mayor, gave to the seven alms people sixpence the piece weekly for ever; which pension is now increased by the masters, to some of them two

printed in 1557, and afterwards enlarged into *Five Hundreth Pointes of Good Husbandrie*, was a highly popular book; but if we may judge from many contemporary allusions to the author's circumstances, more profitable to his readers than himself. Thus, in a volume of epigrams, called *The More the Merrier*, 1608, by H. P., is one entitled

"Ad Tusserum.

"Tusser, they tell me, when thou wert alive,
Thou, teaching thrift, thyself couldst never thrive.
So, like the whetstone, many men are wont
To sharpen others, when themselves are blunt."

* The Grocers are first mentioned as a fraternity amongst the amerced guilds of Henry II., but probably existed long before. The *Gilda de Pipariourum* paid on this occasion sixteen marks. The books of the Grocers' company commence in the early part of the reign of Edward III., and contain the best, if not the only, account to be met with of the nature of these associations at the remote period spoken of.—See Herbert's *Twelve Livery Companies of London*, l. 297, and the privately printed volume of Mr. Heath, entitled, *Some Account of the Grocers' Company*, 8vo. 1830.

shillings the piece weekly, and to some of them less, &c. Henry Adie, grocer, 1563, gave one thousand marks to the Grocers to purchase lands. And Sir John Pechie, knight banneret, free of that company, gave them five hundred pounds to certain uses; he built alms houses at Ludingstone in Kent, and was there buried.

West from this Conyhope lane is the Old Jurie, whereof some portion is of Cheape ward, as afore is showed: at the south end of this lane is the parish church of St. Mary Colechurch, named of one Cole that built it; this church is built upon a wall above ground, so that men are forced to go to ascend up thereunto by certain steps. I find no monuments of this church, more than that Henry IV. granted license to William Marshal and others, to found a brotherhood of St. Katherine therein, because Thomas Becket, and St. Edmond, the archbishop, were baptized there. More, I read of Bordhangly lane, to be in that parish. And thus much for the north side of the Poultrie. The south side of the said Poultrie, beginning on the bank of the said brook over against the parish church of St. Mildred, passing up to the great conduit, hath divers fair houses, which were sometimes inhabited by poulters, but now by grocers, haberdashers, and upholsters.

At the west end of this Poultrie, and also of Buckles bury, beginneth the large street of West Cheaping, a market place so called, which street stretcheth west till ye come to the little conduit by Paule's gate, but not all of Chepe ward. In the east part of this street standeth the great conduit of sweet water, conveyed by pipes of lead under ground from Paddington* for the service of this city, castellated with stone, and cisterned in lead, about the year 1285, and again new built and enlarged by Thomas Ilam, one of the sheriffs 1479.

About the midst of this street is the Standard in Cheape, of what antiquity the first foundation I have not read. But Henry VI. by his patent dated at Windsor the 21st of his reign, which patent was confirmed by parliament 1442, granted license to Thomas Knolles, John Chichle, and other, executors to John Wels, grocer, sometime mayor of London, with his goods to make new the highway which leadeth from the city of London towards the palace of Westminster, before and nigh the manor of Savoy, parcel of the Duchy of Lancaster, a way then very ruinous, and the pavement broken, to the hurt and mischief of the subjects, which old pavement then remaining in that way within the length of five hundred feet, and all the breadth of the same before and nigh the site of the manor aforesaid, they to break up, and with stone, gravel, and other stuff, one other good and sufficient way there to make for the commodity of the subjects.

And further, that the Standard in Cheape, where divers executions of the law before time had been performed, which Standard at the present was very ruinous with age, in which there was a conduit, should be taken down, and another competent standard of stone, together with a conduit in the same of new, strongly to be built, for the commo-

* "This conduite was the first sweete water that was conveyed by pipes of lead under ground to this place in the clitie from Paddington."—1st edition, p. 210.

dity and honour of the city, with the goods of the said testator, without interruption, &c.

Of executions at the Standard in Cheape, we read, that in the year 1293 three men had their right hands smitten off there, for rescuing of a prisoner arrested by an officer of the city. In the year 1326, the burgesses of London caused Walter Stapleton, Bishop of Excester, treasurer to Edward II., and other, to be beheaded at the standard in Cheape (but this was by Paul's gate); in the year 1351, the 26th of Edward III., two fishmongers were beheaded at the standard in Cheape, but I read not of their offence; 1381, Wat Tyler beheaded Richard Lions and other there. In the year 1399, Henry IV. caused the blanch charters made by Richard II. to be burnt there. In the year 1450, Jack Cade, captain of the Kentish rebels, beheaded the Lord Say there. In the year 1461, John Davy had his hand stricken off there, because he had stricken a man before the judges at Westminster, &c.

Then next is a great cross in West Cheape, which cross was there erected in the year 1290 by Edward I. upon occasion thus:—Queen Elianor his wife died at Hardeby (a town near unto the city of Lincoln), her body was brought from thence to Westminster; and the king, in memory of her, caused in every place where her body rested in the way, a stately cross of stone to be erected, with the queen's image and arms upon it, as at Grantham, Woborne, Northampton, Stony Stratford, Dunstable, St. Albones, Waltham, West Cheape*, and at Charing, from whence she was conveyed to Westminster, and there buried.

This cross in West Cheape being like to those other which remain to this day, and being by length of time decayed, John Hatherly, mayor of London, procured, in the year 1441, license of King Henry VI. to re-edify the same in more beautiful manner for the honour of the city, and had license also to take up two hundred fodder of lead for the building thereof of certain conduits, and a common garnery. This cross was then curiously wrought at the charges of divers citizens: John Fisher, mercer, gave six hundred marks toward it; the same was begun to be set up 1484, and finished 1486, the 2d of Henry VII. It was new gilt over in the year 1522, against the coming of Charles V., emperor; in the year 1553, against the coronation of Queen Anne†; new burnished against the coro-

* The most satisfactory account of these monumental crosses will be found in a paper by the Rev. Joseph Hunter, *On the Death of Eleanor of Castile, and the Honours paid to her Memory*, printed in the *Archæologia*, xxix. p. 167 et seq. From which it appears that these crosses were twelve in number; were erected at Lincoln, Grantham, Stamford, Geddington, Northampton, Stony Stratford, Woburn, Dunstable, St. Alban's, Waltham, West Cheap, and Charing; and produced by the hands of native artists.

The cross at West Cheap would appear to have been a work of more magnificence than any of the others, with the exception of that erected at Charing, and the contract for building it amounted to 300l. *Magister Michael de Cantuariâ cementarius* (Michael of Canterbury, mason,) was the contractor, and he received in several sums in 1291, 1292, and 1293, 226l. 13s. 4d. No other name is mentioned in connexion with this cross.

† This is obviously an error. It occurs in the first edition, is repeated in that of 1603, and by Anthony Munday, in his edition of 1618. Styrpe (vol. I. book iii. p. 35.) endeavours to

nation of Edward VI.; and again new gilt 1554, against the coming in of King Philip; since the which time the said cross having been presented by divers juries (or inquests of wardmote) to stand in the high way to the let of carriages (as they alleged), but could not have it removed, it followed that in the year 1581, the 21st of June, in the night, the lowest images round about the said cross (being of Christ's resurrection, of the Virgin Mary, King Edward the Confessor, and such like) were broken and defaced, proclamation was made, that who so would bewray the doers, should have forty crowns, but nothing came to light; the image of the Blessed Virgin, at that time robbed of her Son, and her arms broken, by which she stayed him on her knees; her whole body also was haled with ropes, and left likely to fall, but in the year 1595 was again fastened and repaired; and in the year next following a new misshapen son, as born out of time, all naked, was laid in her arms, the other images remaining broke as afore. But on the east side of the same cross, the steps taken thence, under the image of Christ's resurrection defaced, was then set up a curiously wrought tabernacle of grey marble, and in the same an image alabaster of Diana, and water conveyed from the Thames prilling from her naked breast for a time, but now decayed.

In the year 1599, the timber of the cross at the top being rotted within the lead, the arms thereof bending, were feared to have fallen to the harming of some people, and therefore the whole body of the cross was scaffolded about, and the top thereof taken down, meaning in place thereof to have set up a piramis; but some of her majesty's honourable councillors directed their letters to Sir Nicholas Mosley, then mayor, by her highness' express commandment concerning the cross, forthwith to be repaired, and placed again as it formerly stood, &c.; notwithstanding the said cross stood headless more than a year after: whereupon the said councillors, in greater number, meaning not any longer to permit the continuance of such a contempt, wrote to William Rider, then mayor, requiring him, by virtue of her highness' said former direction and commandment, that without any further delay to accomplish the same her majesty's most princely care therein, respecting especially the antiquity and continuance of that monument, an ancient ensign of Christianity, &c. Dated the 24th of December, 1600. After this a cross of timber was framed, set up, covered with lead, and gilded, the body of the cross downward cleansed of dust, the scaffold carried thence. About twelve nights following, the image of Our Lady was again defaced, by plucking off her crown, and almost her head, taking from her her naked child, and stabbing her in the breast, &c. Thus much for the cross in West Cheape.

Then at the west end of West Chepe street, was sometime a cross of stone, called the Old Cross. Raph Higden, in his *Polycricon*, saith, that Walter Stapleton, Bishop of Excester, treasurer to

correct it, by reading "Mary," who was crowned in 1553, instead of Anne. The error, however, is in the date, which should be 1533, the year of Anne Boleyn's coronation, as we learn from the description of that ceremony given by Stow in his *Annals*, "that she went forward by the crosse which was newly gitt."

Edward II., was by the burgesses of London beheaded at this cross called the Standard, without the north door of St. Paul's church; and so is it noted in other writers that then lived. This old cross stood and remained at the east end of the parish church called St. Michael in the corner by Paule's gate, near to the north end of the old Exchange, till the year 1390, the 13th of Richard II., in place of which old cross then taken down, the said church of St. Michael was enlarged, and also a fair water conduit built about the 9th of Henry VI.

In the reign of Edward III. divers joustings were made in this street, betwixt Sopar's lane and the great cross, namely, one in the year 1331, the 21st of September, as I find noted by divers writers of that time. In the middle of the city of London (say they), in a street called Cheape, the stone pavement being covered with sand, that the horses might not slide when they strongly set their feet to the ground, the king held a tournament three days together, with the nobility, valiant men of the realm, and other some strange knights. And to the end the beholders might with the better ease see the same, there was a wooden scaffold erected across the street, like unto a tower, wherein Queen Philippa, and many other ladies, richly attired, and assembled from all parts of the realm, did stand to behold the jousts; but the higher frame, in which the ladies were placed, brake in sunder, whereby they were with some shame forced to fall down, by reason whereof the knights, and such as were underneath, were grievously hurt; wherefore the queen took great care to save the carpenters from punishment, and through her prayers (which she made upon her knees) pacified the king and council, and thereby purchased great love of the people. After which time the king caused a shed to be strongly made of stone, for himself, the queen, and other estates to stand on, and there to behold the joustings, and other shows, at their pleasure, by the church of St. Mary Bow, as is showed in Cordwainer street ward. Thus much for the high street of Cheape.

Now let us return to the south side of Cheape ward. From the great conduit west be many fair and large houses, for the most part possessed of mercers up to the corner of Cordwainer street, corruptly called Bow lane, which houses in former times were but sheds or shops, with solers* over them, as of late one of them remained at Sopar's lane end, wherein a woman sold seeds, roots, and

herbs; but those sheds or shops, by encroachments on the high street, are now largely built on both sides outward, and also upward, some three, four, or five stories high.

Now of the north side of Cheape street and ward, beginning at the great conduit, and by St. Mary Cole church, where we left. Next thereunto westward is the Mercers' chapel, sometime an hospital, intituled of St. Thomas of Acon, or Acars, for a master and brethren, "*Militia hospitalis*," &c. saith the record of Edward III., the 14th year; it was founded by Thomas Fitzthelbald de Heilt, and Agnes his wife, sister to Thomas Becket, in the reign of Henry II.; they gave to the master and brethren the lands, with the appurtenances that sometimes were Gilbert Becket's, father to the said Thomas, in the which he was born, there to make a church. There was a chancel, and a chapel over it, of St. Nicholas and St. Stephen. This hospital was valued to dispend 277*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*, surrendered the 30th of Henry VIII., the 21st of October, and was since purchased by the Mercers, by means of Sir Richard Gresham, and was again set open on the eve of St. Michael, 1541, the 33rd of Henry VIII.: it is now called the Mercers' chapel; therein is kept a free grammar school, as of old time had been accustomed, commanded by parliament*. Here be many monuments remaining, but more have been defaced:—James Butler, Earl of Ormond, and Dame Joan his countess, 1428; John Norton, esquire; Stephen Cavendish, draper, mayor 1362; Thomas Cavendish; William Cavendish; Thomas Canon, called Pike, one of the sheriffs 1410; Hungate, of Yorkshire; Ambrose Cresacre; John Chester, draper; John Trusbut, mercer, 1437; Tho. Norland, sheriff 1483; Sir Edmond Sha, goldsmith, mayor 1482; Sir Thomas Hill, mayor 1485; Thomas Ilam, sheriff 1479†; Lancelot Laken, esquire; Raph Tilney, sheriff 1488; Garth, esquire; John Rich; Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormond, 1515; Sir W. Butler, grocer, mayor 1515; W. Browne, mercer, mayor 1513; John Loke, 1519‡; Sir T. Baldry, mercer, mayor 1523; Sir W. Locke, mercer, sheriff 1548; Sir John Allen, mercer, mayor 1525, deceased 1544; Sir Thomas Leigh, mercer, mayor 1558; Sir Richard Malory, mercer, mayor 1564; Humf. Baskerville, mercer, sheriff 1561; Sir G. Bond, mayor 1587; &c.

Before this hospital, towards the street, was built a fair and beautiful chapel, arched over with stone, and thereupon the Mercers' hall, a most curious piece of work; Sir John Allen, mercer, being founder of that chapel, was there buried; but since his tomb is removed thence into the body of the hospital church, and his chapel, divided into shops, is letten out for rent.

These Mercers were enabled to be a company, and to purchase lands to the value of twenty pounds the year, the 17th of Richard II. §; they had three messuages and shops in the parish of St. Martin Oteswitch, in the ward of Bishopsgate, for the sus-

* *Soler* is described by Tyrwhitt, in his edition of *Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, as originally signifying an open gallery or balcony at the top of the house, though latterly used for any upper room, loft, or garret. Tyrwhitt refers in his Glossary, to the *Cook's Tale of Gamelyn*, for an authority for the use of the word in the latter sense—

"He fleigh up until alofte,
And shet the dose fast.

And saugh where he looked out
At a solere window."

The German *Söller* is used by Luther in his magnificent Translation of the Bible in both senses:—"Peter went up upon the house-top to pray"—"*Slieg Petrus hinauf auf den SÖLLER zu beten.*" Acts x. 9. "And when they were come in, they went up into an upper room"—"*Und als sie hinein kamen, stiegen sie auf den SÖLLER.*" Acts i. 13.

• "There is also a preaching in the Italian tongue to the Italians and others on the Sondaies."—1st edition, p. 214.

† "Henry Frowicke."—*Ibid.*

‡ "Locke his armes in the windowes."—*Stow.*

§ Full particulars of the origin, history, constitution, and government of the Mercers' company will be found in Herbert's *Twelve Livery Companies of London*, i. 225—296.

tentation of the poor, and a chantry of the 22d of Richard II. Henry IV., in the 12th of his reign, confirmed to Stephen Spilman, W. Marchford, and John Whatile, mercers, by the name of one new seldam, shed, or building, with shops, cellars, and edifices whatsoever appertaining called Crownstild, situate in the Mercery in West Cheape, in the parish of St. Mary de Arcubus in London, &c. to be holden in burgage, as all the city of London is, and which were worth by year in all issues, according to the true value of them, 7*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, as found by inquisition before T. Knolles, mayor, and escheator in the said city. Henry VI., in the 3rd of his reign, at the request of John Coventrie, John Carpenter, and William Grove, granted to the Mercers to have a chaplain and a brotherhood, for relief of such of their company as came to decay by misfortune on the sea. In the year 1536, on St. Peter's night, King Henry VIII. and Queen Jane his wife, stood in this Mercers' hall, then new built, and beheld the marching watch of this city most bravely set out, Sir John Allen, mercer, one of the king's council, being mayor.

Next beyond the Mercers' chapel, and their hall, is Ironmonger lane, so called of ironmongers dwelling there, whereof I read, in the reign of Edward I. &c. In this lane is the small parish church of St. Martin called Pomary, upon what occasion I certainly know not. It is supposed to be of apples growing where houses are now lately built; for myself have seen large void places there. Monuments in that church none to be accounted of.

Farther west is St. Laurence lane, so called of St. Laurence church, which standeth directly over against the north end thereof. Antiquities in this lane I find none other, than that among many fair houses, there is one large inn for receipt of travellers called Blossoms inn, but corruptly Bosoms inn, and hath to sign St. Laurence the Deacon, in a border of blossoms or flowers.

Then near to the Standard in Cheape is Honey lane, so called, not of sweetness thereof, being very narrow, and somewhat dark, but rather of often washing and sweeping, to keep it clean. In this lane is the small parish church called Alhallows in Honey lane; there be no monuments in this church worth the noting. I find that John Norman, draper, mayor 1453, was buried there; he gave to the Drapers his tenements on the north side the said church, they to allow for the beam light and lamp, 13*s.* 4*d.* yearly from this lane to the Standard. And thus much for Cheape ward in the high street of Cheape, for it stretcheth no farther.

Now for the north wing of Cheape ward have ye Catte street, corruptly called Catteten street, which beginneth at the north end of Ironmonger lane, and runneth to the west end of St. Laurence church, as is afore showed.

On the north side of the street is the Guildhall, wherein the courts for the city be kept, namely, 1. The court of common council; 2. The court of the lord mayor and his brethren the aldermen; 3. The court of hustings; 4. The court of orphans; 5. The court of the sheriffs; 6. The court of the wardmote; 7. The court of hallmote; 8. The court of requests, commonly called the court of conscience; 9. The chamberlain's court for apprentices, and making them free. This Guildhall, saith Robert Fabian, was begun to be built new in the

year 1411, the 12th of Henry IV., by Thomas Knoles, then mayor, and his brethren the aldermen: the same was made, of a little cottage, a large and great house, as now it standeth; towards the charges whereof the companies gave large benevolences; also offences of men were pardoned for sums of money towards this work, extraordinary fees were raised, fines, amercements, and other things employed during seven years, with a continuation thereof three years more, all to be employed to this building.

The 1st year of Henry VI., John Coventrie and John Carpenter, executors to Richard Whittington, gave towards the paving of this great hall twenty pounds, and the next year fifteen pounds more, to the said pavement, with hard stone of Purbeck; they also glazed some windows thereof, and of the mayor's court; on every which windows the arms of Richard Whittington are placed. The foundation of the mayor's court was laid in the 3d year of the reign of Henry VI., and of the porch on the south side of the mayor's court, in the 4th of the said king. Then was built the mayor's chamber, and the council chamber, with other rooms above the stairs; last of all a stately porch entering the great hall was erected, the front thereof towards the south being beautified with images of stone, such as is showed by these verses following, made about some thirty years since by William Elderton, at that time an attorney in the sheriffs' courts* there:—

" Though most of the images be pulled down,
And none be thought remaine in towne,
I am sure there be in London yet,
Seven Images in such and in such a place;
And few or none I think will hit,
Yet every day they show their face,
And thousands see them every year,
But few I thinke can tell me where,
Where Jesu Christ aloft doth stand:
Law and Learning on eyther hand,
Discipline in the Devil's necke,
And hard by her are three direct,
There Justice, Fortitude, and Temperance stand,
Where find ye the like in all this land?"

Divers aldermen glazed the great hall and other courts, as appeareth by their arms in each window. William Hariot, draper, mayor 1481, gave forty pounds to the making of two loovers in the said Guildhall, and towards the glazing thereof. The kitchens and other houses of office adjoining to this Guildhall, were built of later time, to wit, about the year 1501, by procurement of Sir John Sha, goldsmith, mayor (who was the first that kept his feast there); towards the charges of which work the mayor had of the fellowships of the city, by their own agreement, certain sums of money, as of the Mercers forty pounds, the Grocers twenty pounds,

* Stow's expression, "at that time an attorney in the sheriffs' courts," serves to confirm the received accounts of this teeming ballad-monger, who is said in his time to have played many parts, and to have been, in addition to an attorney, an actor, and a manager of a company of players. He obtained great notoriety by his ballads; one of which,

" The God of Love,
That sits above,"

is quoted by Benedict, in *Much Ado about Nothing*. See also the note in p. 33, of the reprint of Kemp's *Nine Daies Wonder*, edited by the Rev. A. Dyce, for the Camden Society.

the Drapers thirty pounds, and so of the other fellowships through the city, as they were of power. Also widows and other well-disposed persons gave certain sums of money, as the Lady Hill ten pounds, the Lady Austrie ten pounds, and so of many other, till the work was finished, since the which time the mayor's feasts have been yearly kept there, which before time had been kept in the Tailors' hall, and in the Grocers' hall. Nicholas Alwyn, grocer, mayor 1499, deceased 1505, gave by his testament for a hanging of tapestry, to serve for principal days in the Guildhall, 73*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* How this gift was performed I have not heard, for executors of our time having no conscience, (I speak of my own knowledge) prove more testaments than they perform.

Now for the chapel or college of our Lady Mary Magdalen, and of All Saints, by the Guildhall, called London college, I read that the same was built about the year 1299, and that Peter Fanefore, Adam Frauncis, and Henry Frowike, citizens, gave one messuage, with the appurtenances, in the parish of St. Fawstar, to William Brampton, custos of the chantry, by them founded in the said chapel with four chaplains, and one other house in the parish of St. Giles without Cripplegate, in the 27th of Edward III., was given to them. Moreover, I find that Richard II., in the 20th of his reign, granted to Stephen Spilman, mercer, license to give one messuage, three shops, and one garden, with the appurtenances, being in the parish of St. Andrew Hubbard, to the custos and chaplains of the said chapel, and to their successors, for their better relief and maintenance for ever.

King Henry VI., in the 8th of his reign, gave license to John Barnard, custos, and the chaplains, to build of new the said chapel or college of Guildhall; and the same Henry VI., in the 27th of his reign, granted to the parish clerks in London a guild of St. Nicholas, for two chaplains by them to be kept in the said chapel of St. Mary Magdalen, near unto the Guildhall, and to keep seven alms people. Henry Barton, skinner, mayor, founded a chaplaincy there; Roger Depham, mercer, and Sir William Langford, knight, had also chaplaincies there. This chapel or college had a custos, seven chaplains, three clerks, and four choristers.

Monuments there have been sundry, as appeareth by the tombs of marble yet remaining, seven in number, but all defaced. The uppermost in the choir, on the south side thereof, above the revestry door, was the tomb of John Wells, grocer, mayor 1451. The likeness of wells are graven on the tomb on the revestry door, and other places on that side the choir. Also in the glass window over this tomb, and in the east window, is the likeness of wells, with hands elevated out of the same wells, holding scrolls, wherein is written "Mercy!"—the writing in the east window being broken, yet remaineth wells. I found his arms also in the south glass window; all which do show that the east end and south side the choir of this chapel, and the revestry, were by him both built and glazed. On the north side the choir the tomb of Thomas Knesworth, fishmonger, mayor 1503, who deceased 1515, was defaced, and within these forty-four years again renewed by the Fishmongers. Two other tombs lower there are; the one of a draper, the other of a haberdasher, their names not known. Richard

Stomine is written in the window by the haberdasher. Under flat stones do lie divers custos of the chapel, chaplains and officers to the chamber. Amongst others, John Clipstone, priest, sometime custos of the library of the Guildhall, 1457; another of Edmond Alison, priest, one of the custos of the library, 1510, &c. Sir John Langley, goldsmith, mayor 1576, lieth buried in the vault, under the tomb of John Wells before-named. This chapel, or college, valued to dispend 15*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.* by the year, was surrendered amongst other: the chapel remaineth to the mayor and commonalty, wherein they have service weekly, as also at the election of the mayor, and at the mayor's feast, &c.

Adjoining to this chapel, on the south side, was sometime a fair and large library, furnished with books, pertaining to the Guildhall and college. These books, as it is said, were in the reign of Edward VI. sent for by Edward, Duke of Somerset, lord protector, with promise to be restored: men laded from thence three carries with them, but they were never returned. This library was built by the executors of Richard Whittington, and by William Burie: the arms of Whittington are placed on the one side in the stone work, and two letters, to wit, W. and B., for William Bury, on the other side: it is now lofted through, and made a storehouse for clothes.

South-west from this Guildhall is the fair parish church of St. Laurence, called in the Jury, because of old time * many Jews inhabited there about. This church is fair and large, and hath some monuments, as shall be shown. I myself, more than seventy years since †, have seen in this church the shank-bone of a man (as it is taken), and also a tooth ‡, of a very great bigness, hanged up for show in chains of iron, upon a pillar of stone; the tooth (being about the bigness of a man's fist) is long since conveyed from thence: the thigh, or shank-bone, of twenty-five inches in length by the rule, remaineth yet fastened to a post of timber, and is not so much to be noted for the length as for the thickness, hardness, and strength thereof; for when it was hanged on the stone pillar it fretted with moving the said pillar, and was not itself fretted, nor, as seemeth, is not yet lightened by remaining dry; but where or when this bone was first found or discovered I have not heard, and therefore, rejecting the fables of some late writers, I overpass them. Walter Blundell had a chantry there, the 14th of Edward II. There lie buried in this church—Elizabeth, wife to John Fortescue; Katherine Stoketon; John Stratton; Philip Albert; John Fleming; Philip Agmondesham; William Skywith; John Norlog; John Baker; Thomas Alleyne; William Barton, mercer, 1410;

* Because "of old time, since the raigne of William the Conqueror (that first brought Jewes from Roan into this realme), ma^y Jewes inhabited thereabouts, until that in the year 1290, the 18th of Edw. I., they were wholly and for ever by the said king banished this realme, having of their owne goodes to beare their charges, till they were out of dominions. The number of the Jewes at that time banished were 15060 persons, whose houses being sold, the king made of them a mightie masse of money."—1st edition, p. 219.

† "Sixty years since."—1st edition, p. 219.

‡ "The tooth of some monstrous fish, as I take it. A shank-bone, of twenty-five inches long, of a man, as is said, but might be of an oliphant."—Stow.

William Melrith, mercer, one of the sheriffs, 1425 ; Simon Bartlet, mercer, 1428 ; Walter Chartsey, draper, one of the sheriffs 1430 ; Richard Rich, esquire, of London, the father, and Richard Rich, his son, mercer, one of the sheriffs 1442, deceased 1469, with this epitaph :

" Respiece quod opus est præsentis temporis ævum,
Omne quod est, nihil est præter amare Deum."

This Richard was father to John, buried in St. Thomas Acars, which John was father to Thomas, father to Richard Lord Ritch, &c. ; John Pickering, honourable for service of his prince and for the English merchants beyond the seas, who deceased 1448 ; Godfrey Bollen, mercer, mayor 1457 ; Thomas Bollen, his son, esquire, of Norfolk, 1471 ; John Atkenson, gentleman ; Dame Mary St. Maure ; John Waltham ; Roger Bonifant ; John Chayhee ; John Abbot ; Geoffrey Filding, mayor 1452, and Angell his wife ; Simon Benington, draper, and Joan his wife ; John Marshal, mercer, mayor 1493 ; William Purchat, mayor 1498 ; Thomas Burgoyne, gentleman, mercer, 1517 ; the wife of a master of defence, servant to the Princess of Wales, Duchess of Cornwall, and Countess of Chester* ; Sir Richard Gresham, mayor 1537 : Sir Michell Dormer, mayor 1541 ; Robert Charsey, one of the sheriffs 1548 ; Sir William Row, ironmonger, mayor 1593 ; Samuel Thornhill, 1397. Thus much for Cheape ward, which hath an alderman, his deputy, common councillors eleven, constables eleven, scavengers nine, for the wardmote inquest twelve, and a beadle. It is taxed to the fifteen at 72*l.* 16*s.*, and in the Exchequer at 52*l.* 11*s.* †

COLEMAN STREET WARD.

NEXT to Chepe ward, on the north side thereof, is Coleman street ward, and beginneth also in the east, on the course of Walbrook in Lothbury, and runneth west on the south side to the end of Ironmongers' lane, and on the north side to the west corner of Bassings hall street.

On the south side of Lothbury is the street called the Old Jury ; the one half, and better on both sides, towards Cheape, is of this ward. On the north side lieth Coleman street, whereof the ward taketh name, wholly on both sides north to London wall, and from that north end along by the wall, and Moregate east, to the course of Walbrook ; and again from Coleman street west to the iron grates : and these be the bounds of this ward.

Antiquities to be noted therein are these : First, the street of Lothberie, Lathberie, or Loadberie (for by all these names have I read it), took the name (as it seemeth) of berie, or court of old time there kept, but by whom is grown out of memory. This street is possessed for the most part by founders, that cast candlesticks, chafing-dishes, spice mortars, and such like copper or laton works, and do afterward turn them with the foot, and not with the wheel, to make them smooth and bright with turning and serating (as some do term it), making a loathsome noise to the by-passers that have not

been used to the like, and therefore by them disdainfully called Lothberie.

On the south side of this street, amongst the founders, be some fair houses and large for merchants, namely, one that of old time was the Jews' synagogue, which was defaced by the citizens of London, after that they had slain seven hundred Jews, and spoiled the residue of their goods, in the year 1262, the 47th of Henry III. And not long after, in the year 1291, King Edward I. banished the remnant of the Jews out of England, as is afore showed. The said synagogue being so suppressed, certain friars got possession thereof ; "for in the year 1257," saith Mathew Paris, "there were seen in London a new order of friars, called *De Penitentia Jesu*, or *Frates de Sacca*, because they were apparelled in sackcloth, who had their house in London, near unto Aldersgate without the gate, and had license of Henry III., in the 54th of his reign, to remove from thence to any other place ; and in the 56th he gave unto them this Jews' synagogue ; after which time, Elianor the queen, wife to Edward I., took into her protection, and warranted unto the prior and brethren *De Penitentia Jesu Christi* of London, the said land and building in Colechurch street, in the parish of St. Olave in the Jury, and St. Margaret in Lothberie, by her granted, with consent of Stephen de Fulbourne, under-warden of the Bridge-house, and other brethren of that house, for sixty marks of silver, which they had received of the said prior and brethren of repentance, to the building of the said bridge." This order of friars gathered many good scholars, and multiplied in number exceedingly, until the council at Lyons, by the which it was decreed, that from that time forth there should be no more orders of begging friars* permitted, but only the four orders ; to wit, the Dominicke, or preachers, the Minorites, or grey friars, the Carmelites, or white friars, and the Augustines : and so from that time the begging friars deceased, and fell to nothing.

Now it followed, that in the year 1305, Robert Fitzwalter requested and obtained of the said King Edward I., that the same friars of the Sacke might assign to the said Robert their chapel or church, of old time called the Synagogue of the Jews, near adjoining to the then mansion place of the same Robert, which was in place where now standeth the Grocers' hall ; and the said Synagogue was at the north corner of the Old Jury. Robert Large, mercer, mayor in the year 1439, kept his mayoralty in this house, and dwelt there until his dying day. This house standeth, and is of two parishes, as opening into Lothberie, of St. Margaret's parish, and opening into the Old Jury of St. Olave's parish. The said Robert Large gave liberally to both these parishes, but was buried at St. Olave's. Hugh

* Chaucer, who tells us that among the pilgrims to Canterbury,

" A frere there was, a wanton and a merry,
A Linitour, a full solemne man ;
In all the orders four is none that can
So moche of daliance and fayre langage,"

presents us with a characteristic picture of these mendicant friars ; but the reader, who would have a full view of the baneful influence they must have exercised over the morals of the people, is referred to Fosbrooke's *British Monachism*, p. 232 *et seq.*—of which work a new edition is on the eve of publication.

* "A Countess of Cornwall and Chester, but her name and time is not apparent."—1st edition, p. 220.

† "In the Exchequer at seventy-two pound."—1st edition, p. 220.

Clopton, mercer, mayor 1492, dwelt in this house, and kept his mayoralty there: it is now a tavern, and hath to sign a windmill. And thus much for this house, sometime the Jews' synagogue, since a house of friars, then a nobleman's house, after that a merchant's house, wherein mayoralties have been kept, and now a wine tavern.

Then is the Old Jurie, a street so called of Jews sometime dwelling there, and near adjoining, in the parishes of St. Olave, St. Michael Basings hall, St. Martin Ironmonger lane, St. Lawrence, called the Jury, and so west to Wood street. William, Duke of Normandy, first brought them from Rouen to inhabit here.

William Rufus favoured them so far, that he swore by Luke's face, his common oath, if they could overcome the Christians, he would be one of their sect.

Henry II. grievously punished them for corrupting his coin.

Richard I. forbad Jews and women to be present at his coronation, for fear of enchantments; for breaking of which commandment many Jews were slain, who being assembled to present the king with some gift, one of them was stricken by a Christian, which some unruly people perceiving, fell upon them, beat them to their houses, and burnt them therein, or slew them at their coming out. Also the Jews at Norwich, St. Edmundsbury, Lincoln, Stamford, and Lynne, were robbed and spoiled; and at York, to the number of five hundred, besides women and children, entered a tower of the castle, proffered money to be in surety of their lives, but the Christians would not take it, whereupon they cut the throats of their wives and children, and cast them over the walls on the Christian's heads, and then entering the king's lodging, they burnt both the house and themselves.

King John, in the 11th of his reign, commanded all the Jews, both men and women, to be imprisoned and grievously punished, because he would have all their money: some of them gave all they had, and promised more, to escape so many kinds of torments, for every one of them had one of their eyes at the least plucked out; amongst whom there was one, which being tormented many ways, would not ransom himself, till the king had caused every day one of his great teeth to be plucked out by the space of seven days, and then gave the king ten thousand marks of silver, to the end they should pull out no more: the said king at that time spoiled the Jews of sixty-six thousand marks.*

The 17th of this king, the barons brake into the Jews' houses, rifled their coffers, and with the stone of their houses repaired the gates and walls of London.

King Henry III., in the 11th of his reign, granted to Semayne, or Balaster, the house of Benomye Mittun the Jew, in the parish of St. Michael Basinghaughe, in which the said Benomye dwelt, with the fourth part of all his land, in that parish which William Elie held of the fee of Hugh Nevell, and all the land in Coleman street belonging to the said Benomye, and the fourth part of the land in the parish of St. Lawrence, which was the fee of T. Buckerell, and were escheated to the king for the murder which the said Benomye committed in the city of London, to hold to the said Semaine, and his heirs, of the king, paying at Easter a pair of

gilt spurs*, and to do the service thereof due unto the lord's court. In like manner, and for like services, the king granted to Guso for his homage the other part of the lands of the said Bononye in St. Michael's parish, which lands that Paynter held, and was the king's escheat, and the lands of the said Bononye in the said parish, which Walter Turnar held, and fifteen feet of land, which Hugh Harman held, with fifteen iron ells of land, and half in the front of Ironmonger lane, in the parish of St. Martin, which were the said Bononies of the fee of the hospital of St. Giles, and which Adam the smith held, with two stone-houses, which were Moses', the Jew of Canterbury, in the parish of St. Olave, and which are of the fee of Arnold le Reus, and are the king's escheats as before said.

The 16th of the said Henry, the Jews in London built a synagogue, but the king commanded it should be dedicated to our Blessed Lady, and after gave it to the brethren of St. Antonie of Vienna, and so was it called St. Antonie's hospital: this Henry founded a church and house for converted Jews in New street, by the Temple, whereby it came to pass that in short time there was gathered a great number of converts. The 20th of this Henry, seven Jews were brought from Norwich, which had stolen a christened child, had circumcised, and minded to have crucified him at Easter, wherefore their bodies and goods were at the king's pleasure: the 26th, the Jews were constrained to pay to the king twenty thousand marks, at two terms in the year, or else to be kept in perpetual prison: the 35th, he taketh inestimable sums of money of all rich men, namely, of Aaron, a Jew, born at York, fourteen thousand marks for himself and ten thousand marks for the queen; and before he had taken of the same Jew as much as in all amounted to thirty thousand marks of silver, and two hundred marks of gold to the queen: in the 40th, were brought up to Westminster two hundred and two Jews from Lincoln, for crucifying of a child named Hugh†; eighteen of them were hanged: the 43rd, a Jew at Tewkesbery fell into a privy on the Saturday, and would not that day be taken out for reverence of his Sabbath‡; wherefore

* In Blount's *Ancient Tenures* (p. 54, ed. Beckwith), we find an instance of a somewhat similar tenure. King John having granted, in the 15th of his reign, to William de Ferrars, Earl of Derby, a house in London, in the parish of St. Margaret's, which was Isaac's, the Jew of Norwich, to be held of the king and his heirs by this service; to wit, That he and his heirs should serve before the king and his heirs at dinners, on all annual feasts, when they celebrated a feast, with his head uncovered, without a cap, with a garland of the breadth of the little finger of him or his heirs, for all service.

† The story of Hugh of Lincoln was worked up into a ballad, which was exceedingly popular. In Ferdinand Wolf's admirable work upon the Lays of the Middle Ages, *Ueber die Lais, Sequenzen, und Leiche*, 8vo, Heidelberg, 1841, will be found an Anglo-Norman ballad on the subject, taken from a volume published at Paris in 1834, entitled *Hugues de Lincoln. Recueil de Ballades Anglo-Normandes et Ecoisaises, relative au Meurtre de cet Enfant commis par les Juifs, en MCCLV*. The reader who would sup full of horrors may peruse a list of similar enormities, alleged to have been committed by this oft-times unjustly persecuted race, in Eisenmenger's *Entdecktes Judenthum*, ii. Theil. s. 217 et seq.

‡ In Camden's *Remains* (p. 304, ed. 1629), it is said, "this

Richard Clare, Earl of Gloucester, kept him there till Monday, that he was dead: the 47th, the barons slew the Jews at London seven hundred; the rest were spoiled, and their synagogue defaced, because one Jew would have forced a Christian to have paid more than two-pence for the loan of twenty shillings a week.

The 3rd of Edward I., in a parliament at London, usury was forbidden to the Jews; and that all usurers might be known, the king commanded that every usurer should wear a table on his breast, the breadth of a paveline, or else to avoid the realm. The 6th of the said King Edward a reformation was made for clipping of the king's coin, for which offence two hundred and sixty-seven Jews were drawn and hanged; three were English Christians, and other were English Jews: the same year the Jews crucified a child at Northampton, for the which fact many Jews at London were drawn at horse-tails and hanged. The 11th of Edward I., John Perkharn, Archbishop of Canterbury, commanded the Bishop of London to destroy all the Jews' synagogues in his diocese. The 16th of the said Edward, all the Jews in England were in one day apprehended by precept from the king, but they redeemed themselves for twelve thousand pounds of silver; notwithstanding, in the 19th of his reign, he banished them all out of England, giving them only to bear their charge, till they were out of his realm: the number of Jews then expelled were fifteen thousand and sixty persons. The king made a mighty mass of money of their houses, which he sold, and yet the commons of England had granted and gave him a fifteenth of all their goods to banish them: and thus much for the Jews.

In this said street, called the Old Jury, is a proper parish church of St. Olave Upwell, so called in record, 1320. John Brian, parson of St. Olave Upwell, in the Jury, founded there a chantry, and gave two messages to that parish, the 16th of Edward II., and was by the said king confirmed. In this church*, to the commendation of the parsons and parishioners, the monuments of the dead remain less defaced than in many other: first, of William Dikman, feroen or ironmonger, one of the sheriffs of London 1367; Robert Haveloke, ironmonger, 1390; John Organ, mercer, one of the sheriffs 1385; John Forest, vicar of St. Olave's, and of St. Stephen, at that time as a chapel annexed to St. Olave, 1399; H. Frioie, tailor, 1400; T. Morsted, esquire, chirurgion to Henry IV., V., and VI., one of the sheriffs, 1436: he built a fair new aisle to the enlargement of this church, on the north side thereof, wherein he lieth buried, 1450; Adam Breakspeare, chaplain, 1411; William Kerkbie, mercer, 1465; Robert Large, mercer, mayor 1440; he gave to that church two hundred pounds; John Belwine, founder, 1467; Gabriel Rave, fuller, 1511; Wentworth, esquire, 1510; Thomas Michell, ironmonger, 1527; Giles Dewes, servant to Henry VII. and to Henry VIII., clerk of their libraries,

was then expressed dialogue-wise between the Christian and him, in these rhyming verses:—

Tende manus Salomon, ego te de stercore tollam.—

Sabbata nostra colo, de stercore surgere nolo.

*Sabbata nostra quidem Salomon celebrabis ibidem.**

* "A well was under the east end of this church, late turned to a pumpe, but decayed."—*Stow.*

and schoolmaster for the French tongue to Prince Arthur and to the Lady Mary, 1535; Richard Chamberlaine, ironmonger, one of the sheriffs, 1562; Edmond Burlacy, mercer, 1583; John Brian, &c.

From this parish church of St. Olave, to the north end of the Old Jewry, and from thence west to the north end of Ironmongers' lane, and from the said corner into Ironmongers' lane, almost to the parish church of St. Martin, was of old time one large building of stone, very ancient, made in place of Jews' houses, but of what antiquity, or by whom the same was built, or for what use, I have not learnt, more than that King Henry VI., in the 16th of his reign, gave the office of being porter or keeper thereof unto John Stent for term of his life, by the name of his principal palace in the Old Jury: this was in my youth called the old Ward-robe, but of later time the outward stone wall hath been by little and little taken down, and divers fair houses built thereupon, even round about.

Now for the north side of this Lothburie, beginning again at the east end thereof, upon the water-course of Walbrooke, have ye a proper parish church called St. Margaret, which seemeth to be newly re-edified and built about the year 1440; for Robert Large gave to the choir of that church one hundred shillings and twenty pounds for ornaments; more, to the vaulting over the water-course of Walbrook by the said church, for the enlarging thereof two hundred marks.

There be monuments in this church—of Reginald Coleman, son to Robert Coleman, buried there 1483: this said Robert Coleman may be supposed the first builder or owner of Coleman street, and that St. Stephen's church, then built in Coleman street, was but a chapel belonging to the parish church of St. Olave in the Jury; for we read (as afore) that John Forest, vicar of St. Olave's, and of the chapel annexed of St. Stephen, deceased in the year 1399*. Hugh Clopton, mercer, mayor, deceased 1496; John Dimocke, Anselme Becker, John Julian, and William Ilford, chandries there; Sir Brian Tewke, knight, treasurer of the chamber to King Henry VIII., and Dame Grisilde his wife, that deceased after him, were there buried 1536; John Fetiplace, draper, esquire, 1464, and Joan his wife; Sir Hugh Witch, mercer, mayor, son to Richard Witch, entombed there 1466: he gave to his third wife three thousand pounds, and to maids' marriages five hundred marks; Sir John Leigh, 1564, with this epitaph:

"No wealth, no prayse, no bright renowne, no skill,
No force, no fame, no princes loue, no toyle,
Though forraigne land by trauell search ye will,
No faithfull seruice of the country soyle,
Can life prolong one minute of an houre,
But death at length will execute his power;
For Sir John Leigh to sundry countries knowne,
A worthy knight well of his prince esteeme,
By seeing much, to great experience growne,
Though safe on seas, though sure on land he seemde,
Yet here he lyes too soone by death opprest,
His fame yet liues, his soule in heauen doth rest."

By the west end of this parish church have ye a fair water conduit, built at the charges of the city in the year 1546. Sir Martin Bowes being mayor,

* "This may be some argument which I overpasse."—*1st edition, p. 223.*

two fifteens were levied of the citizens toward the charges thereof. This water is conveyed in great abundance from divers springs lying betwixt Hoxton and Iseldon.

Next is the Founders' hall, a proper house, and so to the south-west corner of Bassings hall street, have ye fair and large houses for merchants; namely, the corner house at the end of Bassings hall street; an old piece of work, built of stone, sometime belonging to a certain Jew named Mansere, the son of Aaron, the son of Coke the Jew, the 7th of Edward I.; since to Rahere de Sopar's lane, then to Simon Francis. Thomas Bradbery, mercer, kept his mayoralty there; deceased 1509. Part of this house hath been lately employed as a market-house for the sale of woollen bays, watomls, flannels, and such like. Alderman Bennet now possesseth it.

On this north side against the Old Jury is Coleman street, so called of Coleman, the first builder and owner thereof; as also of Colechurch, or Coleman church, against the great conduit in Cheape. This is a fair and large street, on both sides built with divers fair houses, besides alleys, with small tenements in great number. On the east side of this street, almost at the north end thereof, is the Armourers' hall, which company of armourers were made a fraternity or guild of St. George, with a chantry in the chapel of St. Thomas in Paule's church, in the 1st of Henry VI. Also on the same side is King's alley and Love lane, both containing many tenements; and on the west side, towards the south end, is the parish church of St. Stephen, wherein the monuments are defaced: notwithstanding, I find that William Crayhag founded a chantry there, in the reign of Edward II., and was buried there*: also John Essex, the 35th of Edward III.; Adam Goodman, the 37th of Edward III.; William King, draper, sometime owner of King's alley, the 18th of Richard II.; John Stoke-ling, the 10th of Henry VI.; John Arnold, leather-seller, the 17th of Henry VI.; Thomas Bradberie, mercer, mayor, the 1st of Henry VIII.; his tomb remaineth on the north side the choir; Richard Hamney, 1418; Kirmingham, 1468; Sir John Garne; Richard Colsel; Edmond Harbeke, currier; all these were benefactors, and buried there. This church was sometime a synagogue of the Jews, then a parish church, then a chapel to St. Olave's in the Jury, until the 7th of Edward IV., and was then incorporated a parish church.

By the east end of this church is placed a cock of sweet water, taken of the main pipe that goeth into Lothberie. Also in London wall, directly against the north end of Coleman street, is a conduit of water, made at the charges of Thomas Exmew, goldsmith, mayor 1517. And let here be the end of this ward, which hath an alderman, his deputy, common councillors four, constables four, scavengers four, of the wardmote inquest thirteen, and a beadle. It is taxed to the fifteen at 15*l.* 16*s.* 9*d.*†

BASSINGS HALL WARD.

The next adjoining to Coleman street, on the west

side thereof, is Bassings hall ward, a small thing, and consisteth of one street called Bassings hall street, of Bassings hall, the most principal house whereof the ward taketh name. It beginneth in the south by the late spoken market-house called the Bay hall, which is the last house of Coleman street ward. This street runneth from thence north down to London wall, and some little distance, both east and west, against the said hall; and this is the bound of Bassings hall ward.

Monuments on the east side thereof, amongst divers fair houses for merchants, have ye three halls of companies; namely, the Masons' hall for the first, but of what antiquity that company is I have not read. The next is the Weavers' hall, which company hath been of great antiquity in this city, as appeareth by a charter of Henry II., in these words, *Rex omnibus ad quos, &c.*, to be Englished thus:—"Henrie, king of England, duke of Normandie, and of Guian, Earl of Anjou, to the bishop, justices, shiriffes, barons, ministers, and all his true lieges of London, sendeth greeting: Know ye that we have granted to the weavers in London their guild, with all the freedoms and customes that they had in the time of King Henrie my grandfather, so that none but they intermit within the cite of their craft but he be of their guild, neither in Southwark, or other places pertaining to London, otherwise than it was done in the time of King Henrie my grandfather; wherefore I will and straightly commaund that over all lawfully they may treatate, and have all aforesaid, as well in peace, free, worshipfull, and wholly, as they had it, freer, better, worshipfuller, and wholier, than in the time of King Henrie my grandfather, so that they yeeld yearly to mee two markes of gold at the feast of St. Michael; and I forbid that any man to them do any unright, or disseise, upon paine of ten pound. Witnes, Thomas of Canterburie, Warwicke fili Gar, Chamberlaine at Winchester*." Also I read, that the same Henry II., in the 31st of his reign, made a confirmation to the weavers that had a guild or fraternity in London, wherein it appeareth that the said weavers made woollen cloth, and that they had the correction thereof; but amongst other articles in that patent, it was decreed, that if any man made cloth of Spanish wool, mixed with English wool, the portgrave, or principal magistrate of London, ought to burn it, &c.

Moreover, in the year 1197†, King Richard I., at the instance of Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Justicier of England, ordained that the woollen cloths in every part of this realm should be in breadth two yards within the lists, and as good in the midst as in the sides, &c. King Henry III. granted that they should not be vexed, for the burels, or cloth listed, according to the constitution made for breadth of cloth the 9th of his reign, &c. Richard II., in the 3rd of his reign, granted an order of agreement between the weavers of London, Englishmen, and aliens, or strangers born, brought in by Edward III.

Lower down is the Girdlers'‡ hall, and this is all touching the east side of this ward.

* "There is one tomb on the south side the quire, but without inscription."—1st edition, p. 225.

† "It is taxed to the fifteen in London at nineteen pound, and in the Exchequer at nineteen pound."—1st edition, p. 225.

* Patent.

† Matthew Paris.

‡ The Girdlers were incorporated by letters patent of 27th Henry VI. 6th Aug. 1449, which were confirmed by Elizabeth in 1568, when the pinners and wire-drawers were incorporated with them. Strype says they seem to have been a fra-

On the west side, almost at the south end thereof, is Bakewell hall, corruptly called Blackewall hall : concerning the original whereof I have heard divers opinions, which I overpass as fables without colour of truth ; for though the same seemed a building of great antiquity, yet in mine opinion the foundation thereof was first laid since the conquest of William, Duke of Normandie ; for the same was built upon vaults of stone, which stone was brought from Caen in Normandie, the like of that of Paule's church, built by Mauritius and his successors, bishops of London ; but that this house hath been a temple or Jewish synagogue (as some have fantasied) I allow not, seeing that it had no such form of roundness, or other likeness, neither had it the form of a church, for the assembly of Christians, which are built east and west, but contrariwise the same was built north and south, and in form of a nobleman's house ; and therefore the best opinion in my judgment is, that it was of old time belonging to the family of the Bassings, which was in this realm a name of great antiquity and renown, and that it bare also the name of that family, and was called therefore Bassings haugh, or hall ; whereunto I am the rather induced, for that the arms of that family were of old time so abundantly placed in sundry parts of that house, even in the stone-work, but more especially on the walls of the hall, which carried a continual painting of them on every side, so close together as one escutcheon could be placed by another, which I myself have often seen and noted before the old building was taken down : these arms were a gyronny of twelve points, gold and azure. Of the Bassings therefore, builders of this house and owners of the ground near adjoining, that ward taketh the name, as Coleman street ward of Coleman, and Faringden ward of William and Nicholas Faringden, men that were principal owners of those places.

And of old time the most noble persons that inhabited this city were appointed to be principal magistrates there, as was Godfrey de Magun (or Magnavile), portgrave, or sheriff, in the reign of William Conqueror, and of William Rufus ; Hugh de Buch, in the reign of Henry I. ; Auberie de Vere, Earl of Oxford ; after him, Gilbert Becket, in the reign of King Stephen ; after that, Godfrey de Magnavile, the son of William, the son of Godfrey de Magnavile, Earls of Essex, were portgraves or sheriffs of London and Middlesex. In the reign of Henry II., Peter Fitzwalter ; after him, John Fitznigel, &c. ; so likewise in the reign of King John, the 16th of his reign, a time of great troubles, in the year 1214, Salomon Bassing and Hugh Bassing, barons of this realm, as may be supposed, were sheriffs ; and the said Salomon Bassing was mayor in the year 1216, which was the 1st of Henry III. Also Adam Bassing, son to Salomon (as it seemeth), was one of the sheriffs in the year 1243, the 28th of Henry III.

Unto this Adam de Bassing King Henry III., in the 31st of his reign, gave and confirmed certain messuages in Aldermanbury, and in Milke street (places not far from Bassings hall), the advowson

ternity of St. Lawrence, because of the three gridirons their arms ; but those north country readers, who know what a *girdle iron* is, will probably agree with me in thinking the gridirons or girdle irons are borne with reference to the name of the company.

of the church at Bassings hall, with sundry liberties and privileges.

This man was afterwards mayor in the year 1251, the 36th of Henry III. ; moreover, Thomas Bassing was one of the sheriffs 1269 ; Robert Bassing, sheriff, 1279 ; and William Bassing was sheriff 1308, &c. ; for more of the Bassings in this city I need not note, only I read of this family of Bassings in Cambridgeshire *, called Bassing at the bourn, and more shortly Bassing bourn, and gave arms, as is afore showed, and was painted about this old hall. But this family is worn out, and hath left the name to the place where they dwell. Thus much for this Bassings hall.

Now how Bakewell hall took that name is another question ; for which I read that Thomas Bakewell dwelt in this house in the 36th of Edward III. ; and that in the 20th of Richard II., the said king, for the sum of fifty pounds, which the mayor and commonalty had paid into the hanaper, granted licence so much as was in him to John Frosh, William Parker, and Stephen Spilman (citizens and mercers), that they, the said messuage called Bakewell hall, and one garden, with the appurtenances, in the parish of St. Michael of Bassings haugh, and of St. Laurence in the Jurie of London, and one messuage, two shops, and one garden, in the said parish of St. Michael, which they held of the king in burghage, might give and assign to the mayor and commonalty for ever. This Bakewell hall, thus established, hath been long since employed as a weekly market-place for all sorts of woollen cloths, broad and narrow, brought from all parts of this realm, there to be sold. In the 21st of Richard II., R. Whittington, mayor, and in the 22nd, Drengh Barrington being mayor, it was decreed that no foreigner or stranger should sell any woollen cloth but in the Bakewell hall, upon pain of forfeiture thereof.

This house of late years growing ruinous, and in danger of falling, Richard May, merchant-tailor, at his decease gave towards the new building of the outward part thereof three hundred pounds, upon condition that the same should be performed within three years after his decease ; whereupon the old Bakewell hall was taken down, and in the month of February next following, the foundation of a new, strong, and beautiful storehouse being laid, the work thereof was so diligently applied, that within the space of ten months after, to the charges of two thousand five hundred pounds, the same was finished in the year 1588.

Next beyond this house be placed divers fair houses for merchants and others, till ye come to the back gate of Guildhall, which gate and part of the building within the same is of this ward. Some small distance beyond this gate the coopers have their common hall. Then is the parish church of St. Michael, called St. Michael at Bassings hall, a proper church lately re-edified or new built, whereto John Barton, mercer, and Agnes his wife, were great benefactors, as appeareth by his mark placed

* "Only I read of a branch of this family of Bassings to have spread itself into Cambridgeshire, near unto a water or bourn, and was therefore, for a difference from other of that name, called Bassing at the bourn, and more shortly Bassing borne. But this family is also worn out, and hath left the name to the place where they dwell."—1st edition, p. 228.

throughout the whole roof of the choir and middle aisle of the church : he deceased in the year 1460, and was buried in the choir, with this epitaph :

" John Barton lyeth vnder here,
Sometimes of London, citizen and mercer,
And Ienet his wife, with their progenie,
Beene turned to earth as ye may see :
Friends free what so ye bee,
Pray for vs we you pray,
As you see vs in this degree,
So shall you be another day."

Frances Cooke, John Martin, Edward Bromflit, esquire, of Warwickshire, 1460 ; Richard Barnes, Sir Roger Roe, Roger Velden, 1479 ; Sir James Yarford, mercer, mayor, deceased 1526, buried under a fair tomb with his lady in a special chapel by him built on the north side of the choir ; Sir John Gresham, mercer, mayor, deceased 1554 ; Sir John Ailife, chirurgeon, then a grocer, one of the sheriffs 1548 ; Nicholas Bakhurst, one of the sheriffs 1577 ; Wolston Dixi, skinner, mayor 1585, &c. Thus have you noted one parish church of St. Michael, Bakewell hall, a market-place for woollen cloths ; the Masons' hall, Weavers' hall, Cordellers' hall, and Coopers' hall. And thus I end this ward, which hath an alderman, his deputy, for common council four, constables two, scavengers two, for the ward-mote inquest seventeen, and a beadle. It is taxed to the fifteen in London at seven pounds, and likewise in the Exchequer at seven pounds.

CRIPPLESGATE WARD.

THE next ward is called of Cripplesgate, and consisteth of diuers streets and lanes, lying as well without the gate and wall of the city as within : first within the wall, on the east part thereof, towards the north, it runneth to the west side of Bassings hall ward, and towards the south it joineth to the ward of Cheape. It beginneth at the west end of St. Laurence church in the Jurie, on the north side, and runneth west to a pump, where sometime was a well with two buckets, at the south corner of Aldermanburie street ; which street runneth down north to Gayspurre lane, and so to London wall, which street and lane are wholly on both sides of this ward, and so be some few houses on both the sides from Gayspurre lane, by and against the wall of the city, east to the grates made for the water-course of the channels, and west to Cripplesgate. Now on the south side, from over against the west end of St. Laurence church to the pump, and then by Milke street south unto Cheape, which Milke street is wholly on both the sides of Cripplegate ward, as also without the south end of Milke street, a part of West Cheape, to wit, from the Standard to the Cross, is all of Cripplegate ward. Then down Great Wood street, which is wholly of this ward on both the sides thereof ; so is Little Wood street, which runneth down to Cripplegate.

Out of this Wood street be diuers lanes ; namely, on the east side is Lad lane, which runneth east to Milke street corner ; down lower in Wood street is Love lane, which lieth by the south side of St. Alban's church in Wood street, and runneth down to the Conduit in Aldermanburie street. Lower down in Wood street is Addle street, out of the which runneth Phillip lane down to London wall. These be the lanes on the east side.

On the west side of Wood street is Huggen lane, by the south side of St. Michael's church, and goeth through to Guthuruns lane. Then lower is Maiden lane, which runneth west to the north end of Gutherons lane, and up the said lane on the east side thereof, till against Kery lane, and back again : then the said Maiden lane, on the north side, goeth up to Staining lane, and up a part thereof, on the east side, to the farthest north part of Haberdashers' hall, and back again to Wood street ; and there lower down is Silver street, which is of this ward, till ye come to the east end of St. Olave's church, on the south side, and to Munkes well street on the north side ; then down the said Munkes well street on the east side thereof, and so to Cripplegate, do make the bounds of this ward within the walls.

Without Cripplegate, Fore street runneth thwart before the gate, from against the north side of St. Giles church, along to More lane end, and to a Postern lane end, that runneth betwixt the town ditch on the south, and certain gardens on the north, almost to Moregate ; at the east of which lane is a pot-maker's house, which house, with all other the gardens, houses, and alleys, on that side the Morefields, till ye come to a bridge and cow-house near unto Fensburie court, is all of Cripplegate ward ; then to turn back again through the said Postern lane to More lane, which More lane, with all the alleys and buildings there, is of this ward ; after that is Grub street, more than half thereof to the straitening of the street ; next is Whitecrosse street, up to the end of Bech lane, and then Redecrosse street wholly, with a part of Golding lane, even to the posts there placed, as a bounder.

Then is Bech lane before spoken of, on the east side of the Red crosse and the Barbican street, more than half thereof toward Aldersgate street ; and so have you all the bounds of Cripplegate ward without the walls.

Now for antiquities and ornaments in this ward to be noted : I find first, at the meeting of the corners of the Old Jurie, Milke street, Lad lane, and Aldermanburie, there was of old time a fair well with two buckets, of late years converted to a pump. How Aldermanbury street took that name many fables have been bruited, all which I overpass as not worthy the counting ; but to be short, I say, this street took the name of Alderman's burie (which is to say a court), there kept in their bery, or court, but now called the Guildhall ; which hall of old time stood on the east side of the same street, not far from the west end of Guildhall, now used. Touching the antiquity of this old Alderman's burie or court, I have not read other than that Richard Renery, one of the sheriffs of London in the 1st of Richard I., which was in the year of Christ 1189, gave to the church of St. Mary at Osney, by Oxford, certain ground and rents in Aldermanbery of London, as appeareth by the register of that church, as is also entered into the hoistings of the Guildhall in London. This old bery court or hall continued, and the courts of the mayor and aldermen were continually holden there, until the new bery court, or Guildhall that now is, was built and finished ; which hall was first begun to be founded in the year 1411, and was not fully finished in twenty years after. I myself have seen the ruins of the old court hall in Aldermanbery

street, which of late hath been employed as a carpenter's yard, &c.

In this Aldermanbury street be divers fair houses on both the sides, meet for merchants or men of worship, and in the midst thereof is a fair conduit, made at the charges of William Eastfield, sometime mayor, who took order as well for water to be conveyed from Teyborne, and for the building of this Conduit, not far distant from his dwelling-house, as also for a Standard of sweet water, to be erected in Fleet street, all which was done by his executors, as in another place I have showed.

Then is the parish church of St. Mary Aldermanbury, a fair church, with a churchyard, and cloister adjoining; in the which cloister is hanged and fastened a shank-bone of a man (as is said), very great, and larger by three inches and a half than that which hangeth in St. Lawrence church in the Jury, for it is in length twenty-eight inches and a half of assise, but not so hard and steele-like as the other, for the same is light, and somewhat pory and spongy. This bone is said to be found amongst the bones of men removed from the charnel-house of Powles, or rather from the cloister of Powles church; of both which reports I doubt, for that the late Reyne Wolfe, stationer (who paid for the carriage of those bones from the charnel to the Morefields), told me of some thousands of carrie loads and more to be conveyed, whereof he wondered, but never told me of any such bone in either place to be found; neither would the same have been easily gotten from him if he had heard thereof, except he had reserved the like for himself, being the greatest preserver of antiquities in those parts for his time*. True it is, that this bone (from whence soever it came) being of a man (as the form sheweth), must needs be monstrous, and more than after the proportion of five shank-bones of any man now living amongst us.

There lie buried in this church—Simon Winchcombe, esquire, 1391; Robert Combarton, 1422; John Wheatley, mercer, 1428; Sir William Estfield, knight of the bath, mayor 1438, a great benefactor to that church, under a fair monument: he also built their steeple, changed their old bells into five tuneable bells, and gave one hundred pounds to other works of that church. Moreover, he caused the Conduit in Aldermanbury, which he had begun, to be performed at his charges, and water to be conveyed by pipes of lead from Tyborne to Fleet street, as I have said: and also from High Berie to the parish of St. Giles without Cripplegate, where the inhabitants of those parts incastellated the same in sufficient cisterns. John Middleton, mercer, mayor 1472; John Tomes, draper, 1486; William Bucke, tailor, 1501; Sir William Browne, mayor 1507; Dame Margaret Jeninges, wife to Stephen

Jeninges, mayor 1515; a widow named Starkey, sometime wife to Modie; Raffe Woodcock, grocer, one of the sheriffs 1586; Dame Mary Gresham, wife to Sir John Gresham, 1538; Thomas Godfrey, remembrancer of the office of the first fruits, 1577.

Beneath this church have ye Gay spur lane, which runneth down to London wall, as is afore showed. In this lane, at the north end thereof, was of old time a house of nuns; which house being in great decay, William Elsing, mercer, in the year of Christ 1329, the 3rd of Edward III., began in place thereof the foundation of an hospital for sustentation of one hundred blind men; towards the erection whereof he gave his two houses in the parishes of St. Alphage, and our Blessed Lady in Aldermanbury, near Cripplegate*. This house was after called a priory, or hospital, of St. Mary the Virgin, founded in the year 1332 by W. Elsing, for canons regular; the which William became the first prior there. Robert Elsing, son to the said William, gave to the hospital twelve pounds by the year, for the finding of three priests: he also gave one hundred shillings towards the inclosing of the new churchyard without Aldgate, and one hundred shillings to the inclosing of the new churchyard without Aldersgate; to Thomas Elsing, his son, eighty pounds, the rest of his goods to be sold and given to the poor. This house, valued 193l. 15s. 5d., was surrendered the eleventh of May, the 22nd of Henry VIII.

The monuments that were in this church defaced:—Thomas Cheney, son to William Cheney; Thomas, John, and William Cheney; John Northampton, draper, mayor 1381; Edmond Hungerford; Henry Frowike; Joan, daughter to Sir William Cheney, wife to William Stoke; Robert Eldarbroke, esquire, 1460; Dame Joan Ratcliffe; William Fowler; William Kingstone; Thomas Swineley, and Helen his wife, &c. The principal aisle of this church towards the north was pulled down, and a frame of four houses set up in place: the other part, from the steeple upward, was converted into a parish church of St. Alphage; and the parish church which stood near unto the wall of the city by Cripplegate was pulled down, the plot thereof made a carpenter's yard, with saw-pits. The hospital itself, the prior and canons' house, with other lodgings, were made a dwelling-house; the churchyard is a garden plot, and a fair gallery on the cloister; the lodgings for the poor are translated into stabling for horses.

In the year 1541, Sir John Williams, master of the king's jewels, dwelling in this house on Christmas even at night, about seven of the clock, a great fire began in the gallery thereof, which burned so sore, that the flame firing the whole house, and consuming it, was seen all the city over, and was hardly quenched, whereby many of the king's jewels were burnt, and more embezzled (as was said†). Sir Rowland Heyward, mayor, dwelt in this Spittle, and was buried there 1593; Richard Lee, alias Clarenceaux king of arms, 1597.

Now to return to Milk street, so called of milk

* "Reyne Wolf, a grave antiquary, collected the great chronicles, increased and published by his executors, under the name of Ralph Holenshead."—Stow.

The first edition of *Holinshed's Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, was printed for John Harrison the elder in 1577. From Holinshed's dedicatory epistle to Lord Burleigh, it would seem that Reginald Wolfe projected and even executed the greater part of the work, it having "pleased God to call him to his mercie after xxv years travail spent therein." Wolfe, in fact, intended to make these *Chronicles* the foundation of "*An Universall Cosmographie of the Whole World*."

* "Obtaining first the king's licence of mortmain under the great seal of England."—1st edition, p. 234.

† "The Lord William of Thame was buried in this church, and so was his successor in that house, Sir Rowland Heyward."—1st edition, p. 235.

sold there *, there be many fair houses for wealthy merchants and other ; amongst the which I read, that Gregory Rokesley, chief assay master of the king's mints, and mayor of London in the year 1275, dwelt in this Milk street, in a house belonging to the priory of Lewes in Sussex, whereof he was tenant at will, paying twenty shillings by the year, without † other charge : such were the rents of those times.

In this Milk street is a small parish church of St. Marie Magdalen, which hath of late years been repaired. William Browne, mayor 1513, gave to this church forty pounds, and was buried there ; Thomas Exmew, mayor 1528, gave forty pounds, and was buried there ; so was John Milford, one of the sheriffs 1375 ; John Olney, mayor 1475 ; Richard Rawson, one of the sheriffs 1476 ; Henry Kelsey ; Sir John Browne, mayor 1497 ; Thomas Muschampe, one of the sheriffs 1463 ; Sir William Cantilo, knight, mercer, 1462 ; Henry Cantlow, mercer, merchant of the Staple, who built a chapel, and was buried there 1495 ; John West, alderman, 1517 ; John Machell, alderman, 1558 ; Thomas Skinner, clothworker, mayor 1596.

Then next is Wood street, by what reason so called I know not. True it is, that of old time, according to a decree made in the reign of Richard I., the houses in London were built of stone for defence of fire ; which kind of building was used for two hundred years or more, but of later time for the winning of ground taken down, and houses of timber set up in place. It seemeth therefore that this street hath been of the latter building, all of timber (for not one house of stone hath been known there), and therefore called Wood street ; otherwise it might take the name of some builder or owner thereof.

Thomas Wood, one of the sheriffs in the year 1491, dwelt there ; he was an especial benefactor towards the building of St. Peter's church at Wood street end ; he also built the beautiful front of houses in Cheape over against Wood street end, which is called Goldsmiths' row, garnished with the likeness of woodmen : his predecessors might be the first builders, owners, and namers of this street after their own name.

On the east side of this street is one of the prison houses pertaining to the sheriffs of London, and is called the Compter in Wood street, which was prepared to be a prison house in the year 1555 ; and on the eve of St. Michael the Archangel, the prisoners that lay in the Compter in Bread street were removed to this Compter in Wood street. Beneath this Compter is Lad lane, or Lade lane, for so I find it of record in the parish of St. Michael Wood street ; and beneath that is Love lane, so called of wantons.

By this lane is the parish church of St. Alban, which hath the monuments of Sir Richard Illingworth, baron of the exchequer ; Thomas Chatworth, grocer, mayor 1443 ; John Woodcocke, mayor 1405 ; John Collet, and Alice his wife ; Ralph Thomas ; Ralph and Richard, sons of Ralph Illingworth, which was son to Sir Richard Illingworth, baron of the exchequer ; Thomas, son of

Sir Thomas Fitzwilliams ; Thomas Halton, mercer, mayor 1450 ; Thomas Ostrich, haberdasher, 1483 ; Richard Swetenham, esquire ; and William Dunthorne, town-clerk of London, with this epitaph :

*"Fœlix prima dies postquam mortalibus ævi
Cesserit, hic morbus subit, atque repente senectus.
Tum mors, qua nostrum Dunthorn occidisse Wieliūm,
Haud cuiquam latuisse reor, dignissimū (inquam),
Artibus hic Doctor, nec non celeberrimū hujus
Clericus Urbis erat, primus, nullique secundus,
Moribus, ingenio, studio, nil dixeris illi,
Quin dederit natura boni, pius ipse modestus,
Longanimus, solers, patiens, super omnia gratus,
Quique sub immensas curas variosque labores,
Anxius alteritur vitæ, dum carperit auras,
Illoc letro in tumultu, compositus pace quiescit."*

Simon Morsted ; Thomas Pikehurst, esquire ; Richard Take ; Robert Ashecombe ; Thomas Lovet, esquire, sheriff of Northamptonshire 1491 ; John Spafe ; Katherine, daughter to Sir Thomas Mirley, knight * ; William Linchlade, mercer, 1392 ; John Penie, mercer, 1450 ; John Thomas, mercer, 1485 ; Christopher Hawse, mercer, one of the sheriffs 1503 ; William Skarborough, vintner ; Simon de Berching ; Sir John Cheke, knight, schoolmaster to King Edward VI., deceased 1557 ; do lie here.

Then is Adle street, the reason of which name I know not, for at this present it is replenished with fair buildings on both sides ; amongst the which there was sometime the Pinners' hall, but that company being decayed, it is now the Plaisterers' hall.

Not far from thence is the Brewers' hall, a fair house, which company of Brewers was incorporated by King Henry VI., in the 16th of his reign, confirmed by the name of St. Mary and St. Thomas the Martyr, the 19th of Edward IV.

From the West end of this Adle street, Little Wood street runneth down to Cripplegate : and somewhat east from the Sun tavern, against the wall of the city, is the Curriers' hall.

Now, on the west side of Wood street, have ye Huggen lane, so called of one Hukan that of old time dwelt there : he was called Hukan in the lane, as I have read in the 34th of Edward I. This lane runneth down by the south side of St. Michael's church in Wood street, and so growing very narrow by means of late encroachments to Guthuron's lane.

The parish church of St. Michael in Wood street is a proper thing, and lately well repaired. John Ive, parson of this church, John Forster, goldsmith, and Peter Fikelden, tailor, gave two messuages, and two shops, with solars, cellars, and other edifices, in the same parish and street, and in Lade lane, to the reparations of the church, chancel, and other works of charity, the 16th of Richard II.

The monuments here be of William Bambrough, the son of Henry Bambrough of Skardborough, 1392 ; William Turner, waxehandler, 1400 ; John Peke, goldsmith, 1441 ; William Taverner, girdler, 1454 ; William Mancer, ironmonger, 1465 ; John Nash, 1466, with an epitaph ; John Allen, timbermonger, 1441 ; Robert Draper, 1500 ; John Lamberde, draper, alderman, one of the sheriffs of

* "As is supposed."—1st edition, p. 235.

† "Without being bounden to reparations or other charge."
Ibid.

* "John Collet."—1st edition, p. 257.

London, who deceased 1554, and was father to * William Lambarde, esquire, well known by sundry learned books that he hath published; John Medley, chamberlain of London; John Marsh, esquire, mercer, and common sergeant of London, &c. There is also (but without any outward monument) the head of James, the fourth king of Scots of that name, slain at Flodden field, and buried here by this occasion: After the battle the body of the said king being found, was enclosed in lead, and conveyed from thence to London, and so to the monastery of Shene in Surrey, where it remained for a time, in what order I am not certain; but since the dissolution of that house, in the reign of Edward VI., Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk, being lodged, and keeping house there, I have been shown the same body so lapped in lead, close to the head and body, thrown into a waste room amongst the old timber, lead, and other rubble. Since the which time workmen there, for their foolish pleasure, hewed off his head; and Launcelot Young †, master glazier to her majesty, feeling a sweet savour to come from thence, and seeing the same dried from all moisture, and yet the form remaining, with the hair of the head, and beard red, brought it to London to his house in Wood street, where for a time he kept it for the sweetness, but in the end caused the sexton of that church to bury it amongst other bones taken out of their charnel, &c.

I read in divers records of a house in Wood street, then called Black hall, but no man at this day can tell thereof.

On the north side of this St. Michael's church is Mayden lane, now so called, but of old time Ingene lane, or Ing lane. In this lane the Waxchanders have their common hall, on the south side thereof; and the Haberdashers have their like hall on the north side, at Stayning lane end. This company of the Haberdashers, or Hurrers, of old time so called, were incorporated a brotherhood of St. Katherine, the 26th of Henry VI., and so confirmed by Henry VII., the 17th of his reign, the Cappers and Hat merchants, or Hurrers, being one company of Haberdashers.

Down lower in Wood street is Silver street, (I think of silversmiths dwelling there) in which be divers fair houses.

And on the north side thereof is Monkswell street, so called of a well at the north end thereof, where the Abbot of Garendon had a house, or cell, called St. James in the wall by Cripplegate, and certain monks of their house were the chaplains there, wherefore the well (belonging to that cell, or hermitage) was called Monks' well, and the street, of the well, Monkswell street.

The east side of this street, down against London wall, and the south side thereof to Cripplegate, be of Cripplegate ward, as is afore shown. In this street, by the corner of Monkswell street, is the Bowyers' hall. On the east side of Monkswell street be proper alms houses, twelve in number, founded by Sir Ambrose Nicholas, salter, mayor 1575, wherein be placed twelve poor and aged people rent free, having each of them seven pence the week, and once the year, each of them five sacks of charcoal, and one quarter of a hundred fagots, of his gift, for ever.

* "My loving friend."—1st edition, p. 238.

† "At this present."—*Ibid.*

Then, in Little Wood street be seven proper chambers in an alley on the west side, founded for seven poor people therein to dwell rent free, by Henry Barton, skinner, mayor 1416. Thus much for the monuments of this ward within the walls.

Now, without the postern of Cripplegate, first is the parish church of St. Giles, a very fair and large church, lately repaired, after that the same was burnt in the year 1545, the 37th of Henry VIII., by which mischance the monuments of the dead in this church are very few: notwithstanding I have read of these following:—Alice, William, and John, wife and sons to T. Clarell; Agnes, daughter to Thomas Niter, gentleman; William Atwell; Felix, daughter to Sir Thomas Gisors, and wife to Thomas Travers; Thomas Mason, esquire; Edmond Watar, esquire; Joan, wife to John Chamberlaine, esquire, daughter to Roger Lewkner; William Fryer; John Hamberger, esquire; Hugh Moresby; Gilbert Prince, alderman; Oliver Cherley, gentleman; Sir John Wright or Writhesley, *alias* Garter king-at-arms; Joan, wife to Thomas Writhesley, Garter, daughter and heir to William Hal, esquire; John Writhesley, the younger, son to Sir John Writhesley and Alianor; Alianor, second wife to John Writhesley, daughter and heir to Thomas Arnold, sister and heir to Richard Arnold, esquire; John, her son and heir; Margaret, with her daughter; John Brigget; Thomas Ruston, gentleman; John Talbot, esquire, and Katheren his wife; Thomas Warfle, and Isabel his wife; Thomas Lucie, gentleman, 1447; Ralph Rochford, knight, 1409; Edmond Watar, esquire; Elizabeth, wife to Richard Barnes, sister and heir to Richard Malgrave, esquire, of Essex; Richard Gowre, and John Gowre, esquires; John Baronie, of Millain, 1546; Sir Henry Grey, knight, son and heir to George Grey, Earl of Kent, 1562; Reginald Grey, Earl of Kent; Richard Choppin, tallowchandler, one of the sheriffs 1530; John Hamber, esquire, 1573; Thomas Hanley, *alias* Clarenciaux king-at-arms; Thomas Busby, cooper, who gave the Queen's Head tavern to the relief of the poor in the parish, 1575; John Whelar, goldsmith, 1575; Richard Bolene, 1563; William Bolene, 1575; W. Bolene, physician, 1587; Robert Crowley, vicar there—all these four under one old stone in the choir; the learned John Foxe, writer of the Acts and Monuments of the English Church, 1587; the skilful Robert Glover, *alias* Sommerset herald, 1588.

There was in this church of old time a fraternity, or brotherhood, of Our Blessed Lady, or Corpus Christi, and St. Giles, founded by John Belancer, in the reign of Edward III., the 35th year of his reign.

Some small distance from the east end of this church is a water conduit, brought in pipes of lead from Highbery, by John Middleton, one of the executors to Sir William Eastfield, and of his goods; the inhabitants adjoining castellated it of their own cost and charges about the year 1483.

There was also a bosse of clear water in the wall of the churchyard, made at the charges of Richard Whittington, sometimes mayor, and was like to that of Bilingsgate: of late the same was turned into an evil pump, and so is clear decayed.

There was also a fair pool of clear water near unto the parsonage, on the west side thereof, which

was filled up in the reign of Henry VI., the spring was coped in, and arched over with hard stone, and stairs of stone to go down to the spring on the bank of the town ditch : and this was also done of the goods, and by the executors of Richard Whittington.

In White Crosse street King Henry V. built one fair house, and founded there a brotherhood of St. Giles, to be kept, which house had sometime been an hospital of the French order, by the name of St. Giles without Cripplegate, in the reign of Edward I., the king having the jurisdiction, and appointing a custos thereof for the precinct of the parish of St. Giles, &c. patent Richard II., the 15th year; which hospital being suppressed, the lands were given to the brotherhood for the relief of the poor.

One alley of divers tenements over against the north wall of St. Giles' churchyard, was appointed to be alms houses for the poor, wherein they dwelt rent free, and otherwise were relieved; but the said brotherhood was suppressed by Henry VIII.; since which time Sir John Gresham, mayor, purchased the lands, and gave part thereof to the maintenance of a free school which he had founded at Holt, a market town in Norfolk.

In Red Cross street, on the west side from St. Giles' churchyard up to the said cross, be many fair houses built outward, with divers alleys turning into a large plot of ground, called the Jews' Garden, as being the only place appointed them in England, wherein to bury their dead, till the year 1177, the 24th of Henry II., that it was permitted to them (after long suit to the king and parliament at Oxford) to have a special place assigned them in every quarter where they dwelt. This plot of ground remained to the said Jews till the time of their final banishment out of England, and is now turned into fair garden plots and summer-houses for pleasure.

On the east side of this Red Cross street be also divers fair houses, up to the cross. And there is Beech lane, peradventure so called of Nicholas de la Beech, lieutenant of the Tower of London, put out of that office in the 13th of Edward III. This lane stretcheth from the Red Cross street to White Cross street, replenished, not with beech trees, but with beautiful houses of stone, brick, and timber. Amongst the which was of old time a great house, pertaining to the Abbot of Ramsey, for his lodging when he repaired to the city : it is now called Drewry house, of Sir Drewe Drewrie, a worshipful owner thereof.

On the north side of this Beech lane, towards White Cross street, the Drapers of London have lately built eight alms houses of brick and timber, for eight poor widows of their own company, whom they have placed there rent free, according to the gift of Lady Askew, widow to Sir Christopher Askew, sometime draper, and mayor 1533.

Then in Golding lane, Richard Gallard of Islington, esquire, citizen and painter-stainer of London, founded thirteen alms houses for so many poor people placed in them rent free; he gave to the poor of the same almshouses two pence the piece weekly, and a load of charcoal amongst them yearly for ever: he left fair lands about Islington to maintain his foundation. Thomas Hayes, sometime chamberlain of London, in the latter time of

Henry VIII., married Elizabeth, his daughter and heir; which Hayes and Elizabeth had a daughter named Elizabeth, married to John Ironmonger, of London, mercer, who now hath the order of the alms people.

On the west side of the Red Cross is a street, called the Barbican, because sometime there stood, on the north side thereof, a burgh-kenin, or watch-tower, of the city, called in some language a barbian, as a bikenin is called a beacon*; this burgh-kenning, by the name of the Manor of Base court, was given by Edward III. to Robert Ufford, Earl of Suffolk, and was lately appertaining to Peregrine Bartie, Lord Willoughby of Ershby.

Next adjoining to this is one other great house, called Garter house, sometime built by Sir Thomas Writhe, or Writthesley, knight, *alias* Garter principal king of arms, second son of Sir John Writhe, knight, *alias* Garter, and was uncle to the first Thomas, Earl of Southampton, knight of the Garter, and chancellor of England; he built this house, and in the top thereof a chapel, which he dedicated by the name of St. Trinitatis in Alto.

Thus much for that part of Cripplegate ward without the wall, whereof more shall be spoken in the suburb of that part. This ward hath an alderman, and his deputy, within the gate, common council eight, constables nine, scavengers twelve, for wardmote inquest fifteen, and a beadle. Without the gate it hath also a deputy, common council two, constables four, scavengers four, wardmote inquest seventeen, and a beadle. It is taxed in London to the fifteen at forty pound †.

ALDERSGATE WARD.

THE next is Aldersgate ward, taking name of that north gate of the city. This ward also consisteth of divers streets and lanes, lying as well within the gate and wall as without. And first to speak of that part within the gate, thus it is.

The east part thereof joineeth unto the west part of Cripplegate ward in Engain lane, or Maiden lane. It beginneth on the north side of that lane, at Staying lane end, and runneth up from the Haberdashers' hall to St. Mary Staining church, and by the church, east, winding almost to Wood street; and west through Oate lane, and then by the south side of Bacon house in Noble street, back again by Lilipot lane, which is also of that ward, to Maiden lane, and so on that north side west to St. John Zacharies church, and to Foster lane.

Now on the south side of Engain or Maiden lane is the west side of Guthuruns lane to Kery lane, and Kery lane itself (which is of this ward), and back again into Engain lane, by the north side of the Goldsmiths' hall to Foster lane : and this is the east wing of this ward. Then is Foster lane almost wholly of this ward, beginneth in the south toward Cheap, on the east side by the north side of St. Foster's church, and runneth down north-west by the west end of Engain lane, by Lilipot lane and

* The Anglo-Saxon *beacen*, *beacen*, *becen*, *becun*, a beacon. Barbican, therefore, from *burh*, a city, and *beacen*—the city beacon or watch-tower.

† "It is taxed in London to the fifteene at forty pound, and in the Exchequer at thirty-nine pound ten shillings."—1st edition, p. 242.

Oate lane to Noble street, and through that by Shelly house (of old time so called, as belonging to the Shelleys); Sir Thomas Shelley, knight, was owner thereof in the 1st of Henry IV. It is now called Bacon house, because the same was new built by Sir Nicholas Bacon, lord keeper of the great seal. Down on that side, by Sergeant Fleetwood's house, recorder of London, who also new built it, to St. Olave's church in Silver street, which is by the north-west end of this Noble street.

Then again in Foster lane this ward beginneth on the west side thereof, over against the south-west corner of St. Foster's church, and runneth down by St. Leonard's church, by Pope lane end, and by St. Ann's lane end, which lane is also of this ward, north to the stone wall by the wall of the city, over against Bacon house, which stone wall, and so down north to Cripplegate on that side, is of Faringdon ward.

Then have ye the main street of this ward, which is called St. Martin's lane, including St. Martin, on the east side thereof, and so down on both the sides to Aldersgate. And these be the bounds of this ward within the wall and gate.

Without the gate the main street called Aldersgate street runneth up north on the east side to the west end of Howndes ditch, or Barbican street; a part of which street is also of this ward. And on the west side to Long lane, a part whereof is likewise of this ward. Beyond the which Aldersgate street is Goswell street up to the bars.

And on this west side of Aldersgate street, by St. Buttolph's church is Briton street, which runneth west to a pump, and then north to the gate which entereth the churchyard, sometime pertaining to the priory of St. Bartholomew on the east side; and on the west side towards St. Bartholomew's Spittle, to a pair of posts there fixed. And these be the bounds of this Aldersgate ward without.

The antiquities be these, first in Stayning lane, of old time so called, as may be supposed, of painters dwelling there.

On the east side thereof, adjoining to the Haberdashers' hall, be ten alms houses, pertaining to the Haberdashers, wherein be placed ten alms people of that company, every of them having eight pence the piece every Friday for ever, by the gift of Thomas Huntlow, haberdasher, one of the sheriffs in the year 1539. More, Sir George Baron gave them ten pounds by the year for ever.

Then is the small parish church of St. Mary, called Stayning, because it standeth at the north end of Stayning lane. In the which church, being but newly built, there remains no monument worth the noting.

Then is Engain lane, or Mayden lane, and at the north-west corner thereof the parish church of St. John Zachary; a fair church, with the monuments well preserved, of Thomas Lichfield, who founded a chantry there in the 14th of Edward II.; of Sir Nicholas Twiford, goldsmith, mayor 1388, and Dame Margery his wife, of whose goods the church was made and new built, with a tomb for them, and others of their race, 1390; Drugo Barentine, mayor 1398; he gave fair lands to the Goldsmiths; he dwelt right against the Goldsmiths' hall; between the which hall and his dwelling house he

built a gallery thwarting the street, whereby he might go from one to the other; he was buried in this church, and Christian his wife, 1427; John Adis, goldsmith, 1400, and Margaret his wife; John Francis, goldsmith, mayor 1400, and Elizabeth his wife, 1450; 1. Sutton, goldsmith, one of the sheriffs 1413; Bartholomew Seman, gold-beater, master of the king's mints within the Tower of London and the town of Calice, 1430*; John Hewet, esquire, 1500; William Breakespere, goldsmith, 1461; Christopher Eliot, goldsmith, 1505; Bartholomew Reade, goldsmith, mayor 1502, was buried in the Charterhouse, and gave to this, his parish church, one hundred pounds; his wife was buried here with a fair monument, her picture in habit of a widow; Thomas Keyton Lorimar, 1522; William Potken, esquire, 1537; John Cornish, with an epitaph, 1470; Robert Feuruther, goldsmith, one of the sheriffs in the year 1512.

On the east side of this Foster lane, at Engain lane end, is the Goldsmiths' hall, a proper house, but not large; and, therefore, to say that Bartholomew Read, goldsmith, mayor in the year 1502, kept such a feast in this hall, as some have fabuled, is far incredible, and altogether impossible, considering the smallness of the hall, and number of the guests, which, as they say, were more than a hundred persons of great estate. For the messes and dishes of meats to them served, the paved park in the same hall furnished with fruitful trees, beasts of venery, and other circumstances of that pretended feast, well weighed, Westminster hall would hardly have sufficed; and, therefore, I will overpass it, and note somewhat of principal goldsmiths.

First I read, that Leofstane, goldsmith, was provost of this city in the reign of Henry I. Also, that Henry Fitz Alewin Fitz Leafstane, goldsmith, was mayor of London in the 1st of Richard I., and continued mayor twenty-four years. Also that Gregory Rockly, chief say-master of all the king's mints within England, (and therefore by my conjecture) a goldsmith, was mayor in the 3d of Edward I., and continued mayor seven years together. Then, William Faringdon, goldsmith, alderman of Faringdon ward, one of the sheriffs 1281, the 9th of Edward I., who was a goldsmith, as appeareth in record, as shall be shown in Faringdon ward. Then Nicholas Faringdon his son, goldsmith, alderman of Faringdon ward, four times mayor in the reign of Edward II., &c. For the rest of latter time are more manifestly known, and therefore I leave them. The men of this mystery were incorporated or confirmed in the 16th of Richard II.

Then at the north end of Noble street is the parish church of St. Olave in Silver street, a small thing, and without any noteworthy monuments.

On the west side of Foster lane is the small parish church of St. Leonard's, for them of St. Martin's le Grand. A number of tenements being lately built in place of the great collegiate church of St. Martin, that parish is mightily increased. In this church remain these monuments. First, without the church is graven in stone on the east end, John Brokeitwell, an especial re-edifier, or new

* "Thomas Leichfield."—1st edition, p. 244.

† R. Grafton.

builder thereof. In the choir, graven in brass, Robert Purfet, grocer, 1507; Robert Trapis, goldsmith, 1526, with this epitaph:—

"When the bells be merly roong,
And the masse devoutly sung,
And the meat merly eaten,
Then shall Robert Trips, his wives
And children be forgotten."

Then in Pope lane, so called of one Pope that was owner thereof, on the north side of the parish church of St. Anne in the Willows, so called, I know not upon what occasion, but some say of willows growing thereabouts; but now there is no such void place for willows to grow, more than the churchyard, wherein do grow some high ash trees.

This church, by casualty of fire in the year 1543, was burnt, so far as it was combustible, but since being newly repaired, there remain a few monuments of antiquity: of Thomas Beckhenton, clerk of the pipe, was buried there 1499; Raph Caldwell, gentleman, of Grays inn, 1527; John Lord Shelfelde; John Herenden, mercer, esquire, 1572, these verses on an old stone*:—

Qu an Tris di c vul stra
os guis ti ro um nere uit
h san Chris mi T mu la

William Gregory, skinner, mayor of London in the year 1451, was there buried, and founded a chantry, but no monument of him remaineth.

Then in St. Martin's lane was of old time a fair and large college of a dean and secular canons or priests, and was called St. Martin's le Grand, founded by Ingelricus and Edwardus his brother, in the year of Christ 1056, and confirmed by William the Conqueror, as appeareth by his charter dated 1068. This college claimed great privileges of sanctuary and otherwise, as appeareth in a book, written by a notary of that house about the year 1442, the 19th of Henry VI., wherein, amongst other things, is set down and declared, that on the 1st of September, in the year aforesaid, a soldier, prisoner in Newgate, as he was led by an officer towards the Guildhall of London, there came out of Panyer alley five of his fellowship, and took him from the officer, brought him into sanctuary at the west door of St. Martin's church, and took grithet of that place; but the same day Philip Malpas and Rob. Marshall, then sheriffs of London, with many other, entered the said church, and forcibly took out with them the said five men thither fled, led them fettered to the Compter, and from thence, chained by the necks, to Newgate; of which violent taking the dean and chapter in large manner complained to the king, and required him, as their patron, to defend their privileges, like as his predecessors had done, &c. All which complaint and suit the citizens by their counsel, Markam, sergeant at the law, John Carpenter, late common clerk of the city, and other, learnedly answered, offering to prove that the said place of St. Martin had no

such immunity or liberty as was pretended; namely, Carpenter offered to lose his livelhood, if that church had more immunity than the least church in London. Notwithstanding, after long debating of this controversy, by the king's commandment, and assent of his council in the starred chamber, the chancellor and treasurer sent a writ unto the sheriffs of London, charging them to bring the said five persons with the cause of their taking and withholding afore the king in his Chancery, on the vigil of Allhallows. On which day the said sheriffs, with the recorder and counsel of the city, brought and delivered them accordingly, afore the said lords; whereas the chancellor, after he had declared the king's commandment, sent them to St. Martin's, there to abide freely, as in a place having franchises, whiles them liked, &c.

Thus much out of that book* have I noted concerning the privilege of that place challenged in these days, since the which time, to wit, in the year 1457, the 36th of the said Henry VI., an ordinance was made by the king and his council concerning the said sanctuary men in St. Martin's le Grand, whereof the articles are set down in the book of K., within the chamber of the Guildhall, in the lease 299.

This college was surrendered to King Edward VI., the 2d of his reign, in the year of Christ 1548; and the same year the college church being pulled down, in the east part thereof a large wine tavern was built, and with all down to the west, and throughout the whole precinct of that college, many other houses were built and highly prized, letten to strangers born, and other such, as there claimed benefit of privileges granted to the canons serving God day and night (for so be the words in the charter of William the Conqueror), which may hardly be wrested to artificers, buyers and sellers, otherwise than is mentioned in the 21st of St. Matthew's Gospel.

Lower down on the west side of St. Martin's lane, in the parish of St. Anne, almost by Aldersgate, is one great house, commonly called Northumberland house; it belonged to H. Percy. King Henry IV., in the 7th of his reign, gave this house, with the tenements thereunto appertaining, to Queen Jane his wife, and then it was called her Wardrobe: it is now a printing house.

Without Aldersgate, on the east side of Aldersgate street, is the Cooks' hall; which Cooks (or Pastelars) were admitted to be a company, and to have a master and wardens, in the 22d of Edward IV. From thence along into Houndsditch, or Barbican street, be many fair houses. On the west side also be the like fair buildings till ye come to Long lane, and so to Goswell street.

In Briton street, which took that name of the dukes of Brittany lodging there, is one proper parish church of St. Buttolph, in which church was sometime a brotherhood of St. Fabian and Sebastian, founded in the year 1377, the 51st of Edward III., and confirmed by Henry IV., in the 6th of his reign. Then Henry VI., in the 24th of his reign, to the honour of the Trinity, gave license to Dame

* These disjointed syllables, it will be seen, may be so read as to form the following rhyming couplet:—

"Quos anguis tristi diro cum vulnere stravit,
Hos anguis Christi mihi tum munere lavit."

† Grithie—peace or protection, from the Anglo-Saxon. Stow's meaning is that the culprits claimed the protection of that place.

* Liber S. Martin. See further on the privileges of this sanctuary, A. J. Kempe's *History of St. Martin le Grand*, 8vo.; and on the history of sanctuary generally, the learned work to which such frequent reference has been already made, James Grimm's *Deutsche Rechts Altherthümer*, p. 886, et. seq.

Joan Astley, sometime his nurse, to R. Cawod and T. Smith, to found the same a fraternity, perpetually to have a master and two custoses, with brethren and sisters, &c. This brotherhood was endowed with lands more than thirty pounds by the year, and was suppressed by Edward VI. There lie buried, John de Bath, weaver, 1390; Philip at Vine, capper, 1396; Benet Gerard, brewer, 1403; Thomas Bilsington founded a chantry there, and gave to that church a house, called the Helmet upon Cornhill; John Bradmore, chirurgeon, Margaret and Katherine his wives, 1411; John Michael, sergeant-at-arms, 1415; Allen Bret, carpenter, 1425; Robert Malton, 1426; John Trigilion, brewer, 1417; John Mason, brewer, 1431; Rob. Cawood, clerk of the pipe in the king's exchequer, 1466; Ri. Emmessey; John Walpole; I. Harts-horne, esquire, servant to the king, 1400, and other of that family, great benefactors to that church; W. Marrow, grocer, mayor, and Katherine his wife, were buried there about 1468. The Lady Ann Packington, widow, late wife to Jo. Packinton, knight, chirographer of the court of the common pleas; she founded alms houses near unto the White Fryers' church in Fleet street: the Cloth-workers in London have oversight thereof.

And thus an end of this ward; which hath an alderman, his deputy, common councillors five, constables eight, scavengers nine, for the wardmote inquest fourteen, and a beadle. It is taxed to the fifteen in London seven pounds, and * in the exchequer six pounds nineteen shillings.

FARINGDON WARD, INFRA OR WITHIN.

On the south side of Aldersgate ward lieth Faringdon ward, called *infra* or within, for a difference from another ward of that name, which lieth without the walls of the city, and is therefore called Faringdon *extra*. These two wards of old time were but one, and had also but one alderman, till the 17th of Richard II., at which time the said ward, for the greatness thereof, was divided into twain, and by parliament ordered to have two aldermen, and so it continueth till this day. The whole great ward of Farindon, both *infra* and *extra*, took name of W. Farindon, goldsmith, alderman of that ward, and one of the sheriffs of London in the year 1281, the 9th of Edward I. He purchased the Aldermanry of this ward, as by the abstract of deeds, which I have read thereof, may appear.

"Thomas de Arderne, son and heir to Sir Ralph Arderne, knight, granted to Ralph le Feure, citizen of London, one of the sheriffs in the year 1277, all the aldermanry, with the appurtenances within the city of London, and the suburbs of the same between Ludgate and Newgate, and also without the same gates: which aldermanry, Ankerinus de Avene held during his life, by the grant of the said Thomas de Arderne, to have and to hold to the said Ralph, and to his heirs, freely without all challenge, yielding therefore yearly to the said Thomas and his heirs one clove† or slip of gilli-

flowers, at the feast of Easter, for all secular service and customs, with warranty unto the said Ralph le Fevre and his heirs, against all people, Christians and Jews, in consideration of twenty marks, which the said Ralph le Fevre did give beforehand, in name of a gersum * or fine, to the said Thomas, &c., dated the 5th of Edward I. Witness, G. de Rokesley, maior; R. Arrar, one of the shiriffes; H. Wales, P. le Taylor, T. de Basing, I. Horne, N. Blackthorn, aldermen of London." After this, John le Fevre, son and heir to the said Ralph le Fevre, granted to William Farindon, citizen and goldsmith of London, and to his heirs, the said aldermanry, with the appurtenances, for the service thereunto belonging, in the 7th of Edward I., in the year of Christ 1279. This aldermanry descended to Nicholas Farindon, son to the said William, and to his heirs; which Nicholas Farindon, also a goldsmith, was four times mayor, and lived many years after; for I have read divers deeds, whereunto he was a witness, dated the year 1360: he made his testament 1361, which was fifty-three years after his first being mayor, and was buried in St. Peter's church in Cheape. So this ward continued under the government of William Faringdon the father, and Nicholas his son, by the space of eighty-two years, and retaineth their name until this present day.

This ward of Faringdon within the walls is bounded thus: Beginning in the east, at the great cross in Westcheape, from whence it runneth west. On the north side from the parish church of St. Peter, which is at the south-west corner of Wood street, on to Guthurun's lane, and down that lane to Hugon lane on the east side, and to Kery lane on the west.

Then again into Cheape and to Foster lane, and down that lane on the east side, to the north side of St. Foster's church, and on the west, till over against the south-west corner of the said church, from whence down Foster lane and Noble street is all of Aldersgate street ward, till ye come to the stone wall, in the west side of Noble street, as is afore showed. Which said wall, down to Nevil's inn or Windsor house, and down Monkes well street, on that west side, then by London wall to Cripplegate, and the west side of that same gate is all of Faringdon ward.

Then back again into Cheape, and from Foster lane end to St. Martin's lane end, and from thence through St. Nicholas shambles, by Penticost lane and Butchers' alley, and by Stinking lane through Newgate market to Newgate; all which is the north side of Faringdon ward.

On the south, from against the said great cross in Cheape west to Fridayes street, and down that street on the east side, till over against the north-east corner of St. Mathew's church; and on the west side, till the south corner of the said church.

the gardens of England, and indeed a native of the cliffs by the sea-side. "The old English name of Gilliflower," says the author of the *Flora Domestica*, "which is now almost lost in the prefix Stock, is corrupted from the French *Girofler*. Chaucer writes it *Gylofre*; but, by associating it with the nutmeg and other spices, appears to mean the clove-tree, which is in fact the proper signification of that word. Turner calls it *Gelover* and *Gelyflower*, Gerrarde and Parkinson *Gilloflower*."

* The Anglo-Saxon *Gærsama*—treasure, riches, fine, &c.

* "Likewise in the exchequer."—1st edition, p. 247.

† The word *clove*, which Stow here explains as a slip, is derived from the Anglo Saxon *Clyffan* (the low German *Klöven*, and Dutch *Klooven*), to split, or *clufe*, an ear of corn or *clove* of garlic. In this case the flower to be rendered is the common Stock, or Stock Gilliflower, so long a favourite in

Then again along Cheape to the Old Exchange, and down that lane (on the east side) to the parish church of St. Augustine, which church, and one house next adjoining in Watheling street, be of this ward, and on the west side of this lane, to the east arch or gate by St. Augustine's church, which entereth the south churchyard of St. Paules, which arch or gate was built by Nicholas Faringdon about the year 1361, and within that gate, on the said north side, to the gate that entereth the north churchyard, and all the north churchyard is of this Faringdon ward.

Then again into Cheape, and from the north end of the Old Exchange, west by the north gate of Paules churchyard, by Pater noster row, by the two lanes out of Paules church, and to a sign of the Golden Lion, which is some twelve houses short of Ave Mary lane; the west side of which lane is of this ward.

Then at the south end of Ave Mary lane is Creed lane; the west side whereof is also of this ward.

Now betwixt the south end of Ave Mary lane and the north end of Creede lane, is the coming out of Paules churchyard on the east, and the high street called Bowier row to Ludgate on the west, which way to Ludgate is of this ward. On the north side whereof is St. Martin's church, and on the south side a turning into the Blacke friars.

Now to turn up again to the north end of Ave Mary lane, there is a short lane which runneth west some small distance, and is there closed up with a gate into a great house: and this is called Amen lane.

Then on the north side of Pater noster row, beginning at the Conduit over against the Old Exchange lane end, and going west by St. Michael's church; at the west end of which church is a small passage through towards the north: and beyond this church some small distance is another passage, which is called Paniar alley, and cometh out against St. Martin's lane end.

Then further west in Pater noster row is Ivie lane, which runneth north to the west end of St. Nicholas shambles; and then west Pater noster row, till over against the Golden Lion, where the ward endeth for that street.

Then about some dozen houses (which is of Baynard's castle ward) to Warwick lane end; which Warwick lane stretcheth north to the high street of Newgate market. And the west side of Warwick lane is of this Faringdon ward; for the east side of Warwick lane, of Ave Marie lane, and of Creede lane, with the west end of Pater noster row, are all of Baynardes castle ward.

Yet to begin again at the said Conduit by the Old Exchange, on the north side thereof is a large street that runneth up to Newgate, as is aforesaid. The first part, or south side whereof, from the Conduit to the shambles, is called Bladder street. Then on the back side of the shambles be divers slaughter-houses, and such like, pertaining to the shambles; and this is called Mount Godard street. Then is the shambles itself, and then Newgate market; and so the whole street, on both sides up to Newgate, is of this ward; and thus it is wholly bounded.

Monuments in this ward be these: First, the great cross in Westcheape street, but in the ward of Faringdon; the which cross was first erected

in that place by Edward I., as before is showed in Westcheape street.

At the south-west corner of Wood street is the parish church of St. Peter the Apostle by the said cross, a proper church lately new built. John Sha, goldsmith, mayor, deceased 1508, appointed by his testament the said church and steeple to be newly built of his goods, with a flat roof; notwithstanding, Thomas Wood, goldsmith, one of the sheriffs 1491, is accounted principal benefactor, because the roof of the middle aisle is supported by images of woodmen. I find to have been buried in this church—Nicholas Farendon, mayor; Richard Hadley, grocer, 1592; John Palmer, fishmonger, 1500; William Rus, goldsmith, sheriff 1429; T. Atkins, esquire, 1400; John Butler, sheriff 1420*; Henry Warley, alderman 1524; Sir John Monday, goldsmith, mayor, deceased 1537; Augustine Hinde, clothworker, one of the sheriffs in the year 1550, whose monument doth yet remain, the others be gone; Sir Alexander Auenon, mayor 1570.

The long shop, or shed, incroaching on the high street before this church wall was licensed to be made in the year 1401, yielding to the chamber of London thirty shillings and four-pence yearly for the time, but since thirteen shillings and four-pence. Also the same shop was letten by the parish for three pounds at the most many years since.

Then is Guthurun's lane, so called of Guthurun, sometime owner thereof. The inhabitants of this lane of old time were goldbeaters, as doth appear by records in the Exchequer; for the Easterling money was appointed to be made of fine silver, such as men made into foil, and was commonly called silver of Guthurun's lane, &c. The Embroiderers' hall is in this lane. John Throwstone, embroiderer, then goldsmith, sheriff, deceased 1519, gave forty pounds towards the purchase of this hall. Hugon lane on the east side, and Kery lane (called of one Kery) on the west.

Then in the high street on the same north side is the Saddlers' hall, and then Fauster lane (so called) of St. Fauster's, a fair church lately new built. Henry Coote, goldsmith, one of the sheriffs, deceased 1509, built St. Dunston's chapel there. John Throwstone, one of the sheriffs, gave to the building thereof one hundred pounds by his testament. John Browne, sergeant painter, alderman, deceased 1532, was a great benefactor, and was there buried. William Trist, cellarer to the king, 1425, John Standelfe†, goldsmiths, lie buried there; Richard Galder, 1544; Agnes, wife to William Milborne, chamberlain of London, 1500, &c.

Then down Foster lane and Noble street, both of Aldersgate street ward, till ye come to the stone wall which incloseth a garden plot before the wall of the city, on the west side of Noble street, and is of this Faringdon ward. This garden-plot, containing ninety-five ells in length, nine ells and a half in breadth, was by Adam de Burie, mayor, the alderman, and citizens of London, letten to John de Nevill, Lord of Raby, Radulph and Thomas his sons, for sixty years, paying 6s. 8d. the year, dated the 48th of Edward III., having in a seal pendant on the one side, the figure of a walled city and of St. Paul, a sword in his right hand, and in the left a banner; three leopards about that seal, on the

* "John Palmer."—1st edition, p. 252.

† "John Standelfe and John Standelfe."—1st edition, p. 253.

same side, written, *Stigillum Baronium Londoniarum*. On the other side, the like figure of a city, a bishop sitting on an arch; the inscription, *Me: que: te: peperit: ne: Cesses: Thoma: tueri*. Thus much for the barons of London, their common seal at that time. At the north end of this garden-plot is one great house built of stone and timber, now called the Lord Windsor's house, of old time belonging to the Nevils; as in the 19th of Richard II. it was found by inquisition of a jury, that Elizabeth Nevil died, seized of a great messuage in the parish of St. Olave, in Monks' well street in London, holden of the king in free burgage, which she held of the gift of John Nevell of Italy her husband, and that John Latimer was next son and heir to the said Elizabeth.

In this west side is the Barbers-Chirurgeons' hall*. This company was incorporated by means of Thomas Morestede, esquire, one of the sheriffs of London 1436, chirurgeon to the kings of England, Henry IV., V., and VI.: he deceased 1450. Then Jaques Fries, physician to Edward IV., and William Hobbs, physician and chirurgeon for the same king's body, continuing the suit the full time of twenty years, Edward IV., in the 2nd of his reign, and Richard, Duke of Gloucester, became founders of the same corporation in the name of St. Cosme and St. Damiane. The first assembly of that craft was Roger Strippe, W. Hobbs, T. Goddard, and Richard Kent; since the which time they built their hall in that street, &c.

At the north corner of this street, on the same side, was sometime an hermitage, or chapel of St. James, called in the wall, near Cripplegate: it belonged to the abbey and convent of Garadon, as appeareth by a record, the 27th of Edward I., and also the 16th of Edward III. William de Lions was hermit there, and the abbot and convent of Geredon found two chaplains, Cistercian monks of their house, in this hermitage; one of them for Aymor de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, and Mary de Saint Paule, his countess.

Of these monks, and of a well pertaining to them, the street took that name, and is called Monks' well street. This hermitage, with the appurtenances, was in the reign of Edward VI. purchased from the said king by William Lambe, one of the gentlemen of the king's chapel, citizen and clothworker of London: he deceased in the year 1577, and then gave it to the clothworkers of London,

* The alliance between the Barbers and Surgeons, which is implied by the name of the company, was virtually dissolved by the act of 32d Henry VIII., the very act of parliament passed to unite the two companies of Surgeons then existing; the one called *The Barbers of London*, the other *The Surgeons of London*; inasmuch as it was enjoined by that act, that none of the company that used *barbery* and *shaving* should occupy surgery, letting of blood, or any other thing appertaining to surgery, except only drawing of teeth; nor he that used the mystery of Surgery should exercise the feat or craft of *Barbery* or *Shaving*. The corporation of Barber-Surgeons was dissolved by act of parliament 18th George II.

It is difficult to read without a smile the account of the museum in the Barber-Surgeons' hall, as recorded by Maitland—*History of London*, ii. 911—so great is the contrast between it and the splendid museum which the talents of John Hunter and the unwearied exertions and liberal expensiture of the President and Council have collected within the walls of the present College of Surgeons.

with other tenements, to the value of fifty pounds the year, to the intent they shall hire a minister to say divine service there, &c.

Again to the high street of Cheape, from Fauster lane end to St. Martin's, and by that lane to the shambles or flesh-market, on the north side whereof is Penticost lane, containing divers slaughter-houses for the butchers.

Then was there of old time a proper parish church of St. Nicholas, whereof the said flesh-market took the name, and was called St. Nicholas' shambles. This church, with the tenements and ornaments, was by Henry VIII. given to the mayor and commonalty of the city, towards the maintenance of the new parish church then to be erected in the late dissolved church of the Grey Friars; so was this church dissolved and pulled down. In place whereof, and of the churchyard, many fair houses are now built in a court with a well, in the midst whereof the church stood.

Then is Stinking lane, so called, or Chick lane, at the east end of the Gray Friars church, and there is the Butchers' hall.

In the 3rd of Richard II. motion was made that no butcher should kill no flesh within London, but at Knightsbridge, or such like distance of place from the walls of the city.

Then the late dissolved church of the Grey Friars*; the original whereof was this:

The first of this order of friars in England, nine in number, arrived at Dover; five of them remained at Canterburie, the other four came to London, were lodged at the preaching friars in Oldborne for the space of fifteen days, and then they hired a house in Cornhill of John Trevers, one of the sheriffs of London. They built there little cells, wherein they inhabited; but shortly after, the devotion of citizens towards them, and the number of the friars so increased, that they were by the citizens removed to a place in St. Nicholas' shambles; which John Ewin, mercer, appropriated unto the commonalty, to the use of the said friars, and himself became a lay brother amongst them. About the year 1235, William Joyner built their choir, Henry Walles the body of the church, Walter Potter, alderman, the chapter-house, Gregorie Rokesley their dorter†; Bartholomew of the Castle made the refectory, Peter de Heliland made the infirmary, Bevis Bond, king of heralds, made the study, &c.

Margaret, queen, second wife to Edward I., began the choir of their new church in the year 1306; to the building whereof, in her lifetime, she gave

* The Grey Friars, or Franciscans, were rendered memorable by George Buchanan's satire, entitled *Franciscanus*, of which an admirable translation appeared in Blackwood's Magazine some few years since.

† Dormitory. So Chaucer in the *Somnoure's Tale*—

"His deth saw I, by revelation,

Sayde this Frere, at home in our *dortour*."

It is from the French *dortoir*, which occurs in the well-known satire entitled *Bible Guiot de Provins*, printed in Barbazan's *Fabliaux et Contes*, ii. 307, ed. Meon, where the author is speaking of the order of Grandmontines:

"Molt sont de noble contenance,
Mès il ne tiennent pas silence:
Il parolent bien an mengier
Et en *dortoir*, et in moustier."

L. 1516-20.

two thousand marks, and one hundred marks by her testament. John Britaine, Earl of Richmond, built the body of the church to the charges of three hundred pounds, and gave many rich jewels and ornaments to be used in the same; Marie, Countess of Pembroke, seventy pounds. Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, bestowed twenty great beams out of his forest of Tunbridge, and twenty pounds sterling. Lady Helianor le Spencer, Lady Elizabeth de Burgh, sister to Gilbert de Clare, gave sums of money; and so did divers citizens; as Arnald de Tolinea, one hundred pounds; Robert, Baron Lisle, who became a friar there, three hundred pounds; Bartholomew de Almaine, fifty pounds. Also Philippa, queen, wife to Edward III., gave sixty-two pounds; Isabell, queen, mother to Edward III., gave threescore and ten pounds. And so the work was done within the space of twenty-one years, 1337. This church was furnished with windows made at the charges of divers persons. The Lady Margaret Segrave, Countess of Norfolk, bare the charges of making the stalls in the choir, to the value of three hundred and fifty marks, about the year 1330. Richard Whittington, in the year 1429, founded the library, which was in length one hundred and twenty-nine feet, and in breadth thirty-one, all sealed with wainscot, having twenty-eight desks and eight double settles of wainscot; which in the next year following was altogether finished in building, and within three years after furnished with books, to the charges of five hundred and fifty-six pounds ten shillings; whereof Richard Whittington bare four hundred pounds; the rest was borne by Doctor Thomas Winchelsey, a friar there; and for the writing out of D. Nicholas de Lira, his works, in two volumes, to be chained there, one hundred marks, &c. The ceiling of the choir at divers men's charges, two hundred marks, and the painting at fifty marks; their conduit head and water-course given them by William Tailor, tailor to Henry III., &c.

This whole church containeth in length three hundred feet, of the feet of St. Paule; in breadth eighty-nine feet, and in height from the ground to the roof sixty-four feet and two inches, &c. It was consecrated 1325, and at the general suppression was valued at thirty-two pounds nineteen shillings, surrendered the 12th of November, 1538, the 30th of Henry VIII., the ornaments and goods being taken to the king's use. The church was shut up for a time, and used as a store-house for goods, taken prizes from the French; but in the year 1546, on the 3rd of January, was again set open. On the which day preached at Paule's cross the Bishop of Rochester, where he declared the king's gift thereof to the city for the relieving of the poor. Which gift was by patent—of St. Bartholomew's Spittle, lately valued at three hundred and five pounds six shillings and seven-pence, and surrendered to the king; of the said church of the Grey Friars, and of two parish churches, the one of St. Nicholas in the shambles, and the other of St. Ewines in Newgate market, which were to be made one parish church in the said Friars church; and in lands he gave for maintenance for the said church, with divine service, reparations, &c., five hundred marks by year for ever.

The 13th of January, the 38th of Henry VIII.,

an agreement was made betwixt the king and the mayor* and commonalty of London, dated the 27th of December, by which the said gift of the Grey Friars church, with all the edifices and ground, the fraty, the library, the dortor, and chapter-house, the great cloister and the lesser, tenements, gardens, and vacant grounds, lead, stone, iron, &c., the hospital of St. Bartholomew in West Smithfield, the church of the same, the lead, bells, and ornaments of the same hospital, with all the messuages, tenements, and appurtenances; the parishes of St. Nicholas and of St. Ewin, and so much of St. Sepulcher's parish as is within Newgate, were made one parish church in the Gray Friars church, and called Christ's church, founded by Henry VIII.

The vicar of Christ's church was to have twenty-six pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence the year; the vicar of St. Bartholomew thirteen pounds six shillings and eight-pence; the visitor of Newgate (being a priest), ten pounds; and other five priests in Christ's church, all to be helping in Divine service, ministering the sacraments and sacramentals; the five priests to have eight pounds the piece, two clerks six pounds each, a sexton four pounds. Moreover, he gave them the hospital of Bethelam; with the laver of brass in the cloister, by estimation eighteen feet in length, and two feet and a half in depth; and the water-course of lead, to the said Friar house belonging, containing by estimation in length eighteen acres.

In the year 1552, began the repairing of the Grey Friars house for the poor fatherless children; and in the month of November the children were taken into the same, to the number of almost four hundred. On Christmas day, in the afternoon, while the lord mayor and aldermen rode to Paules, the children of Christ's hospital stood, from St. Lawrence lane end in Cheape towards Paules, all in one livery of russet cotton, three hundred and forty in number; and in Easter next they were in blue at the Spittle, and so have continued ever since.

The defaced monuments in this church were these: First in the choir, of the Lady Margaret, daughter to Philip, king of France, and wife to Edward I., foundress of this new church, 1317; of Isabel, queen, wife to Edward II., daughter to Philip, king of France, 1358; John of the Tower; Queen of Scots, wife to David Bruce, daughter to Edward II., died in Hartford castle, and was buried by Isabel her mother 1362; William Fitzwarren, baron, and Isabel his wife, sometime Queen of Man; Isabel, daughter to Edward III., wedded to the Lord Courcy of France, after created Earl of Bedford; Elianor, wife to John, Duke of Britaine; Beatrix, Duchess of Britaine, daughter to Henry III.; Sir Robert Lisle, baron; the Lady Lisle, and Margaret de Rivers, Countess of Devon, all under one stone; Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, beheaded 1329; Peter, Bishop of Carbon in Hungary, 1331; Gregory Rockley, mayor, 1282; Sir John Devereux, knight, 1385; John Hastings, Earl of Pembroke, 1389; Margaret, daughter to Thomas Brotharton, Earl Marshal; she was Duchess of Norfolk, and Countess Marshal and Lady Se-

* "The maior and commonalty of London, parsons of Christ's church, the vicar to be at their appointment."—*Stow.*

grave, 1389; Richard Havering, knight, 1388; Robert Trisilian, knight justice, 1308; Geoffrey Lucy, son to Geoffrey Lucy; John Anbry, son to John, mayor of Norwich, 1368; John Philpot, knight, mayor of London, and the Lady Jane Samford his wife, 1384; John, Duke of Bourbon, and Anjou, Earl of Claremond, Montpensier, and Baron Beaujeu, who was taken prisoner at Agincourt, kept prisoner eighteen years, and deceased 1433; Robert Chalons, knight, 1439; John Chalons; Margaret, daughter to Sir John Philpot, first married to T. Santlor, esquire, and after to John Neyband, esquire; Sir Nicholas Brimbar, mayor of London, buried 1386; Elizabeth Nevel, wife to John, son and heir to Ralph, Earl of Westmoreland, and mother to Ralph, Earl of Westmoreland, and daughter to Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent, 1423; Edward Burnell, son to the Lord Burnell. In Allhallowes chapel: James Fines, Lord Say, 1450, and Helinor his wife, 1452; John Smith, Bishop of Landafe, 1478; John, Baron Hilton; John, Baron Clinton; Richard Hastings, knight, Lord of Willowby and Welles; Thomas Burdet, esquire, beheaded 1477; Robert Lisle, son and heir to the Lord Lisle. In our Lady's chapel: John Gisors, of London, knight; Humfrey Stafford, esquire, of Worcestershire, 1486; Robert Bartram, Baron of Bothell; Ralph Barons, knight; William Apleton, knight; Reynold de Cambrey, knight; Thomas Beaumont, son and heir to Henry Lord Beaumont; John Butler, knight; Adam de Howton, knight, 1417; Bartholomew Caster, knight of London; Reinfride Arundeley, knight, 1460; Thomas Covil, esquire, 1422. In the Postles chapel: Walter Blunt, knight of the Garter, and Lord Mountjoy, treasurer of England, son and heir to T. Blunt, knight, treasurer of Normandy*, 1474; E. Blunt, Lord Mountjoy, 1475; Alice Blunt Mountjoy, sometime wife to William Brown, mayor of London, and daughter to H. Kebel, mayor 1521; Anne Blunt, daughter to John Blunt, knight; Lord Mountjoy, 1480; Sir Allen Cheinie, knight, and Sir T. Greene, knight; William Blunt, esquire, son and heir to Walter Blunt†, captain of Gwynes, 1492; Elizabeth Blunt, wife to Robert Curson, knight, 1494; Bartholomew Burwashe, and John Burwashe his son; John Blunt, Lord Mountjoy, captain of Gwms and Hams, 1485; John Dinham, baron, sometime treasurer of England, knight of the Garter, 1501; Elianor, Duchess of Buckingham, 1530; John Blunt, knight, 1531; Rowland Blunt, esquire, 1509; Robert Bradbury, 1489; Nicholas Clifton, knight; Francis Chape; two sons of Allayne Lord Cheiney, and John, son and heir to the same; Lord Allaine Cheinie, knight; John Robsart, knight of the Garter, 1450; Alleyne Cheiney, knight; Thomas Malory, knight, 1470; Thomas Young, a justice of the bench, 1476; John Baldwin, fellow of Gray's inn, and common sergeant of London, 1469; Walter Wrotsley, knight of Warwickshire, 1473; Steven Jenins, mayor, 1523; Thomas a Par, and John Wiltwater, slain at Barnet, 1471; Nicholas Poynes, esquire, 1512; Robert Elkenton, knight, 1460; John Water, alias

Yorke herald, 1520; John More, alias Norroy king of arms, 1491; George Hopton, knight, 1489. Between the choir and the altar: Ralph Spiganel, knight; John Moyle, gentleman, of Gray's inn, 1495; William Huddy, knight, 1501; John Colham, a baron of Kent; John Mortain, knight; John Deyneort, knight; John Norbery, esquire, high treasurer of England; Henry Norbery, his son, esquire; John Southlee, knight; Thomas Sakvile; Thomas Lucy, knight, 1525; Robert de la Rivar, son to Mauricius de la Rivar, Lord of Tormerton, 1457; John Malmaynas, esquire, and Thomas Malmaynas, knight; Hugh Acton, tailor, 1530; Nicholas Malmains; Hugh Parsal, knight, 1490; Alexander Kirketon, knight, &c. In the body of the church: William Paulet, esquire of Somersetshire, 1482; John Moyle, gentleman, 1530; Peter Champion, esquire, 1511; John Hart, gentleman, 1449; Alice Lat Hungerford, hanged at Tiborne for murdering her husband, 1523; Edward Hall, gentleman, of Gray's inn, 1470; Richard Churchyard, gentleman, fellow of Gray's inn, 1498; John Bramre, gentleman, of Gray's inn, 1498; John Mortimar, knight, beheaded 1423; Henry Frowike, alderman; Renauld Frowike; Philip Pats, 1518; William Porter, sergeant at arms, 1515; Thomas Grantham, gentleman, 1511; Edmond Rotheley, gentleman, 1470; Henry Roston, gentleman, of Gray's inn, 1485; Nicholas Montgomery, gentleman, son to John Montgomery, of Northamptonshire, 1485; Sir Bartholomew Emfield, knight; Sir Barnard St. Peter, knight; Sir Ralph Sandwich, knight, custos of London; Sir Andrew Sakevile, knight; John Treszawall, gentleman and tailor of London, 1520. All these and five times so many more have been buried there, whose monuments are wholly defaced; for there were nine tombs of alabaster and marble, environed with strokes of iron in the choir, and one tomb in the body of the church, also coped with iron, all pulled down, besides sevenscore grave-stones of marble, all sold for fifty pounds, or thereabouts, by Sir Martin Bowes, goldsmith and alderman of London. Of late time buried there, Walter Hadden, doctor, &c. From this church west to Newgate is of this ward.

Now for the south side of this ward, beginning again at the cross in Cheape, from thence to Friday street, and down that street on the west side, till over against the north-west corner of St. Matthew's church; and on the west side, to the south corner of the said church, which is wholly in the ward of Faringdon. This church hath these few monuments: Thomas Pole, goldsmith, 1395; Robert Johnson, goldsmith, alderman; John Twisleton, goldsmith, alderman, 1525; Ralph Allen, grocer, one of the sheriffs, deceased 1546; Anthony Gamage, ironmonger, one of the sheriffs, deceased 1579; Anthony Cage; John Mabbe, chamberlain of London, &c. Allen at Condit, and Thomas Warlingworth, founded a chantry there. Sir Nicholas Twiford, goldsmith, mayor, gave to that church a house, with the appurtenances, called the Griffon on the Hope, in the same street*.

From this Friday street, west to the Old Exchange, a street so called of the king's exchange

* "Treasurer of England."—1st edition, p. 258.

† "And father to Edward Lord Mountjoy; James Blunt, knight, son to Walter Blunt, captain of Gwynes, 1492."—*Ibid.*

* In the first edition, Sir Nicholas Twiford is described as having a monument in the church.

there kept, which was for the receipt of bullion to be coined. For Henry III., in the 6th year of his reign, wrote to the Scabines and men of Ipse, that he and his council had given prohibition, that none, Englishmen or other, should make change of plate or other mass of silver, but only in his Exchange at London, or at Canterbury. Andrew Bokerell then had to farm the Exchange of England, and was mayor of London in the reign of Henry III. John Somercote had the keeping of the king's Exchange over all England. In the 8th of Edward I., Gregory Rockesly was keeper of the said Exchange for the king. In the 5th of Edward II., William Hausted was keeper thereof; and in the 18th, Roger de Frowicke, &c.

These received the old stamps, or coining-irons, from time to time, as the same were worn, and delivered new to all the mints in London, as more at large in another place I have noted.

This street beginneth by West Cheape in the north, and runneth down south to Knightriders street; that part thereof which is called Old Fish street, but the very housing and office of the Exchange and coinage was about the midst thereof, south from the east gate that entereth Paules churchyard, and on the west side in Baynard's castle ward.

On the east side of this lane, betwixt West Cheape and the church of St. Augustine, Henry Walles, mayor (by license of Edward I.), built one row of houses, the profits rising of them to be employed on London bridge.

The parish church of St. Augustine, and one house next adjoining in Watheling street, is of this ward called Faringdon. This is a fair church, and lately well repaired, wherein be monuments remaining—of H. Reade, armourer, one of the sheriffs 1450; Robert Bellesdon, haberdasher, mayor 1491; Sir Townley William Dere, one of the sheriffs 1450; Robert Raven, haberdasher, 1500; Thomas Apleyard, gentleman, 1515; William Moncaster, merchant-tailor, 1524; William Holte, merchant-tailor, 1544, &c.

Then is the north churchyard of Paules, in the which standeth the cathedral church, first founded by Ethelbert, king of Kent, about the year of Christ 610: he gave thereto lands as appeareth*:

"Ædelbertus Rex, Deo inspirante, pro animæ suæ remedio dedit episcopo Melito terram quæ appellatur Tillingeham ad monasterii sui solatium, scilicet monasterium Sancti Pauli: et ego Rex Æthelbertus ita firmiter concedo tibi presuli Melito potestatem ejus habendi & possidendi ut in perpetuum in monasterii utilitate permaneat," &c. Athelstan, Edgar, Edward the Confessor, and others, also gave lands thereunto. William the Conqueror gave to the church of St. Paule, and to Mauricius, then bishop, and his successors, the castle of Stortford, with the appurtenances, &c. He also confirmed the

gifts of his predecessors in these words: "*W. Rex Angl. concedo Deo et S. Paulo in perpetuum, 24 Hidas quas Rex Ethelbert dedit S. Paulo juxta London.*" &c. The charter of King William the Conqueror, exemplified in the Tower, englished thus:

"William, by the grace of God, king of Englishmen, to all his welbelovéd French and English people, greeting: Know ye that I do give unto God and the church of S. Paule of London, and to the rector and seruitors of the same, in all their lands which the church hath, or shall have, within borough and without, sack and soek, thole and theam, infangthefe and grithbrieche, and all freeships, by strand and by land, on tide and off tide, and all the rights that into them christendome byrath, on moorth sprake, and on unright hamed, and on unright work, of all that bishoprick on mine land, and on each other man's land. For I will that the church in all things be as free as I would my soul to be in the day of judgement. Witnesses: Osmund, our Chancellor; Lanfrank, the Archbishop of Canterbury; and T. Archbishop of York; Roger, Earle of Shrewesbury; Alane, the county; Geoffrey de Magnavilla; and Ralph Fenerel."

In the year 1087, this church of St. Paule was burnt with fire, and therewith the most part of the city; which fire began at the entry of the west gate, and consumed the east gate. Mauricius the bishop began therefore the foundation of a new church of St. Paule, a work that men of that time judged would never have been finished, it was to them so wonderful for length and breadth; and also the same was built upon arches (or vaults) of stone, for defence of fire, which was a manner of work before that time unknown to the people of this nation, and then brought in by the French; and the stone was fetched from Caen in Normandy.

This Mauricius deceased in the year 1107. Richard Beamor succeeded him in the bishopric, who did wonderfully increase the said church, purchasing of his own cost the large streets and lanes about it, wherein were wont to dwell many lay people; which ground he began to compass about with a strong wall of stone and gates. King Henry I. gave to the said Richard so much of the moat (or wall) of the castle, on the Thames side, to the south, as should be needful to make the said wall of the church, and so much as should suffice to make a wall without the way on the north side, &c.

It should seem that this Richard inclosed but two sides of the said church or cemetery of St. Paule, to wit, the south and north side; for King Edward II., in the 10th of his reign, granted that the said churchyard should be inclosed with a wall where it wanted, for the murders and robberies that were there committed. But the citizens then claimed the east part of the churchyard to be the place of assembly to their folkemotes, and that the great steeple there situate was to that use, their common bell, which being there rung, all the inhabitants of the city might hear and come together. They also claimed the west side, that they might there assemble themselves together, with the lord of Baynard's castle, for view of their armour, in defence of the city. This matter was in the Tower of London referred to Harvius de Stanton, and his fellow justices itinerants; but I find not the decision or judgment of that controversy.

True it is, that Edward III., in the 17th of his

* The only detailed account of this noble edifice to which the reader will refer with satisfaction is the *History of St. Paul's Cathedral*, published by Dugdale; and of which a new edition appeared in 1818, under the editorship of Sir Henry Ellis. Some expressions of these Charters, as printed by Stow, have been corrected by the copies in the Appendix to Sir Henry Ellis's book, pp. 288, 298. The third Charter mentioned is partly in Latin and partly in Saxon, the peculiar franchises and general words being in the latter language, as was not unusual.

reign, gave commandment for the finishing of that wall, which was then performed, and to this day it continueth; although now on both the sides (to wit, within and without) it be hidden with dwelling-houses. Richard Beamer deceased in the year 1127, and his successors in process of time performed the work begun.

The steeple of this church was built and finished in the year 1222; the cross on the said steeple fell down, and a new was set up in the year 1314. The new work of Pauls (so called) at the east end above the choir, was begun in the year 1251.

Henry Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, constable of Chester, and custos of England, in his time was a great benefactor to this work, and was there buried in the year 1310. Also Ralph Baldoche, Bishop of London, in his lifetime gave two hundred marks to the building of the said new work, and left much by his testament towards the finishing thereof: he deceased in the year 1313, and was buried in the Lady chapel. Also the new work of Pauls, to wit, the cross aisles, were begun to be new built in the year 1256.

The 1st of February, in the year 1444, about two of the clock in the afternoon, the steeple of Pauls was fired by lightning, in the midst of the shaft or spire, both on the west side and on the south; but by labour of many well-disposed people the same to appearance was quenched with vinegar, so that all men withdrew themselves to their houses, praising God; but between eight and nine of the clock in the same night the fire burst out again more fervently than before, and did much hurt to the lead and timber, till by the great labour of the mayor and people that came thither, it was thoroughly quenched.

This steeple was repaired in the year 1462, and the weathercock again erected. Robert Godwin winding it up, the rope brake, and he was destroyed on the pinnacles, and the cock was sore bruised; but Burchwood (the king's plumber) set it up again: since the which time, needing reparation, it was both taken down and set up in the year 1553; at which time it was found to be of copper, gilt over; and the length from the bill to the tail being four feet, and the breadth over the wings three feet and a half, it weighed forty pounds; the cross from the bowl to the eagle (or cock) was fifteen feet and six inches, of assize; the length thereof overthwart was five feet and ten inches, and the compass of the bowl was nine feet and one inch.

The inner body of this cross was oak, the next cover was lead, and the uttermost was of copper, red varnished. The bowl and eagle, or cock, were of copper, and gilt also.

The height of the steeple was five hundred and twenty feet, whereof the stone-work is two hundred and sixty feet, and the spire was likewise two hundred and sixty feet: the length of the whole church is two hundred and forty tailors' yards, which make seven hundred and twenty feet; the breadth thereof is one hundred and thirty feet, and the height of the body of that church is one hundred and fifty feet*. This church hath a bishop, a dean, a pre-

centor, chancellor, treasurer, and five archdeacons; to wit, of London, Middlesex, Essex, Colchester, and St. Albans: it hath prebendaries thirty, canons twelve, vicars choral six, &c.

The college of petty canons there was founded by King Richard II. in honour of Queen Anne his wife, and of her progenitors, in the 17th of his reign. Their hall and lands were then given unto them, as appeareth by the patent; Master Robert Dokesworth then being master thereof. In the year 1408, the petty canons then building their college, the mayor and commonalty granted them their water-courses, and other easements.

There was also one great cloister, on the north side of this church, environing a plot of ground, of old time called Pardon churchyard; whereof Thomas More, dean of Pauls, was either the first builder, or a most especial benefactor, and was buried there. About this cloister was artificially and richly painted the Dance of Machabray, or Dance of Death, commonly called the Dance of Paul's; the like whereof was painted about St. Innocent's cloister at Paris, in France. The metres, or poesy of this dance, were translated out of French into English by John Lidgate, monk of Bury*, and with the picture of death leading all estates, painted about the cloister, at the special request and at the dispence of Jenken Carpenter, in the reign of Henry VI. In this cloister were buried many persons, some of worship, and others of honour; the monuments of whom, in number and curious workmanship, passed all other that were in that church.

Over the east quadrant of this cloister was a fair library, built at the costs and charges of Walter Sherrington, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, in the reign of Henry VI., which hath been well furnished with fair written books in vellum, but few of them now do remain there. In the midst of this Pardon churchyard was also a fair chapel, first founded by Gilbert Becket, portgrave and principal magistrate of this city, in the reign of King Stephen, who was there buried.

Thomas Moore, dean of Paul's before named, re-edified or new built this chapel, and founded three chaplains there, in the reign of Henry V.

In the year 1549, on the 10th of April, the said chapel, by commandment of the Duke of Somerset, was begun to be pulled down, with the whole cloister, the Dance of Death, the tombs and monuments; so that nothing thereof was left but the bare plot of ground, which is since converted into a garden for the petty canons. There was also a chapel at the north door of Pauls, founded by the same Walter Sherrington, by license of Henry VI., for two, three, or four chaplains, endowed with forty in building the present edifice will be found in Knight's *London*, vol. ii. p. 1—16.

* Lydgate's verses were first printed at the end of Tottell's edition of the translation of his *Fall of Princes*, from Boccaccio, 1554, folio, and afterwards in Sir W. Dugdale's *History of St. Paul's Cathedral*.

Allusion has been made in a former note (p. 42) to the labours of Mr. Douce upon this subject. The reader curious of further information upon the point may consult Rosenkrantz, *Deutsche Poesie im Mittelalter*, p. 591; Gervinus, *Poetische National Literatur der Deutschen*, ii. 362; and Dr. Gruneisen's *Life of Nicolaus Manuel*, who was no less distinguished as the painter of the celebrated Dance of Death at Berne, than as a poet, a soldier, a statesman, and a reformer of the sixteenth century.

* The following are similar particulars with regard to the present building:—From the ground without to the top of the cross three hundred and forty feet; the whole length of the church and porch is five hundred feet, and the breadth within the doors of the porticos two hundred and fifty feet. An agreeable sketch of the labours of Sir Christopher Wren

pounds, by the year. This chapel also was pulled down in the reign of Edward VI., and in place thereof a fair house built.

There was furthermore a fair chapel of the Holy Ghost in Paules church, on the north side, founded in the year 1400 by Roger Holmes, chancellor and prebendary of Paules, for Adam Berie, alderman, mayor of London 1364, John Wingham and others, for seven chaplains, and called Holme's college. Their common hall was in Paul's churchyard, on the south side, near unto a carpenter's yard. This college was, with others, suppressed in the reign of Edward VI. Then under the choir of Paules is a large chapel, first dedicated to the name of Jesu, founded, or rather confirmed, the 37th of Henry VI., as appeareth by his patent thereof, dated at Croydone, to this effect: "Many liege men, and Christian people, having begun a fraternitie and guild, to the honour of the most glorious name of Jesus Christ our Saviour, in a place called the Crowdes of the cathedrall church of Paul's in London, which hath continued long time peaceably till now of late; whereupon they have made request, and we have taken upon us the name and charge of the foundation, to the laud of Almighty God, the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost, and especially to the honour of Jesu, in whose honour the fraternitie was begun," &c.

The king ordained William Say, then dean of Paules, to be the rector, and Richard Ford (a remembrancer in the Exchequer), and Henry Bennis (clerk of his privy seal), the guardians of those brothers and sisters; they and their successors to have a common seal, license to purchase lands or tenements to the value of forty pounds by the year, &c.

This foundation was confirmed by Henry VII., the 22nd of his reign, to Doctor Collet, then dean of Paules, rector there, &c.; and by Henry VIII., the 27th of his reign, to Richard Pace, then dean of Paules, &c.

At the west end of this Jesus chapel, under the choir of Paules, also was a parish church of St. Faith, commonly called St. Faith under Paul's, which served for the stationers and others dwelling in Paule's churchyard, Paternoster row, and the places near adjoining. The said chapel of Jesus being suppressed in the reign of Edward VI., the parishioners of St. Faith's church were removed into the same, as to a place more sufficient for largeness and lightness, in the year 1551, and so it remaineth.

Then was there on the north side of this churchyard a large charnel house for the bones of the dead, and over it a chapel of an old foundation, such as followeth. In the year 1282, the 10th of Edward I., it was agreed, that Henry Walles, mayor, and the citizens, for the cause of shops by them built, without the wall of the churchyard, should assign to God and to the church of St. Paul ten marks of rent by the year for ever, towards the new building of a chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and also to assign five marks of yearly rent to a chaplain to celebrate there.

Moreover, in the year 1430, the 8th of Henry VI., license was granted to Jenkin Carpenter (executor to Richard Whittington) to establish upon the said charnel a chaplain, to have eight marks by the year. Then was also in this chapel two brotherhoods. In this chapel were buried Robert

Barton, Henry Barton, mayor, and Thomas Mirfin, mayor, all skimmers, and were entombed with their images of alabaster over them; grated or coped about with iron before the said chapel, all which were pulled down in the year 1549: the bones of the dead, couched up in a charnel under the chapel, were conveyed from thence into Finsbury field (by report of him who paid for the carriage*), amounting to more than one thousand cart-loads, and there laid on a moorish ground; in short space after raised, by soilage of the city upon them, to bear three windmills. The chapel and charnel were converted into dwelling-houses, warehouses, and sheds before them, for stationers, in place of the tombs.

In the east part of this churchyard standeth Paules school, lately new built, and endowed in the year 1512 by John Collet, doctor of divinity and dean of Paules, for one hundred and fifty-three poor men's children, to be taught free in the same school; for which he appointed a master, a surmaster, or usher, and a chaplain, with large stipends for ever, committing the oversight thereof to the masters, wardens, and assistants of the mercers in London, because he was† son to Henry Collet, mercer, sometime mayor. He left to these mercers lands to the yearly value of one hundred and twenty pounds, or better.

Near unto this school, on the north side thereof, was of old time a great and high clochier, or bell-house, four square, built of stone, and in the same a most strong frame of timber, with four bells, the greatest that I have heard; these were called Jesus' bells, and belonged to Jesus' chapel, but I know not by whose gift: the same had a great spire of timber covered with lead, with the image of St. Paul on the top, but was pulled down by Sir Miles Partridge, knight, in the reign of Henry VIII. The common speech then was, that he did set a hundred pounds upon a cast at dice against it, and so won the said clochard and bells of the king; and then causing the bells to be broken as they hung, the rest was pulled down. This man was afterward executed on the Tower hill for matters concerning the Duke of Somerset, the 5th of Edward VI.

In place of this clochard, of old times the common bell of the city was used to be rung for the assembly of the citizens to their folke mores, as I have before showed.

About the midst of this churchyard is a pulpit cross of timber, mounted upon steps of stone, and covered with lead, in which are sermons preached by learned divines every Sunday in the forenoon; the very antiquity of which cross is to me unknown. I read, that in the year 1259, King Henry III. commanded a general assembly to be made at this cross, where he in proper person commanded the mayor, that on the next day following, he should cause to be sworn before the alderman every strippling of twelve years of age or upward, to be true to the king and his heirs, kings of England. Also, in the year 1262, the same king caused to be read at Paul's cross a bull, obtained from Pope Urban IV., as an absolution for him, and for all that were sworn to maintain the articles made in parliament at Oxford. Also in the year 1299, the dean of

* Reign Wolfe.

† "Born in London, and son to Henry Collet."—1st edition, p. 267.

Paules accursed at Paules cross all those which had searched in the church of St. Martin in the Field for a hoard of gold, &c. This pulpit cross was by tempest of lightning and thunder defaced. Thomas Kempe, Bishop of London, new built it in form as it now standeth*.

In the year 1561, the 4th of June, betwixt the hours of three and four of the clock in the afternoon, the great spire of the steeple of St. Paule's church was fired by lightning, which brake forth (as it seemed) two or three yards beneath the foot of the cross; and from thence it went downward the spire to the battlements, stone-work, and bells, so furiously, that within the space of four hours the same steeple, with all the roofs of the church, were consumed, to the great sorrow and perpetual remembrance of the beholders. After this mischance, the queen's majesty directed her letters to the mayor, willing him to take order for the speedy repairing of the same: and she, of her gracious disposition, for the furtherance thereof, did presently give and deliver in gold one thousand marks, with a warrant for a thousand loads of timber, to be taken out of her woods or elsewhere.

The citizens also gave first a great benevolence, and after that three fifteens, to be speedily paid. The clergy of England likewise, within the province of Canterbury, granted the fortieth part of the value of their benefices, charged with first fruits, the thirtieth part of such as were not so charged; but the clergy of London diocese granted the thirtieth part of all that paid first fruits, and the twentieth part of such as had paid their fruits.

Six citizens of London, and two petty canons of Paules church, had charge to further and oversee the work, wherein such expedition was used, that within one month next following the burning thereof, the church was covered with boards and lead, in manner of a false roof, against the weather; and before the end of the said year, all the said aisles of the church were framed out of new timber, covered with lead, and fully finished. The same year also the great roofs of the west and east ends were framed out of great timber in Yorkshire, brought thence to London by sea, and set up and covered with lead; the north and south ends were framed of timber, and covered with lead, before

* "Alas! for the mutability of human affairs!" as the worthy Baillie McCandlish was wont to say. Paul's cross, whose strange eventful history is written in Knight's *London* (i. p. 32 *et seq.*), no longer exists: nay, the very elm tree, which used to stand on the north-east side of the present cathedral, and mark its site, has ceased to exist.

In April, 1633, while the cathedral was undergoing extensive repairs, and the churchyard was occupied with masons and building materials, the sermons usually delivered at Paul's cross were moved into the choir; and it does not appear that the old pulpit out of doors was ever again employed. At last, by the votes of both houses of the Long Parliament, on the 10th and 11th of September, 1642, for the abolishing of bishops, deans, and chapters, "the very foundation of this famous cathedral," to quote the impressive words of Dugdale (p. 109, edit. 1818), "was utterly shaken in pieces . . . so that the next year following, 1643 (Isaac Pennington being lord mayor), the famous cross in the churchyard, which had been for many ages the most noted and solemn place in the nation for the gravest divines and greatest scholars to preach at, was, with the rest of the crosses about London and Westminster, by further order of the said parliament, pulled down to the ground."

April, 1566. Concerning the steeple, divers models were devised and made, but little else was done, through whose default, God knoweth; it was said that the money appointed for new building of the steeple was collected*.

Monuments in this church be these: first, as I read, of Erkenwalde, Bishop of London, buried in the old church about the year of Christ 700, whose body was translated into the new work in the year 1140, being richly shined above the choir behind the high altar.

Sebba, or Seba, King of the East Saxons, first buried in the old church, since removed into the new, and laid in a coffin of stone, on the north side without the choirs; Ethelred, King of the West Saxons, was likewise buried and removed; William Norman, Bishop of London in the reigns of Edward the Confessor and of William the Conqueror, deceased 1070, and is new buried in the body of the church, with an epitaph, as in my Summary I have shown; Eustaechius de Fauconbridge, Bishop of London 1228, buried in the south aisle above the choir; Martin Pateshull, Dean of Powle's, 1239; W. Havarhul, canon; the king's treasurer, Hugh Pateshull, 1240; Roger Nigar, Bishop of London, 1241, buried in the north side of the choir; Fulco Basset, Bishop of London, 1259, and his brother, Philip Basset, knight, 1261; Henry Wingham, Bishop of London, buried in the south aisle above the choir, 1262; Geoffrey de Acre, chaplain, in the chapel of St. James, under the rood at north door, 1264; Alexander de Swardford, 1273; John Grantham, 1273; John Braynford, and Richard Umfraville, 1275; Roger de Iale, Archdeacon of Essex, 1280; Ralph Donion, canon, 1382; Godfrey S. Donstan, 1274; Fulke Lovell, 1298; William Harworth, clerk, 1302; Reginald Brandon, in the new Lady chapel, 1305; Richard Newporte, Archdeacon of Middlesex, 1309; Henry Lacie, Earl of Lincolne, in the new work of Paules betwixt the Lady chapel and St. Dunston's chapel, where a fair monument was raised for him, with his picture in armour, cross-legged †, as one professed for defence of the Holy Land against the infidels, 1310, his monument is foully defaced; Ralph Baldoke, Bishop of London, 1313, in the said Lady chapel, whereof he was founder.

Some have noted ‡, that in digging the foundation of this new work, namely of a chapel on the south side of Paule's church, there were found more than a hundred scalps of oxen or kine, in the year 1316; which thing (say they) confirmed

* "And brought to the hands of Edmond Grendall, then Bishop of London."—1st edition, p. 269.

† "When the Templar died he was placed in a coffin in his habit, and with his legs crossed, and thus buried."—See Mr. Keightley's volume, published in the *Library of Entertaining Knowledge*, under the title of *Secret Societies of the Middle Ages.—The Templars*. In this useful little work Mr. Keightley furnishes the English reader with a brief but satisfactory account of this powerful Order, whose history has employed the pens of Raynouard and Wilcke on the continent, but had hitherto received little or no attention in this country.

Raynouard's *Monumens Historiques relatifs à la Condamnation des Templiers*. Paris, 1813, and Wilcke's *Geschichte des Templerordenens* (3 bd. 8vo. Leipsic, 1827—35.) may be looked upon as the chief materials for such history, and are well-deserving perusal.

‡ W. Paston.

greatly the opinion of those which have reported, that of old time there had been a temple of Jupiter, and that there was daily sacrifice of beasts.

Othersome, both wise and learned, have thought the buck's head, borne before the procession of Paule's on St. Paul's day, to signify the like. But true it is, I have read an ancient deed to this effect.

Sir William Baud, knight, the 3d of Edward I., in the year 1274, on Candlemas day, granted to Harvy de Borham, dean of Powle's, and to the chapter there, that in consideration of twenty-two acres of ground or land, by them granted, within their manor of Westley in Essex, to be inclosed into his park of Curingham, he would for ever, upon the feast day of the Conversion of St. Paul in winter, give unto them a good doe, seasonable and sweet, and upon the feast of the commemoration of St. Paul in summer, a good buck, and offer the same upon the high altar; the same to be spent amongst the canons residents. The doe to be brought by one man at the hour of procession, and through the procession to the high altar; and the bringer to have nothing: the buck to be brought by all his men in like manner, and they to have paid unto them by the chamberlain of the church twelve pence only, and no more to be required. This grant he made, and for performance bound the lands of him and his heirs to be distrained on; and if the lands should be evicted, that yet he and his heirs should accomplish the gift. Witnesses: Richard Tilberie, William de Wokendon, Richard de Harlowe, knights, Peter of Stanforde, Thomas of Waldon, and some others.

Sir Walter Baude, son to William, confirmed this gift, in the 30th of the said king, and the witnesses thereunto were Nicholas de Wokendon, Richard de Rokeley, Thomas de Mandevile, John de Rochford, knights, Richard de Broniford, William de Markes, William de Fulham, and other. Thus much for the grant.

Now what I have heard by report, and have partly seen, it followeth. On the feast day of the commemoration of St. Paul, the buck being brought up to the steps of the high altar in Paul's church, at the hour of procession, the dean and chapter being apparelled in copes and vestments, with garlands of roses on their heads, they sent the body of the buck to baking, and had the head fixed on a pole, borne before the cross in their procession, until they issued out of the west door, where the keeper that brought it blowed the death of the buck, and then the horners that were about the city presently answered him in like manner; for the which pains they had each one of the dean and chapter, four pence in money, and their dinner, and the keeper that brought it, was allowed during his abode there, for that service, meat, drink, and lodging, at the dean and chapter's charges, and five shillings in money at his going away, together with a loaf of bread, having the picture of St. Paul upon it, &c.

There was belonging to the church of St. Paul, for both the days, two special suits of vestments, the one embroidered with bucks, the other with does, both given by the said Bauds (as I have heard). Thus much for the matter.

Now to the residue of the monuments:—Sir Ralph Hingham, chief justice of both Benches successively, buried in the side of the north walk

against the choir, 1308; Henry Guildford, clerk at the altar of the Apostles, 1313; Richard Newport, Bishop of London, 1318; William Chateslehunt, canon, in the new work, 1321, had a chantry there, Sir Nicholas Wokenden, knight, at the altar of St. Thomas in the new work, 1323; John Cheshull, Bishop of London, 1279; Roger Waltham, canon, 1325; Hamo Chikewell, six times mayor of London, 1328; Robert Monden, and John Monden his brother, canons, in the new work, 1332; Walter Thorpe, canon, in the new work, 1333; John Fable, 1334; James Fisil, chaplain, 1341; William Melford, Archdeacon of Colchester, 1345; Richard de Placeto, Archdeacon of Colchester, 1345, before St. Thomas' chapel; Geoffrey Eton, canon, 1345; Nicholas Husband, canon, 1347; Sir John Poultney, mayor 1348, in a fair chapel by him built on the north side of Paule's, wherein he founded three chaplains; William Eversden, canon, in the crowds, 1349; Alan Hotham, canon, in the new crowds, 1351; Henry Etesworth, under the rood at north door, 1353; John Beauchampe, constable of Dover, warden of the ports, knight of the Garter, son to Guy Beauchampe, Earl of Warwick, and brother to Thomas Earl of Warwick, in the body of the church, on the south side, 1358, where a proper chapel and fair monument remaineth of him; he is by ignorant people misnamed to be Humfrey, Duke of Gloucester, who lieth honourably buried at St. Alban's, twenty miles from London, and therefore such as merrily or simply profess themselves to serve Duke Humfrey in Paule's*, are to be punished here, and sent to St. Alban's, there again to be punished for their absence from their lord and master, as they call him; Michael Norborow, Bishop of London, 1361; Walter Nele, blader, and Avis his wife, 1361; Gilbert Brewer, dean of Paule's, 1366; Richard Wendover, 1366; John Hiltoft, goldsmith, and Alice his wife, in the new works, St. Dunston's chapel, 1368; Adam de Bery, mayor in the year 1364, buried in a chapel of St. Mary Magdalen, or of the Holy Ghost, called Holmes' college, behind the rood at the north door of Paul's, 1390; Roger Holmes, chancellor and prebend of Paul's, was buried there 1400; John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, 1399, buried on the

* "To dine with Duke Humphrey" is a phrase long used to signify going without a dinner. The following quotation from Anthony Munday's edition of the *Survey*, p. 642, will serve to illustrate our author's text.

"Likewise on May day, tankard-bearers, watermen, and some other of like quality beside, would use to come to the same tombe early in the morning, and (according to the other) have delivered serviceable presentation at the same monument, by strewing hearbes, and sprinkling faire water on it, as in the dutie of servants, and according to their degrees and charges in office. But, as Master Stowe hath discreetly advised such as are so merrily disposed, or simply proesse themselves to serve Duke Humphrey in Paul's, if punishment of losing their dinners dayly there be not sufficient for them, they should be sent to St. Alban's, to answer there for their disobedience and long absence from their so highly well-deserving lord and master, because in their merrie disposition they please so to call him."

In addition to this long note upon what Anthony Munday designates in the margin, as "a due and fit penance for fond Duke Humphrey's idle servants," it may be observed that "this prince's vault (to use the words of Granger, *Biog. History of England*, l. 21.) in which his body was preserved in a kind of pickle, was discovered at St. Alban's, in the year 1703."

north side the choir, beside Blanch his first wife, who deceased 1368; Sir Richard Burley, knight of the Garter, under a fair monument in the side of the north walk against the choir, a chantry was there founded for him, 1409; Beatrix his wife, after his death, married to Thomas Lord Rouse, was buried in the chapel of St. John Baptist (or Pountney's chapel) near the north door of Paule's, 1409; Thomas Evers, dean of Paule's, in St. Thomas' chapel, the new work, 1411; Thomas More, dean of Paule's, in the chapel of St. Anne and St. Thomas, by him new built in Pardon churchyard, 1419; Thomas Ston, dean of Paule's, by the tomb of John Beauchampe, 1423; the Duchess of Bedford, sister to Philip Duke of Burgoyne, 1433; Robert Fitzhugh, Bishop of London, in the choir, 1435; Walter Sherington, in a chapel without the north door by him built, 1457; John Drayton, goldsmith, in Alhallowes chapel, 1456; William Say, dean of Paul's, in the Crowds, or Jesus' chapel, 1468; Margaret, Countess of Shrewsbury, in the Crowds, or Jesus' chapel, as appeareth by an inscription on a pillar there.

Here before the image of Jesu lieth the worshipful and right noble lady, Margaret Countess of Shrewsbury, late wife of the true and victorious knight and redoubtable warrior, John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, which worship died in Guien for the right of this land. The first daughter, and one of the heirs of the right famous and renowned knight, Richard Beauchamp, late Earl of Warwick, which died in Rouen, and Dame Elizabeth his wife, the which Elizabeth was daughter and heir to Thomas, late Lord Berkeley, on his side, and of her mother's side, Lady Lisle and Tyes, which countess passed from this world the 14th day of June, in the year of our Lord 1468, on whose soul Jesu have mercy. Amen.

John Wenlocke, by his last will, dated 1477, appointed there should be dispended upon a monument over the Lady of Shrewsbury where she is buried afore Jesus, one hundred pounds. He left Sir Humfrey Talbot his supervisor. This Sir Humfrey Talbot, knight, lord marshal of the town of Calais, made his will the year 1492. He was younger son of John Earl of Shrewsbury, and Margaret his wife; he appointed a stone to be put in a pillar before the grave of his lady mother in Paul's, of his portraiture and arms, according to the will of John Wenlocke, but for want of room and light-someness in that place, it was concluded, the image of Jesus to be curiously painted on the wall of Paul's church, over the door that entereth into the said chapel of Jesus, and the portraiture also of the said Lady Margaret, Countess of Shrewsbury, kneeling in her mantle of arms, with her progeny; all which was so performed, and remaineth till this day.

In the chapel of Jesus, Thomas Dowerey, William Lambe, 1578, and many other, have been interred; John of London, under the north road, 1266; John Lovell, clerk; John Romane; John of St. Olave; Walter Bloxley; Sir Alen Boxhull, knight of the Garter, constable of the Tower, custos of the forest and park of Clarendon, the forest of Brokholt, Grovell, and Melchet, buried beside St. Erkenwald's shrine, and of later time Thomas Kempe, Bishop of London, in a proper chapel of the Trinity by him founded in the body of the church, on

the north side, 1489; Thomas Linaere, doctor of physic; John Collet, dean of Paule's, on the south side without the choir, 1519; John Downman, canon of Paule's, 1525; Richard Fitz-James, Bishop of London, hard beneath the north-west pillar of Paule's steeple, under a fair tomb, and a chapel of St. Paul, built of timber, with stairs mounting therunto over his tomb, of grey marble, 1521. His chapel was burned by fire falling from the steeple, his tomb was taken thence. John Stokesley, Bishop of London, in our Lady chapel, 1539; John Nevill, Lord Latimer, in a chapel by the north door of Paule's, about 1542; Sir John Mason, knight, in the north walk, against the choir, 1566; William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, knight of the Garter, on the north side of the choir, 1569; Sir Nicholas Bacon, lord-keeper of the great seal, on the south side of the choir, 1578; Sir Philip Sidney, above the choir on the north side, 1586; Sir Frances Walsingham, knight, principal secretary, and chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, 1590; Sir Christopher Hatton, lord chancellor of England, knight of the Garter, above the choir, 1591, under a most sumptuous monument, where a merry poet wrote thus:—

"Philip and Francis have no tombe,
For great Christopher takes all the roome *."

John Elmer, Bishop of London, before St. Thomas' chapel, 1594; the Lady Heneage, and her husband, Sir Thomas Heneage, chancellor of the duchy, 1595; Richard Fletcher, Bishop of London, 1596. These, as the chief, have I noted to be buried there.

Without the north gate of Paule's church from the end of the Old Exchange, west up Paternoster row, by the two lanes out of Paule's church, the first out of the cross aisle of Paule's, the other out of the body of the church, about the midst thereof, and so west to the Golden Lion, be all of this ward, as is aforesaid. The houses in this street, from the first north gate of Paule's churchyard unto the next gate, was first built without the wall of the church yard, by Henry Walles, mayor in the year 1282. The rents of those houses go to the maintenance of London bridge. This street is now called Pater Noster row, because of stationers or text writers that dwelt there, who wrote and sold all sorts of books then in use, namely, A. B. C. with the Pater Noster, Ave, Creed, Graces, &c.

There dwelt also turners of beads, and they were called Pater Noster makers, as I read in a record of one Robert Nikke, Pater Noster maker, and citizen, in the reign of Henry IV., and so of other. At the end of Pater Noster row is Ave Mary lane, so called upon the like occasion of text writers and

* The allusion to "*Great Christopher*," which gives the point to this epigram, was well understood in Stow's time, when the *Legends of the Saints* were as familiar to the people as household words. The following passage from the *Life of St. Christopher* (see Warton's *English Poetry*, i. 16. ed. 1840.) descriptive of his gigantic stature, will enable the reader to understand the couplet, and appreciate the wit of the "merry poet."

"Seynt Cristofre was a Sarazin in the londe of Canaan,
In no stude by his day me fond non so strong a man:
Four-and-twenty feet he was longe, and thik and broad
Inough,
Such a man but he weore stronge, methinketh it weore
wo."

bead makers then dwelling there; and at the end of that lane is likewise Creede lane, late so called, but sometime Spurrier row, of spurriers dwelling there; and Amen lane is added thereunto betwixt the south end of Warwicke lane and the north end of Ave Mary lane. At the north end of Ave Mary lane is one great house, built of stone and timber, of old time pertaining to John Duke of Britaine, Earl of Richmond, as appeareth by the records of Edward II., since that, it is called Pembroke's inn, near unto Ludgate, as belonging to the earls of Pembroke, in the times of Richard II., the 18th year, and of Henry VI., the 14th year. It is now called Burgavenny house, and belongeth to Henry, late Lord of Burgavenny.

Betwixt the south end of Ave Mary lane, and the north end of Creed lane, is the coming out of Paule's church yard on the east, and the high street on the west, towards Ludgate, and this is called Bowyer row, of bowyers dwelling there in old time, now worn out by mercers and others. In this street, on the north side, is the parish church of St. Martin, a proper church, and lately new built; for in the year 1437, John Michael, mayor, and the commonalty, granted to William Downe, parson of St. Martin's at Ludgate, a parcel of ground, containing in length twenty-eight feet, and in breadth four feet, to set and build their steeple upon, &c. The monuments here have been of William Sevenoake, mayor 1418; Henry Belwase and John Gest, 1458; William Tavernor, gentleman, 1466; John Barton, esquire, 1439; Stephen Peacock, mayor 1533; Sir Roger Cholmley, John Went, and Roger Paine, had chantries there.

On the south side of this street is the turning into the Black Friars, which order sometime had their houses in Old borne, where they remained for the space of fifty-five years, and then in the year 1276, Gregorie Roksley, mayor, and the barons of this city, granted and gave to Robert Kilwarby, Archbishop of Canterbury, two lanes or ways next the street of Baynard's castle, and also the tower of Mountfitchit, to be destroyed; in place of which the said Robert built the late new church of the Black Friars, and placed them therein. King Edward I., and Elianor his wife, were great benefactors thereunto. This was a large church, and richly furnished with ornaments, wherein divers parliaments, and other great meetings, hath been holden; namely, in the year 1450, the 28th of Henry VI., a parliament was begun at Westminster, and adjourned to the Black Friars in London, and from thence to Leycester. In the year 1522, the Emperor Charles V. was lodged there. In the year 1524, the 15th of April, a parliament was begun at the Black Friars, wherein was demanded a subsidy of eight hundred thousand pounds to be raised of goods and lands, four shillings in every pound, and in the end was granted two shillings of the pound of goods or lands that were worth twenty pounds, or might dispend twenty pounds by the year, and so upward, to be paid in two years. This parliament was adjourned to Westminster amongst the black monks, and ended in the king's palace there, the 14th of August, at nine of the clock in the night, and was therefore called the Black parliament. In the year 1529, Cardinal Campeius, the legate, with Cardinal Woolsey, sat at the said Black Friars, where before them, as legates and

judges, was brought in question the king's marriage with Queen Katherine, as unlawful, before whom the king and queen were cited and summoned to appear, &c. whereof more at large in my Annals I have touched.

The same year, in the month of October, began a parliament in the Black Friars, in the which Cardinal Woolsey was condemned in the premunire; this house, valued at 104l. 15s. 5d., was surrendered the 12th of November, the 30th of Henry VIII. There were buried in this church, Margaret Queen of Scots; Hubert de Burgh, Earl of Kent, translated from their old church by Oldborne; Robert de Attabeto, Earl of Bellimon; Dame Isabel, wife to Sir Roger Bygot, earl marshal; William and Jane Huse, children to Dame Ellis, Countess of Arundell; and by them lieth Dame Ellis, daughter to the Earl Warren, and after Countess of Arundell; Dame Ide, wife to Sir Waltar —, daughter to Ferrers of Chartley; Richard de Brewes; Richard Strange, son to Roger Strange; Elizabeth, daughter to Sir Barthol. Badlesmere, wife to Sir William Bohun, Earl of Northampton; Marsh; the Earls of Marsh and Hereford; and Elizabeth Countess of Arundell; Dame Joan, daughter to Sir John Carne, first wife to Sir Gwilde Brian; Hugh Clare, knight, 1295; the heart of Queen Helianor, the foundress*; the heart of Alfonse, her son; the hearts of John and Margaret, children to W. Valence; Sir William Thorpe, justice; the Lord Lieth of Ireland; Maude, wife to Geoffrey Say, daughter to the Earl of Warwick; Dame Sible, daughter to Wil. Pattenhulle, wife to Roger Beauchampe; and by her Sir Richard or Roger Beauchampe; Lord St. Amand, and Dame Elizabeth his wife, daughter to the Duke of Lancaster; Sir Stephen Collington, knight; Sir William Peter, knight; the Countess of Huntington; Duchess of Excester, 1425; Sir John Cornwall; Lord Fanhope, died at Amphyll in Bedfordshire, and was buried here in 1443; Sir John Triptoste, Earl of Worcester, beheaded 1470; and by him in his chapel, James Tuoche Lord Audley, beheaded 1497; William Paston, and Anne, daughter to Edmond Lancaster; the Lord Beaumont; Sir Edmond Cornewall, Baron of Burford; the Lady Nevell, wedded to Lord Dowglas, daughter to the Duke of Excester; Richard Serope, esquire; Dame Katheren Vaux, *alias* Cobham; Sir Thomas Browne, and Dame Elizabeth his wife; Jane Powell; Thomas Swinforth; John Mawsley, esquire, 1432; John De la Bere, Nicholas Eare, Geoffrey Spring, William Clifford, esquires; Sir Thomas Brandon, knight of the Garter, 1509; William Stalworth, merchant-tailor, 1518; Wil-

* This practice of directing the heart to be buried in some favourite spot doubtless had its origin in the idea, more closely allied to poetry than physiology, of the heart being the seat of the affections. Thus the heart and brains of Henry I. were buried in Normandy, and his body in England. See his epitaph in Camden's *Remains concerning Britaine* (p. 314, ed. 1629); of which work a new edition is now preparing for the press by the editor of the present volume.

This note furnishes an opportunity of adding to the observations relative to the heart of Richard Cœur de Lion, in p. 50, that a most interesting paper, by Albert Way, Esq., F.S.A., on the subject of the effigy of that king in Rouen cathedral, and of the discovery in 1838 of "*his heart withered to the semblance of a faded leaf*," will be found in the xxxth vol. of the *Archæologia*, p. 202.

liam Courtney, Earl of Devonshire nominate, but not created, the 3rd of Henry VIII., &c.

There is a parish of St. Anne within the precinct of the Black Friars, which was pulled down with the Friars' church, by Sir Thomas Carden; but in the reign of Queen Mary, he being forced to find a church to the inhabitants, allowed them a lodging chamber above a stair, which since that time, to wit, in the year 1597, fell down, and was again by collection therefore made, new built and enlarged in the same year, and was dedicated on the 11th of December.

Now to turn again out of the Black Friars through Bowyer row, Ave Mary lane, and Pater Noster row, to the church of St. Michael *ad Bladum*, or at the corne, (corruptly at the querne,) so called, because in place thereof was sometime a corn market, stretching by west to the shambles. It seemeth that the church was new built* about the reign of Edward III. Thomas Newton, first parson there, was buried in the choir the year 1461. At the east end of this church stood a cross, called the old cross in West Cheape, which was taken down in the year 1300; since the which time the said parish church was also taken down, but new built and enlarged in the year 1430, the 8th of Henry VI. William Eastfield, mayor, and the commonalty, granted of the common soil of the city three feet and a half in breadth on the north part, and four feet in breadth toward the east. This is now a proper church, and hath the monuments of Thomas Newton, first parson; Roger Woodcocke, hatter, 1475; Thomas Rossel, brewer, 1473; John Hulton, stationer, 1475; John Oxney; Roger North, merchant-haberdasher, 1509; John Leiland, the famous antiquary; Henry Pranell, vintner, one of the sheriffs 1585; William Erkin, one of the sheriffs 1586; Thomas Bankes, barber-chirurgion, 1598, &c. John Mundham had a chantry there in the reign of Edward II.

At the east end of this church, in place of the old cross, is now a water-conduit placed. W. Eastfield, mayor the 9th of Henry VI., at the request of divers common councils, granted it so to be; whereupon, in the 19th of the same Henry, one thousand marks were granted by a common council towards the works of this conduit, and the reparations of other; this is called the little conduit in West Cheape by Paule's gate. At the west end of this parish church is a small passage for people on foot through the same church; and west from the said church, some distance, is another passage out of Pater Noster row, and is called, of such a sign, Panyar alley, which cometh out into the north over against St. Martin's lane. Next is Ivie lane, so called of ivy growing on the walls of the prebend + houses; but now the lane is replenished on both sides with fair houses, and divers offices be there kept by registers, namely, for the Prerogative Court of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the probate of wills, and for the lord treasurer's remembrance of the exchequer, &c.

This lane runneth north to the west end of St. Nicholas shambles. Of old time was one great

* "Was first builded about the reigne of Edward III. Thomas Newton, the first parson there, was buried in the quire, the year 1361, which was the 35th of Edward the Thirde."—1st edition, p. 277.

† "Prebend almes houses."—*Ibid*.

house sometimes belonging to the Earls of Britain, since that to the Lovels, and was called Lovels' inn; for Mathild, wife to John Lovell, held it in the 1st of Henry VI. Then is Eldenese lane, which stretcheth north to the high street of Newgate market; the same is now called Warwicke lane, of an ancient house there built by an Earl of Warwicke, and was since called Warwicke inn. It is in record called a messuage in Eldenese lane, in the parish of St. Sepulchre, the 28th of Henry the VI. Cicille Duchess of Warwicke possessed it. Now again from the conduit by Paule's gate on the north side is a large street running west to Newgate, the first part whereof, from the conduit to the shambles, is of selling bladders there, called Bladder street. Then behind the butchers' shops be now divers slaughter houses inward, and tipping houses outward. This is called Mountgodard street of the tipping houses there, and the goddards* mounting from the tap to the table, from the table to the mouth, and sometimes over the head. This street goeth up to the north end of Ivie lane.

Before this Mountgodard street stall boards were of old time set up by the butchers to show and sell their flesh meat upon, over the which stallboards they first built sheds to keep off the weather; but since that, encroaching by little and little, they have made their stallboards and sheds fair houses, meet for the principal shambles. Next is Newgate market, first of corn and meal, and then of other victuals, which stretcheth almost to Eldenese lane. A fair, new, and strong frame of timber, covered with lead, was therefore set up at the charges of the city, near to the west corner of St. Nicholas' shambles, for the meal to be weighed, in the 1st of Edward VI., Sir John Gresham being then mayor. On this side the north corner of Eldenese lane stood sometime a proper parish church of St. Ewine, as is before said, given by Henry VIII., towards the erecting of Christ's church; it was taken down, and in place thereof a fair strong frame of timber erected, wherein dwell men of divers trades. And from this frame to Newgate is all of this ward, and so an end thereof.

It hath an alderman, his deputy, common council twelve, constables seventeen, scavengers eighteen, wardmote inquest eighteen, and a beadle. And is taxed to the fifteen fifty pounds +.

BREAD STREET WARD.

BRED street ward beginneth in the high street of West Cheape, to wit, on the south side from the standard to the great cross. Then is also a part of Watheling street of this ward, to wit, from over against the Lion on the north side up almost to Paule's gate, for it lacketh but one house of St. Augustine's church. And on the south side, from the Red Lion gate to the Old Exchange, and down the same exchange on the east side by the west end of Mayden lane, or Distar lane, to Knight-

* Goddards are drinking cups, as appears from the following passage in the first edition of this work, p. 278:—

"This is called Mountgodard streete, by all likelihood of the tipping houses there, and the *Goddards*, or *pots*, mounting from the tap to the table, from the table to the mouth, and sometimes over the head."

† "In London at fifty-four pounds, and in the Exchequer at fifty-three pounds six shillings and eight pence."—1st edition, p. 345.

riders street, or, as they call that part thereof, Old Fish street. And all the north side of the said Old Fish street to the south end of Bread street, and by that still in Knightriders street till over against the Trinity church and Trinity lane. Then is Bread street itself, so called of bread in old time there sold; for it appeareth by records, that in the year 1302, which was the 30th of Edward I., the bakers of London were bound to sell no bread in their shops or houses, but in the market, and that they should have four hallinotes in the year, at four several terms, to determine of enormities belonging to the said company.

This street giving the name to the whole ward, beginneth in West Cheap, almost by the Standard, and runneth down south through or thwart Wateling street to Knightriders street aforesaid, where it endeth. This Bread street is wholly on both sides of this ward. Out of the which street, on the east side, is Basing lane, a piece whereof, to wit, to and over against the back gate of the Red Lion in Wateling street, is of this Bread street ward.

Then is Fryday street beginning also in West Cheap, and runneth down south through Wateling street to Knightriders street, or Old Fish street. This Friday street is of Bread street ward on the east side from over against the north-east corner of St. Matthew's church, and on the west side from the south corner of the said church, down as aforesaid.

In this Fryday street, on the west side thereof, is a lane, commonly called Mayden lane, or Distaffe lane, corruptly for Distar lane, which runneth west into the Old Exchange; and in this lane is also one other lane, on the south side thereof, likewise called Distar lane, which runneth down to Knight riders street, or Old Fish street; and so be the bounds of this whole ward.

Monuments to be noted here, first at Bread street corner, the north-east end, 1595, of Thomas Tomlinson, causing in the high street of Cheape a vault to be digged and made, there was found, at fifteen feet deep, a fair pavement like unto that above ground, and at the further end at the channel was found a tree sawed into five steps, which was to step over some brook running out of the west towards Walbrooke; and upon the edge of the said brook, as it seemeth, there were found lying along the bodies of two great trees, the ends whereof were then sawed off, and firm timber as at the first when they fell, part of the said trees remain yet in the ground undigged. It was all forced ground until they went past the trees aforesaid, which was about seventeen feet deep or better; thus much hath the ground of this city in that place been raised from the main.

Next to be noted, the most beautiful frame of fair houses and shops that be within the walls of London, or elsewhere in England, commonly called Goldsmith's row, betwixt Bread street end and the cross in Cheape, but is within this Bread street ward; the same was built by Thomas Wood, goldsmith, one of the sheriffs of London, in the year 1491. It containeth in number ten fair dwelling-houses and fourteen shops, all in one frame, uniformly built four stories high, beautified towards the street with the Goldsmiths' arms and the likeness of woodmen, in memory of his name, riding on monstrous beasts, all which is cast in lead, richly

painted over and gilt: these he gave to the Goldsmiths, with stocks of money, to be lent to young men having those shops, &c. This said front was again new painted and gilt over in the year 1594; Sir Richard Martin being then mayor, and keeping his mayoralty in one of them, serving out the time of Cutbert Buckle in that office from the 2nd of July till the 28th of October.

Then for Wateling street, which Leyland called Atheling or Noble street; but since he showeth no reason why, I rather take it to be so named of the great highway of the same calling. True it is, that at this present the inhabitants thereof are wealthy drapers, retailers of woollen cloths, both broad and narrow, of all sorts, more than in any one street of this city.

Of the Old Exchange, I have noted in Faringdon ward; wherefore I pass down to Knight riders street, whereof I have also spoken in Cordwainers street ward; but in this part of the said Knight riders street is a fish-market kept, and therefore called Old Fish street for a difference from New Fish street.

In this Old Fish street is one row of small houses, placed along in the midst of Knightriders street, which row is also of Bread street ward: these houses, now possessed by fishmongers, were at the first but moveable boards (or stalls), set out on market-days, to show their fish there to be sold; but procuring license to set up sheds, they grew to shops, and by little and little to tall houses, of three or four stories in height, and now are called Fish street. Walter Turke, fishmonger, mayor 1349, had two shops in Old Fish street, over against St. Nicholas church; the one rented five shillings the year, the other four shillings.

Bread street, so called of bread sold there (as I said), is now wholly inhabited by rich merchants; and divers fair inns be there, for good receipt of carriers and other travellers to the city.

On the east side of this street, at the corner of Wateling street, is the proper church of Allhallows in Bread street, wherein are the monuments — of James Thame, goldsmith; John Walpole, goldsmith, 1349; Thomas Beaumont, alderman, one of the sheriffs 1442; Robert Basset, salter, mayor 1476; Sir Richard Chaury, salter, mayor 1509; Sir Thomas Pargitar, salter, mayor 1530; Henry Sucley, merchant-tailor, one of the sheriffs 1541; Richard Reade, alderman, that served and was taken prisoner in Scotland, 1542; Robert House, one of the sheriffs 1569; William Albany, Richard May, and Roger Abde, merchant-tailors.

In the 23rd of Henry VIII., the 17th of August, two priests of this church fell at variance, that the one drew blood of the other; wherefore the same church was suspended, and no service sung or said therein for the space of one month after: the priests were committed to prison, and the 15th of October, being enjoined penance, went before a general procession, bare-headed, bare-footed, and bare-legged, before the children, with beads and books in their hands, from Paules, through Cheape, Cornhill, &c.

More to be noted of this church, which had sometime a fair spired steeple of stone. In the year 1559, the 5th of September, about mid-day, fell a great tempest of lightning, with a terrible

clap of thunder, which struck the said spire about nine or ten feet beneath the top; out of the which place fell a stone that slew a dog, and overthrew a man that was playing with the dog. The same spire being but little damaged thereby, was shortly after taken down, for sparing the charges of reparation.

On the same side is Salters' hall, with six alms houses in number, built for poor decayed brethren of that company. This hall was burnt in the year 1539, and again re-edified.

Lower down on the same side is the parish church of St. Mildred the Virgin. The monuments in this church be—of the Lord Trechaunt of St. Alban's, knight, who was supposed to be either the new builder of this church, or best benefactor to the works thereof, about the year 1300; and Odde Cornish, gentleman, 1312; William Palmer, blader, a great benefactor also, 1356; John Shadworth, mayor 1401, who gave the parsonage-house, a revery, and churchyard to that parish, in the year 1428; notwithstanding, his monument is pulled down; Stephen Bugge, gentleman; his arms be three water-bugs*, 1419; Henry Bugge founded a chantry there 1419; Roger Forde, vintner, 1440; Thomas Barnwell, fishmonger, one of the sheriffs 1434; Sir John Hawlen, clerk, parson of that church, who built the parsonage-house newly after the same had been burnt to the ground, together with the parson and his man also, burnt in that fire, 1485; John Parnell, 1510; William Hurst-waight, pewterer to the king, 1526; Christopher Turner, chirurgeon to King Henry VIII., 1530; Ralph Simonds, fishmonger, one of the sheriffs in the year 1527; Thomas Langham gave to the poor of that parish four tenements 1575; Thomas Hall, salter, 1582; Thomas Collins, salter, alderman; Sir Ambrose Nicholas, salter, mayor 1575, was buried in Sir John Shadworth's vault.

Out of this Bread street, on the same side, is Basing lane; a part whereof (as is afore showed) is of this ward, but how it took the name of Basing I have not read: in the 20th year of Richard II. the same was called the bakehouse, whether meant for the king's bakehouse, or of bakers dwelling there, and baking bread to serve the market in Bread street, where the bread was sold, I know not; but sure I am, I have not read of Basing, or of Gerrarde the giant, to have any thing there to do.

On the south side of this lane is one great house, of old time built upon arched vaults, and with arched gates of stone, brought from Caen in Normandy. The same is now a common hostrey for receipt of travellers, commonly and corruptly called Gerrardes hall, of a giant said to have dwelt there. In the high-roofed hall of this house sometime stood a large fir pole, which reached to the roof thereof, and was said to be one of the staves† that Gerrarde the giant used in the wars to run withal. There stood also a ladder of the same length, which (as they say) served to ascend to the top of the staff. Of later years this hall is altered in building, and divers rooms are made in it. Notwithstanding, the pole is removed to one corner of the hall, and

the ladder hanged broken upon a wall in the yard. The hosteler of that house said to me, "the pole lacketh half a foot of forty in length;" I measured the compass thereof, and found it fifteen inches. Reason of the pole could the master of the hostrey give me none, but bade me read the great Chronicles, for there he heard of it: which answer seemed to me insufficient, for he meant the description of Britaine, for the most part drawn out of John Leyland his commentaries (borrowed of myself), and placed before Reyne Wolfe's Chronicle*, as the labours of another (who was forced to confess he never travelled further than from London to the university of Oxford): he writing a chapter of giants or monstrous men, hath set down more matter than truth, as partly against my will I am enforced here to touch. R. G., in his brief collection of histories (as he termeth it) hath these words: "I, the writer hereof, did see, the 10th day of March, in the year of our Lord 1564, and had the same in my hand, the tooth of a man, which weighed ten ounces of troy weight; and the skull of the same man is extant, and to be seene, which will hold five pecks of wheat; and the shin-bone of the same man is six foote in length, and of a marvellous greatnes." Thus far of R. G.† The error thereof is thus: He affirmeth a stone to be the tooth of a man, which stone (so proved) having no shape of a tooth, had neither skull or shin-bone. Notwithstanding, it is added in the said description, that by conjectural symetry of those parts the body to be twenty-eight feet long, or more. From this he goeth to another like matter, of a man with a mouth sixteen feet wide, and so to Gerrard the giant and his staff. But to leave these fables, and return where I left, I will note what myself hath observed concerning that house.

I read that John Gisors, mayor of London in the year 1245, was owner thereof, and that Sir John Gisors, knight, mayor of London, and constable of the Tower 1311, and divers others of that name and family, since that time owned it. William Gisors was one of the sheriffs 1329. More, John

* "Which aunswere seemed to me insufficient, for hee meant the description of Britaine, before Reinwolfe's Chronicle, wherein the author writing a chapter of Gyauntes, and having been deceived by some authours, too much crediting their smoothe speeche, hath set down more matter than troth, as partly (and also against my will) I am enforced to touch."—1st edition, p. 283.

The alterations which this passage has undergone in the second edition are somewhat curious, and call for a few remarks. The allusion to Leland's Commentaries, *borrowed of myself*, unquestionably refers to the copy of that work, which Stow sold to Camden for an annuity of eight pounds a year—Reyne Wolfe's Chronicle is that of Holinshed (see ante, p. 110); and the work compiled from Leland, placed before the Chronicle as the "*labours of another*," is the very curious *Description of the Island of Britain, with a brief Rehearsal of the nature and qualities of the people of England, and such Commodities as are to be found in the same*, written by William Harrison, and printed in Holinshed.

The whole passage, and the allusion to Richard Grafton, his rival as a chronicler, whom Nicholson (*English Historical Library*, p. 71, ed. 1714) describes as a "very heedless and unskilful writer," would furnish materials for another chapter in the "Quarrels of Authors."

† "R. G. saw a stone, and said the same to bee a tooth, but being by my selfe proved a stone, there fayled both scull and shank-bone, and followed a cluster of lies together, yet since increased by other."—Stow.

* Water Bougets—heraldic representations of the leathern bottles in which water was anciently carried.

† "A pole of forty foote long, and fifteen inches about, fabuled to be the iusting staffe of Gerrard a giant."—Stow.

Gisors had issue, Henry and John; which John had issue, Thomas; which Thomas deceasing in the year 1350, left unto his son Thomas his messuage called Gisor's hall, in the parish of St. Mildred in Bread street: John Gisors made a feoffment thereof, 1386, &c. So it appeareth that this Gisor's hall, of late time by corruption hath been called Gerrard's hall * for Gisor's hall; as Bosom's inn for Blossom's inn, Bevis marks for Buries marks, Marke lane for Marte lane, Belliter lane for Belsetter's lane, Gutter lane for Guthuruns lane, Cry church for Christ's church, St. Mihel in the quorn for St. Mihel at corne, and sundry such others. Out of this Gisor's hall, at the first building thereof, were made divers arched doors, yet to be seen, which seem not sufficient for any great monster, or other than man of common stature to pass through, the pole in the hall might be used of old time (as then the custom was in every parish), to be set up in the summer as May-pole, before the principal house in the parish or street, and to stand in the hall before the screen, decked with holme and ivy, all the feast of Christmas†. The ladder served for the decking of the may-pole and roof of the hall. Thus much for Gisor's hall, and for that side of Bread street, may suffice.

Now on the west side of Bread street, amongst divers fair and large houses for merchants, and fair inns for passengers, had ye one prison-house pertaining to the sheriffs of London, called the compter in Bread street; but in the year 1555 the prisoners were removed from thence to one other new compter in Wood street, provided by the city's purchase, and built for that purpose; the cause of which remove was this: Richard Husband, pastelar, keeper of this compter in Bread street, being a wilful and headstrong man, dealt, for his own advantage, hard with the prisoners under his charge, having also servants such as himself liked best for their bad usage, and would not for any complaint be reformed; whereupon, in the year 1550, Sir Rowland Hill being mayor, by the assent of a court of aldermen, he was sent to the gaol of Newgate, for the cruel handling of his prisoners; and it was commanded to the keeper to set those irons on his legs which are called the widow's alms. These he ware from Thursday to Sunday in the afternoon, and being by a court of aldermen released on the Tuesday, was bound in a hundred marks to observe from thenceforth an act made by the common council, for the ordering of prisoners in the compters; all which notwithstanding, he continued as afore, whereof myself am partly a witness; for being of a jury to inquire against a sessions of gaol delivery‡, in the year 1552, we found the prisoners hardly dealt withal, for their achates and otherwise; as also that thieves and strumpets were there lodged for four-pence the night, whereby they might be safe from searches that were made abroad; for the which enormities, and other not needful to be recited, he was indighted at that session, but did rub it out, and could not be reformed till this remove

* "Gerrard's hall overthrowne with Gerrard the giant, and his great spear."—*Stow*.

† "Every man's house of old time was decked with holly and ivy in the winter, especially at Christmas."—*Stow*.

‡ "Quest of inquiry indight the keepers of the gayles for dealing hardly with their prisoners. They indighted the bowling alleys, &c."—*Stow*.

of prisoners, for the house in Bread street was his own by lease, or otherwise, so that he could not be put from it. Note, that gaolers buying their offices will deal hardly with pitiful prisoners.

Now in Friday street, so called of fishmongers dwelling there, and serving Friday's market, on the east side, is a small parish church, commonly called St. John Evangelist: the monuments therein be of John Dogget, merchant tailor, one of the sheriffs in the year 1509; Sir Christopher Askew, draper, mayor 1533; William de Avinger, farrier, was buried there in the 34th of Edward III. Then lower down, is one other parish church of St. Margaret Moyses, so called (as seemeth) of one Moyses, that was founder or new builder thereof. The monuments there be of Sir Richard Dobbes, skinner, mayor 1551; William Dane, ironmonger, one of the sheriffs 1569; Sir John Allet, fishmonger, mayor 1591. There was of older time buried, Nicholas Stanes, and Nicholas Braye; they founded chantries there.

On the west side of this Friday street, is Mayden lane, so named of such a sign, or Distaffe lane, for Distar lane, as I read in the record of a brewhouse called the Lamb, in Distar lane, the 16th of Henry VI. In this Distar lane, on the north side thereof, is the Cordwainers, or Shoemakers' hall, which company were made a brotherhood or fraternity, in the 11th of Henry IV. Of these cordwainers I read, that since the fifth of Richard II. (when he took to wife Anne, daughter to Vesalans, King of Boheme), by her example, the English people had used piked shoes, tied to their knees with silken laces, or chains of silver or gilt, wherefore in the 4th of Edward IV. it was ordained and proclaimed, that beaks of shoone and boots, should not pass the length of two inches, upon pain of cursing by the clergy, and by parliament to pay twenty shillings for every pair. And every cordwainer that shod any man or woman on the Sunday, to pay thirty shillings.

On the south side of this Distar lane, is also one other lane, called Distar lane, which runneth down to Knightriders' street, or Old Fish street, and this is the end of Bread street ward; which hath an alderman, his deputy, common council ten, constables ten, scavengers eight, wardmote inquest thirteen, and a beadle. It standeth taxed to the fifteen in London, at 37*l.*, and in the Exchequer at 36*l.* 18*s.* 2*d.* *.

QUEENE HITHE WARD.

NEXT unto Bread street ward, on the south side thereof, is Queene Hithe ward, so called of a water gate, or harbour for boats, lighters, and barges; and was of old time for ships, at what time the timber bridge of London was drawn up, for the passage of them to the said hithe, as to a principal strand for landing and unlading against the midst and heart of the city.

This ward beginneth in the east, in Knightriders' street, on the south side thereof, at the east end of the parish church called the Holy Trinity, and runneth west on the south side to a lane called Lambert hill, which is the length of the ward in Knightriders' street, out of the which street are

* "In the Exchequer thirty-six pounds, ten shillings."—*1st edition*, p. 285.

divers lanes, running south to Thames street, and are of this ward: the first is Trinity lane, which runneth down by the west end of Trinity church; then is Spuren lane, or Spooner's lane, now called Huggen lane; then Bread street hill; then St. Mary Mounthaunt, out of the which lane, on the east side thereof, is one other lane, turning east, through St. Nicholas Olave's churchyard to Bread street hill. This lane is called Finimore lane, or Fivefoot lane, because it is but five feet in breadth at the west end; in the midst of this lane runneth down one other lane broader, south to Thames street, I think the same to be called Desbourne lane, for I read of such a lane to have been in the parish of Mary Summerset, in the 22nd year of Edward III., where there is said to lie between the tenement of Edward de Montacute, knight, on the east part, and the tenement some time pertaining to William Gladwine on the west, one plot of ground, containing in length towards Thames street, twenty-five feet, &c.

Last of all, have you Lambart-hill lane, so called of one Lambart, owner thereof; and this is the furthest west part of this ward.

On the north side coming down from Knightriders' street, the east side of Lambart hill, is wholly of this ward; and the west side, from the north end of the Blacksmiths' hall (which is about the midst of this lane) unto Thames street; then part of Thames street is also of this ward, to wit, from a cook's house called the sign of King David, three houses west from the Old Swan brew-house in the east, unto Huntington house, over against St. Peter's church in the west, near unto Paul's wharf; and on the land side, from a cook's house called the Blue Boar, to the west end of St. Peter's church, and up St. Peter's hill, two houses north above the said church. And these be the bounds of this ward, in which are parish churches seven, halls of companies two, and other ornaments as shall be shewed.

First in Knightriders' street, is the small parish church of the Holy Trinity, very old, and in danger of down falling: collections have been made for repairing thereof, but they will not stretch so far, and, therefore, it leaneth upon props or stilts. Monuments as followeth.

John Brian, alderman in the reign of Henry V., a great benefactor; John Chamber had a chantry there; Thomas Rishby, esquire, and Alice his wife, within the chancel; John Mirfin, auditor of the exchequer 1471; Sir Richard Fowler, of Ricks in Oxfordshire, 1528; George Cope, second son to Sir John Cope of Copasashby in Northamptonshire, 1572.

Towards the west end of Knightriders' street is the parish church of St. Nicholas Cold Abbey, a proper church, somewhat ancient, as appeareth by the ways raised thereabout, so that men are forced to descend into the body of the church: it hath been called of many Golden Abbey, of some, Gold Abbey, or Cold Bey, and so hath the most ancient writings*, as standing in a cold place, as Cold harbour, and such like. The steeple or tall tower of this church, with the south aisle, have been of a later building: to wit, the 1st of Richard II., when

* "But I could never learne the cause why it should be so called, and therefore I will let it passe."—1st edition, p. 287.

it was meant the whole old church should have been new built, as appeareth by the arching begun on the east side the steeple, under the which, in the stone work, the arms of one Buckland, esquire, and his wife, daughter to Beaupere, are cut in stone, and also are in the glass windows, whereby it appeareth he was the builder of the steeple, and repairer of the residue. The 26th of Edward III., An. Aubrey being mayor*, T. Frere, fishmonger, gave one piece of ground to the said parish church of St. Nicholas, containing eighty-six feet in length, and forty-three feet at one end, and thirty-four at the other, in breadth, for a cemetery or churchyard. The 20th of Richard II., Thomas Barnard Castle, clerke, John Sonderash, clerke, and John Nouncey, gave to the parson and churchwardens of the said church and their successors, one messuage and one shop, with the appurtenances, in Distaffe lane and Old Fish street, for the reparation of the body of the said church, the belfry or steeple, and ornaments.

Buried in this church, John Calfe, and William Cogeshall, 1426; Waltar Turke, fishmonger, mayor 1349; Richard Esastone, fishmonger, 1330; Nicholas Wolberge, fishmonger, 1407; Thomas Padington, fishmonger, 1485; Robert Hary, fishmonger, John Suring, 1490; Roger Darlington, fishmonger, 1557; Richard Lacty, parson, under a fair tomb on the north side the choir, 1491; Richard Bradbrudge, 1497; William Clarke, 1501; James Picman, 1507; Richard Farnefeld, 1525; Thomas Nicholas, fishmonger, 1527; William Barde, fishmonger, 1528.

On the north side of this church, in the wall thereof, was of late built a convenient cistern of stone and lead, for receipt of Thames water, conveyed in pipes of lead to that place, for the ease and commodity of the fishmongers and other inhabitants in and about Old Fish street. Barnard Randolph, common serjeant of the city of London, did in his lifetime deliver to the company of Fishmongers the sum of nine hundred pounds, to be employed towards the conducting of the said Thames water, and cisterning the same, &c.; in the parishes of St. Mary Magdalen, and St. Nicholas Colde Abbey, near unto Fish street, seven hundred pounds; and other two hundred pounds to charitable deeds: he deceased 1583, and shortly after this conduit with the other was made and finished.

In Trinity lane, on the west side thereof, is the Painterstainers' hall, for so of old time were they called, but now that workmanship of staining is departed out of use in England. Lower down in Trinity lane, on the east side thereof, was sometime a great messuage pertaining unto John, earl of Cornwall, in the 14th of Edward III. On Breadstreet hill, down to the Thames on both sides, be divers fair houses, inhabited by fishmongers, cheese-

* "There bee monumentes in this church of Andrew Awbery, grocer, mayor, and Thomas Fryar, fishmonger, in the year 1351, who gave to this church and parish one plot of ground, containing fiftie-six foote in length, and fortie-three foote in breadth at both endes, to be a buriall place for the dead of the said parish, the twenty-sixth of Edward the third. Also Thomas Madefry, clarke, and John Pylot, gave to the wardens of that parish one shop and a house in Distar lane, for the continual repairing of the body of that church, the belles and ornaments, the twentieth of Richard II."—1st edition, p. 287.

mongers, and merchants of divers trades. On the west side whereof is the parish church of St. Nicholas Olive, a convenient church, having the monuments of W. Newport, fishmonger, one of the sheriffs 1375; Richard Willows, parson, 1391; Richard Sturges, fishmonger, 1470; Thomas Lewen, ironmonger, one of the sheriffs 1537, who gave his messuage, with the appurtenances, wherein he dwelt, with fourteen tenements in the said parish of St. Nicholas, to be had after the decease of Agnes his wife, to the ironmongers, and they to give stipends appointed to almsmen, in five houses by them built in the churchyard of that parish, more to poor scholars in Oxford and Cambridge, &c. Blitheman, an excellent organist of the Queen's chapel, lieth buried there with an epitaph, 1591*, &c.

The next is Old Fishstreet hill, a lane so called, which also runneth down to Thames street. In this lane, on the east side thereof, is the one end of Finimore, or Five foot lane. On the west side of this Old Fishstreet hill is the Bishop of Hereford's inn or lodging, an ancient house and large rooms, built of stone and timber, which sometime belonged to the Mounthautes in Norfolk. Radulphus de Maydenstone, Bishop of Hereford, about 1234, bought it of the Mounthautes, and gave it to the Bishops of Hereford, his successors. Charles, both Bishop of Hereford and Chancellor of the Marches, about the year 1517, repaired it, since the which time the same is greatly ruined, and is now divided into many small tenements; the hall and principal rooms, are a house to make sugar-loaves, &c.

Next adjoining is the parish church of St. Mary de Monte Alto, or Mounthaunt†; this is a very small church, and at the first built to be a chapel for the said house of the Mounthaunts, and for tenements thereunto belonging. The Bishop of Hereford is patron thereof. Monuments in this church of John Glocester, alderman 1345, who gave Salt wharf for two chantries there; John Skip, Bishop of Hereford, 1539, sate twelve years, died at London in time of parliament, and was buried in this church. There was sometime a fair house in the said parish of St. Mary Mounthaunt, belonging to Robert Belkenape, one of the king's

justices, but the said Belkenape being banished this realm, King Richard II. in the twelfth of his reign, gave it to William Wickham, Bishop of Winchester.

On the east side of this Old Fishstreet hill, is one great house, now let out for rent, which house sometime was one of the halls, pertaining to the company of Fishmongers, at such time as they had six hallmotes or meeting places: namely, two in Bridge street, or New Fish street; two in Old Fish street, whereof this was one; and two in Stockfish-monger row, or Thames street, as appeareth by a record, the 22nd of Richard II.

Next westward is one other lane called Lambard hill, the east side whereof is wholly of this ward, and but half the west side, to wit, from the north end of the Blacksmiths' hall.

Then in Thames street of this ward, and on the north side over against the Queen's hith, is the parish church of St. Michael, a convenient church, but all the monuments therein are defaced.

I find that Stephen Spilman, gentleman, of that family in Norfolk, sometime mercer, chamberlain of London, then one of the sheriffs, and alderman in the year 1404, deceasing without issue, gave his lands to his family the Spilmans, and his goods to the making or repairing of bridges and other like godly uses; and amongst others in this church he founded a chantry, and was buried in the choir.

Also Richard Marlowe, ironmonger, mayor 1409, gave twenty pounds to the poor of that ward, and ten marks to the church.

Richard Gray, ironmonger, one of the sheriffs 1515, gave forty pounds to that church, and was buried there. At the west end of that church goeth up a lane, called Pyel lane. On the same north side, at the south end of St. Mary Mount-haunt lane, is the parish church of St. Mary Sum-merset, over against the Broken wharf; it is a proper church, but the monuments are all defaced. I think the same to be of old time called Summer's hith, of some man's name that was owner of the ground near adjoining, as Edred's hithe was so called of Edred owner thereof, and thence called Queene hithe, as pertaining to the queen, &c.

Then is a small parish church of St. Peter, called *parva*, or little, near unto Powle's wharf; in this church no monuments do remain. At the west end thereof, is a lane called St. Peter's hill, but two houses up that lane on the east side is of this ward, and the rest is of Castle Baynarde ward.

On the south side of Thames street, beginning again in the east, among the cooks, the first in this ward, is the sign of David the King; then is Towne's end lane, turning down to the Thames; then is Queene hithe, a large receptacle for ships, lighters, barges, and such other vessels.

Touching the antiquity and use of this gate and hithe, first, I find the same belongeth to one named Edred, and was then called Edred's hithe, which since falling to the hands of King Stephen, it was by his charter confirmed to William De Ypre*; the farm thereof in fee and in heritage, William De Ypre gave unto the prior and convent of the Holy Trinity within Aldgate, as appeareth by this charter:—

“To Theobalde, by the grace of God, Archbishop of Canterbury, primate of England, and Legate

* Lib. Trinitate.

* The following is the epitaph from the edition of the “*Survey*” published by Anthony Munday in 1618.

“Here Blitheman lyes, a worthy wight,
Who feared God above;
A friend to all, a foe to none,
Whom rich and poore did love.
Of Princes' Chappell, gentleman,
Unto his dying day,
Whom all tooke great delight to heare
Him on the organs play.
Whose passing skill in musicke's art
A scholler left behind;
John Bull (by name), his master's veine
Expressing in each kind.
But nothing here continues long
Nor resting place can have;
His soul departed hence to heaven,
His body here in grave.”

He died on Whitsunday, anno Domini 1591.

† This church having been destroyed in the fire of London, and not rebuilt, the parish was by act of parliament annexed to the church of St. Mary Somerset.

Apostolike, to the Bishoppe of London, and to all faithful people, clarkes and layemen, William de Ypre sendeth greeting.

"Know ye me to have given and graunted to God, and to the church of the Holy Trinitie of London, to the prior and canons there serving God in perpetual almes, Edred's hithe, with the appurtenances, with such devotion, that they shall send every yeare twentie pound unto the maintenance of the hospital of St. Katherens, which hospitall they have in their hands, and one hundred shillings to the monkes of Bermondsey, and sixty shillings to the brethren of the hospitall of St. Giles, and that which remayneth, the said prior and canons shall enjoy to themselves. Witnesses, Richard de Lucie, Raph Pietot, &c."

This Edred's hithe, after the aforesaid grants, came again to the king's hands, by what means I have not read, but it pertained unto the queen, and, therefore, was called *Ripa regine*, the Queene's bank, or Queen's hithe, and great profit thereof was made to her use, as may appear by this which followeth.

King Henry III. in the 9th of his reign, commanded the constables of the Tower of London to arrest the ships of the Cinque Ports on the river of Thames, and to compel them to bring their corne to no other place, but to the Queen's hithe only. In the eleventh of his reign, he charged the said constable to distrain all fish offered to be sold in any place of this city, but at the Queene hithe. Moreover, in the 28th of the said king's reign, an inquisition was made before William of Yorke, provost of Beverley, Henry of Bath, and Hierome of Caxton, justices itinerant, sitting in the Tower of London, touching the customs of Queen hithe, observed in the year last before the wars between the king and his father, and the barons of England, and of old customs of other times, and what customs had been changed, at what time the tax and payment of all things coming together, and between Woore path and Anedehithe*, were found and ceased, according to the old order, as well corn and fish as other things: all which customs were as well to be observed in the part of Downegate, as in Queen hithe, for the king's use. When also it was found, that the corn arriving between the gate of the Guildhall of the merchants of Cologne, and the soke of the Archbishop of Canterbury (for he had a house near unto the Blacke Fryers), was not to be measured by any other quarter, than by that of the Queene's soke.

After this, the bailiff of the said hithe complained that, since the said recognition, fourteen foreign ships laden with fish, arrived at Belinge's gate, which ships should have arrived at the same hithe; and, therefore, it was ordered, that if any foreign ship laden with fish, should in form aforesaid, arrive elsewhere than at this hithe, it should be at the king's pleasure to amerce them at forty shillings. Notwithstanding, the ships of the citizens of London were at liberty to arrive where the owners would appoint them.

After this, the said Henry III. confirmed the grant of Richard Earl of Cornwall for the farm of

the Queen hithe unto John Gisors, then mayor, and to the commonalty of London, and their successors for ever, as by this his charter appeareth:

"Henry, by the grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Guien, and Earl of Anjou, to all archbishops, &c. Be it known, that we have seen the covenant between our brother, Richard Earl of Cornwall, on the one part, and the mayor and commonalty on the other part, which was in this sort. In the 30th year of Henry, the son of King John*, upon the feast of the Translation of St. Edward, at Westminster, this covenant was made between the honourable Lord Richard Earl of Cornwall, and John Gisors, then mayor of London, and the commons thereof, concerning certain exactions and demands pertaining to the Queen hithe of London. The said earl granted for himself and his heirs, that the said mayor, and all mayors ensuing, and all the commons of the city, should have and hold the Queen hithe, with all the liberties, customs, and other appurtenances, repaying yearly to the said earl, his heirs and assigns, fifty pounds, at Clarkenwell, at two several terms; to wit, the Sunday after Easter twenty-five pounds, and at Michaelmas twenty-five pounds. And for more surety hereof the said earl hath set thereunto his seal, and left it with the mayor, and the mayor and commonalty have set to their seal, and left it with the earl. Wherefore we confirm and establish the said covenant for us, and for our heirs. Witnesses, Raph Fitz Nichol, Richard Gray, John and Wil. Brithem, Paulin Painter, Raph Wancia, John Cumbaud, and other, at Windsor, 26th of February, in the 31st of our reign."

The charge of this Queen hithe was then committed to the sheriffs, and so hath continued ever since; the profits whereof are sore diminished, so that (as writeth Robert Fabian) it was worth in his time little above twenty marks, or fifteen pounds, one year with another. Now for customs of this Queen hithe†. In the year 1302, the 30th of Edward I., it was found by the oath of divers men, that bakers, brewers, and others, buying their corn at Queen hithe, should pay for measuring, portage, and carriage, for every quarter of corn whatsoever, from thence to West Cheap, to St. Antonie's church, to Horseshew bridge, and to Woolsey street, in the parish of Allhallowes the Less, and such like distances, one halfpenny farthing; to Fleet bridge, to Newgate, Cripplegate, to Birchovers lane, to Eastcheape, and Billingsgate, one penny. Also, that the measure (or the meter) ought to have eight chief master-porters, every master to have three porters under him, and every one of them to find one horse, and seven sacks; and he that so did not, to lose his office. This hithe was then so frequented with vessels, bringing thither corn, (besides fish, salt, fuel, and other merchandizes,) that all these men, to wit, the meter, and porters, thirty-seven in number, for all their charges of horses and sacks, and small stipend, lived well of their labours; but now‡ the bakers of London, and other citizens, travel into the countries, and buy their corn of the farmers, after the farmers' price.

King Edward II., in the 1st of his reign, gave to Margaret, wife to Piers de Gavestone, forty-three

* It appears from Strype's Stow (i. p. 214, ed. 1720), that "Were path, or Woore path, is in the east part of the Flete of Barking, about seven miles from London; and Anedehith is near Westminster, on the west part of London."

* Lib. Trinitate, Lon.

† Liber Constitut.

‡ "But now that case is altered."—1st edition, p. 293.

pounds twelve shillings and nine pence halfpenny farthing, out of the rent of London, to be received of the Queen's hithe. Certain impositions were set upon ships and other vessels coming thither, as upon corn, salt, and other things, toward the charge of cleansing Roomeland there, the 41st of Edward III.

The 3d of Edward IV., the market at Queen hithe being hindered by the slackness of drawing up London bridge, it was ordained, that all manner of vessels, ships, or boats, great or small, resorting to the city with victual, should be sold by retail; and that if there came but one vessel at a time, were it salt, wheat, rye, or other corn, from beyond the seas, or other grains, garlic, onions, herrings, sprats, eels, whiting, plaice, cods, mackarel, &c. then that one vessel should come to Queen hithe, and there to make sale; but if two vessels come, the one should come to Queen hithe, the other to Billingsgate; if three, two of them should come to Queen hithe, the third to Billingsgate, &c., always the more to Queen hithe; if the vessel being great, coming with salt from the Bay, and could not come to these keys, then the same to be conveyed by lighters, as before is meant.

One large house for stowage of corn craned out of lighters and barges, is there lately built; Sir John Lion, grocer, mayor 1554, by his testament, gave a hundred pounds towards it; but since increased and made larger at the charges of the city, in the year 1565.

Against this Queen's hithe, on the river Thames, of late years, was placed a corn mill, upon or betwixt two barges or lighters, and there ground corn, as water mills in other places, to the wonder of many that had not seen the like; but this lasted not long without decay, such as caused the same barges and mill to be removed, taken asunder, and soon forgotten. I read of the like to have been in former time, as thus:—In the year 1525, the 16th of Henry VIII., Sir William Bayly being mayor, John Cooke of Gloucester, mercer, gave to the mayor and commonalty of London, and theirs for ever, one great barge, in the which two corn mills were made and placed, which barge and mills were set in and upon the stream of the river of Thames, within the jurisdiction and liberty of the said city of London.

And also he gave to the city all such timber, boards, stones, iron, &c. provided for making, mending, and repairing of the said barge and mills, in reward whereof the mayor gave him fifty pounds presently, and fifty pounds yearly during his life; and if the said Cooke deceased before Johan his wife, then she to have forty marks the year during her life.

Next adjoining to this Queen hithe, on the west side thereof, is Salt wharf, named of salt taken up, measured, and sold there. The next is Stew lane, of a stew or hothouse there kept. After that is Timber hithe, or Timber street, so called of timber or boards there taken up and wharfed; it is in the parish of St. Mary Somershithe, as I read in the 56th of Henry III., and in the 9th of Edward II. Then is Brookes wharf, and Broken wharf, a water gate or key, so called of being broken and fallen down into the Thames. By this Broken wharf remaineth one large old building of stone, with arched gates, which messuage, as I find, in the

reign of Henry III., the 43d year, pertaining unto Hugh de Bygot; and in the 11th of Edward III., to Thomas Brotherton, the king's brother, Earl of Norfolk, Marshal of England; in the 11th of Henry VI. to John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, &c.

Within the gate of this house (now belonging to the city of London,) is lately, to wit, in the years 1594 and 1595, built one large house of great height, called an engine, made by Bevis Bulmar, gentleman, for the conveying and forcing of Thames water to serve in the middle and west parts of the city. The ancient great hall of this messuage is yet standing, and pertaining to a great brewhouse for beer. West from this is Trigge lane, going down to Thames. Next is called Bosse lane, of a bosse of water, like unto that of Billingsgate, there placed by the executors of Richard Whittington. Then is one great messuage, sometime belonging to the abbots of Chertsey in Surrey, and was their inn, wherein they were lodged when they repaired to the city; it is now called Sandie house, by what reason I have not heard: I think the Lord Sands have been lodged there.

And this is an end of this Queen hithe ward; which hath an alderman and his deputy, common council six, constables nine, scavengers eight, wardmote inquest thirteen, and a beadle. It is taxed to the fifteen in London twenty pounds, and in the Exchequer at nineteen pounds sixteen shillings and two pence.

CASTLE BAYNARD WARD.

THE next is Castle Baynard ward, so named of an old castle there. This ward beginneth in the east on the Thames side, at a house called Huntington house, and runneth west by Paule's wharf, by Baynard's castle, Puddle wharf, and by the south side of Black Friars. Then turning by the east wall of the said Friars to the south-west end of Creed lane. Then, on the north side of Thames street, over against Huntington house, by St. Peter's church and lane, called Peter hill, along till over against Puddle wharf, and then north up by the great Wardrobe to the west end of Carter lane, then up Creed lane, Ave Mary lane, and a piece of Pater Noster row, to the sign of the Golden Lion, and back again up Warwicke lane, and all the east side thereof, to the sign of the Crown by Newgate market; and this is the farthest north part of this ward.

Then out of Thames street be lanes ascending north to Knightriders street; the first is Peter hill lane, all of that ward (two houses excepted, adjoining to St. Peter's church). The next is Paule's wharf hill, which thwarting Knightriders street and Carter lane, goeth up to the south chain of Paule's churchyard.

Then is Adle street, over against the west part of Baynard's castle, going up by the west end of Knightriders street and to Carter lane. Thus much for lanes out of Thames street. The one half of the west side of Lambard hill lane being of this ward, at the north-west end thereof, on the south side, and at the west end of St. Mary Magdalen's church on the north side beginneth Knightriders street to be of this ward, and runneth west on both sides to the parish church of St. Andrew by the Wardrobe.

Then at the east end of St. Mary Magdalen's

church goeth up the Old Exchange, all the west side thereof up to the south-east gate of Paule's churchyard, and by St. Austen's church, is of this ward. About the midst of this Old Exchange, on the west side thereof is Carter lane, which runneth west to the east entry of the Blacke Friers, and to the south end of Creed lane, out of the which Carter lane descendeth a lane called Do-little lane, and cometh into Knightriders street by the Boar's head tavern; and more west is Sermon lane, by an inn called the Paule head. Then out of Carter lane, on the north side thereof, the south chain of Paule's churchyard, and the churchyard itself on that south side of Paule's church, and the church of St. Gregorie, the bishop's palace, and the dean's lodging, be all of this ward; and such be the bounds thereof. The ornaments in this ward be parish churches four. Of old time a castle, divers noblemen's houses, halls of companies twain, and such others, as shall be shown.

In Thames street, at the south-east end, is an ancient messuage, of old time called Beaumont's inn, as belonging to that family of noblemen of this realm in the 4th of Edward III. Edward IV., in the 5th of his reign, gave it to W. Hastings, lord chamberlain, master of his mints. It is now called Huntingdon house, as belonging to the earls of Huntingdon. Next is Paul's wharf, a large landing place, with a common stair upon the river of Thames, at the end of a street called Paule's wharf lill, which runneth down from Paule's chain. Next is a great messuage, called Scropes inn, sometime belonging to Scropes, in the 31st of Henry VI.

Then is one other great messuage, sometime belonging to the abbey of Fiscampe, beyond the sea, and by reason of the wars, it coming to the hands of King Edward III., the same was given to Sir Simon Burley, knight of the Garter, and, therefore, called Burley house in Thames street, between Baynard's castle and Paule's wharf.

Then have you Baynard's castle, whereof this whole ward taketh the name. This castle banketh on the river Thames, and was called Baynard's castle, of Baynard, a nobleman that came in with William the Conqueror, of the which castle, and of Baynard himself, I have spoken in another place.

There was also another tower by Baynard's castle, built by King Edward II. Edward III., in the 2d of his reign, gave it to William Duke of Hamelake, in the county of York, and his heirs, for one rose yearly, to be paid for all service, the same place (as seemeth to me) was since called Legate's inn, in the 7th of Edward IV., where be now divers wood wharfs in place.

Then is there a great brewhouse, and Puddle wharf, a watergate into the Thames, where horses use to water, and therefore being defiled with their trampling, and made puddle, like as also of one Puddle dwelling there, it is called Puddle wharf. Then is there a lane between the Blacke Fryers and the Thames, called in the 26th of Edward III. Castle lane.

In this lane also is one great messuage, of old time belonging to the priory of Okeborne in Wiltshire, and was the prior's lodging when he repaired to London. This priory being of the French order, was suppressed by Henry V., and with other lands and tenements pertaining to the said priory, was by

Henry VI. given to his college in Cambridge, called now the King's college. About this castle lane was sometime a mill or mills belonging to the Templars of the New Temple, as appeareth of record; for King John, in the 1st year of his reign, granted a place in the Fleet, near unto Baynard's castle, to make a mill, and the whole course of water of the Fleet to serve the said mill.

I read also, that in the year 1247, the 2d of Edward I., Ri. Raision, and Atheline his wife, did give to Nicho. de Musely, clerk, ten shillings of yearly free and quiet rent, out of all his tenements, with the houses thereupon built, and their appurtenances, which they had of the demise of the master and brethren of Knights Templars, in England, next to their mill of Fleet, over against the houses of Laurence de Brooke, in the parish of St. Andrew, next to Baynard's castle, which tenements lie between the way leading towards the said mill on the west part. Also in the rights belonging to Robert Fitzwater, and to his heirs, in the city of London, in the time of peace, it was declared in the year 1303, that the said Robert, castellan of London, and banner-bearer, had a soke (or ward) in the city, that was by the wall of St. Paule, as men go down the street before the brewhouse of St. Paule unto the Thames, and so to the side of the mill, which is in the water that cometh down from Fleet bridge, and goeth by London walls, betwixt Fryers preachers church and Ludgate; and so that ward turned back by the house of the said Fryers unto the said common wall of the said canonry of St. Paul; that is, all of the parish of St. Andrew, which is in the gift of his ancestors by seniority, as more I have shown in the Castles.

Now here is to be noted, that the wall of London at that time went straight south from Ludgate down to the river of Thames; but for building of the Blacke Fryers church, the said wall in that place was by commandment taken down, and a new wall made straight west from Ludgate to Fleet bridge, and then by the water of Fleet to the river of Thames, &c.

In the year 1307, the 35th of Edward I., in a parliament at Carlisle, Henry Lacie, Earl of Lincoln, complained of noyances done to the water of the Fleet; whereupon it was granted that the said mill should be removed and destroyed.

This ward ascendeth up by the east wall of the Black Fryers to the south-west end of Creed lane, where it endeth on that side.

Then to begin again on the north side of Thames street, over against Huntingdon house, by St. Peter's church and lane, called Peter hill, and so to St. Benet Hude (or Hithe) over against Powle's wharf, a proper parish church, which hath the monuments of Sir William Cheyny, knight, and Margaret his wife, 1442, buried there; Doctor Caldwell, physician; Sir Gilbert Dethik, knight, *alias* Garter king at arms. West from this church, by the south end of Adle street, almost against Pudle wharf, there is one ancient building of stone and timber, built by the lords of Barkley, and therefore called Barklies inn. This house is all in ruin, and letten out in several tenements, yet the arms of the Lord Barkley remain in the stone work of an arched gate, gules, between a cheveron, crosses ten—three, three, and four. Richard Beauchampe, Earl of Warwick, was lodged in this house, then called Barklies inn,

in the parish of St. Andrew, in the reign of Henry VI.

Then turning up towards the north is the parish-church of St. Andrew in the Wardrobe, a proper church, but few monuments hath it. John Parnt founded a chantry there. Then is the king's Great Wardrobe: Sir John Beauchamp, knight of the Garter, Constable of Dover, Warden of the Sinke ports, (son to Guido de Beauchampe, Earl of Warwick,) built this house, was lodged there, deceased in the year 1359, and was buried on the south side of the middle aisle of Paule's church. His executors sold the house to King Edward III., unto whom the parson of St. Andrew's complaining that the said Beauchampe had pulled down divers houses, in their place to build the same house, where through he was hindered of his accustomed tithes, paid by the tenants of old time, granted him forty shillings by year out of that house for ever. King Richard III. was lodged there in the second of his reign.

In this house of late years is lodged Sir John Fortescue, knight, master of the wardrobe, chancellor and under-treasurer of the exchequer, and one of her majesty's most honourable privy council. The secret letters and writings touching the estate of the realm were wont to be enrolled in the king's wardrobe, and not in the chancery, as appeareth by the records. Claus. 18. E. 4. 1. Memb. 13. Claus. 33. E. 1. Memb. 3. Et liberat. 1. E. 2. Memb. 4, &c. From this wardrobe, by the west end of Carter lane, then up Creed's lane, Ave Mary lane, a piece of Pater Noster row, up Warwick lane, all the east side, to a brewhouse called the Crown, as I said is of this ward. Touching lanes ascending out of Thames street to Knight-riders' street, the first is Peter's hill, wherein I find no matter of note, more than certain almshouses, lately founded on the west side thereof, by David Smith, embroiderer, for six poor widows, whereof each to have twenty shillings by the year.

On the east side of this lane standeth a large house, of ancient building, sometime belonging to the abbot of St. Mary in York, and was his abiding house when he came to London; Thomas Randolph, esquire, hath lately augmented and repaired it.

At the upper end of this lane, towards the north, the corner-houses there be called Peters key, but the reason thereof I have not heard. Then is Paules wharf hill, on the east side whereof is Woodmongers' hall. And next adjoining is Darby house, sometime belonging to the Stanleys, for Thomas Stanley, first Earl of Derby of that name, who married the Lady Margaret, Countess of Richmond, mother to Henry VII., in his time built it.

Queen Mary gave* it to Gilbert Dethike, then Garter principal king of arms of Englishmen; Thomas Hawley, Clarenceaux king of arms of the south parts; William Harvy, *alias* Norroy king of arms of the north parts, and the other heralds and

pursuivants of arms, and to their successors, all the same capital message or house called Derby house, with the appurtenances, situate in the parish of St. Benet and St. Peter, then being in the tenure of Sir Richard Sackville, knight, and lately parcel of the lands of Edward, Earl of Derby, &c. to the end that the said king of arms, heralds, and pursuivants of arms, and their successors, might at their liking dwell together, and at meet times to congregate, speak, confer, and agree among themselves, for the good government of their faculty, and their records might be more safely kept, &c. Dated the 18th of July, 1555, Philip and Mary I., and third year*.

Then higher up, near the south chain of Panles churchyard, is the Paule Head tavern, which house, with the appurtenances, was of old time called Paules brewhouse, for that the same was so employed, but been since left off, and let out.

On the west side of this street, is one other great house, built of stone, which belongeth to Paules church, and was sometime let to the Blunts, Lords Mountjoy, but of latter time to a college in Cambridge, and from them to the doctors of the civil law and Arches, who keep a commons there; and many of them being there lodged, it is called the Doctors' Commons. Above this, on the same side, was one other great building over-against Paules brewhouse, and this was called Paules bakehouse, and was employed in baking of bread for the church of Paules.

In Adde street, or lane, I find no monuments.

In Lambart hill lane on the west side thereof, is the Blacksmiths' hall, and adjoining to the north side thereof have ye one plot of ground, inclosed with a brick wall for a churchyard, or burying-plot for the dead of St. Mary Magdalen's by Old Fish street, which was given to that use by John Iwarby, an officer in the receipt of the exchequer, in the 26th of King Henry VI., as appeareth by patent. John Iwarby, &c. gave a piece of land lying void in the parish of St. Mary Magdalen, nigh to Old Fish street, between the tenement of John Philpot on the south, and the tenement of Bartholomew Burwash on the west, and the tenement pertaining to the convent of the Holy Well on the north, and the way upon Lambarde's hill on the east, for a churchyard, to the parson, and churchwardens, &c.

Over-against the north-west end of this Lambard hill lane in Knightriders' street, is the parish-church of St. Mary Magdalen, a small church, having but few monuments, Richard Woodroffe, merchant tailor, 1519; Barnard Randolph, esquire, 1583.

On the west side of this church, by the porch thereof, is placed a conduit or cistern of lead, castellated with stone, for receipt of Thames water, conveyed at the charges of the before-named Barnard Randolph, esquire. By the east end of St.

* It had come into the possession of the crown through the Earl of Derby, in the 6th of Edward VI., having given it to the king in exchange for certain lands in Lancashire.

It was destroyed by the great fire in 1666, and rebuilt about three years afterwards. Sir William Dugdale erected the north-east corner at his own charge; and Sir Henry St. George gave the profits of some visitations towards the same purpose.

* The first charter incorporating the heralds bears date the 2nd of March in the 1st of Richard III.; which charter was confirmed by Edward VI. in the third year of his reign.

Spelman, in his Glossary (sub v. *Heralds*), has proved the division of them into the several classes of kings, heralds, and pursuivants, in the reign of King Henry III., and the *Statutum Armorum* made by Edward I. refers to these different orders as then existing.

Mary Magdalen's church, runneth up the Old Exchange lane, by the west end of Carter lane, to the south-east gate or chain of Paule's churchyard, as is before shown. And in this part was the Exchange kept, and bullion was received for coinage, as is noted in Faringdon ward within.

In this parish-church of St. Mary Magdalen, out of Knightriders' street up to Carter lane, be two small lanes, the one of them called Do Little lane, as a place not inhabited by artificers or open shopkeepers, but serving for a near passage from Knightriders' street to Carter lane.

The other, corruptly called Sermon lane, for Sheremoniers' lane, for I find it by that name recorded in the 14th of Edward I., and in that lane, a place to be called the Blacke loft (of melting silver) with four shops adjoining. It may, therefore, be well supposed that lane to take name of Sheremonyars, such as cut and rounded the plates to be coined or stamped into sterling pence; for the place of coining was the Old Exchange, near unto the said Sheremoniars' lane. Also I find that in the 13th of Richard II. William de la Pole had a house there.

In Knightriders' street is the College of Physicians, wherein was founded in the year 1582 a public lecture in surgery, to be read twice every week, &c. as is shown elsewhere.

In the south churchyard of Paules, is the south side and west end of the said church; in the which west end be three stately gates or entries, curiously wrought of stone: namely, the middle gate, in the midst whereof is placed a massy pillar of brass, whereunto the leaves of the said great gate are closed and fastened with locks, bolts, and bars of iron; all which, notwithstanding, on the 24th of December in the year 1565, by a tempest of wind then rising from the west, these gates were blown open, the bars, bolts, and locks broken in sunder, or greatly bended. Also on the 5th of January in the year 1589, by a like tempest of wind, then in the south-west, the lesser west gate of the said church, next to the bishop's palace, was broken, both bolts, bars, and locks, so that the same was blown over.

At either corner of this west end is, also of ancient building, a strong tower of stone, made for bell towers: the one of them, to wit, next to the palace, is at this present to the use of the same palace; the other, towards the south, is called the Lowlardes' tower*, and hath been used as the bishop's prison, for such as were detected for opinions in religion, contrary to the faith of the Church.

The last prisoner which I have known committed thereto, was in the year 1573, one Peter Burcher, gentleman, of the Middle Temple, for having desperately wounded, and minding to have murdered, a serviceable gentleman named John Hawkins, esquire, in the high street near unto the Strand, who being taken and examined, was found to hold certain opinions erroneous, and therefore committed thither, and convicted; but in the end, by persuasion, he promised to abjure his heresies; and was, by commandment of the council, removed from thence to the Tower of London, &c., where he committed as in my Annales I have expressed.

* For Lowlardes' Tower, read M. Foxe.—Stow.

Adjoining to this Lowlardes'* tower is the parish-church of St. Gregory, appointed to the petty canons of Paules. Monuments of note I know none there.

The rest of that south side of St. Paules church, with the chapter-house, (a beautiful piece of work, built about the reign of Edward III.) is now defaced by means of licenses granted to cutlers, budget-makers, and others, first to build low sheds, but now high houses, which do hide that beautiful side of the church, save only the top and south gate.

On the north-west side of this churchyard is the bishop's palace, a large thing for receipt, wherein divers kings have been lodged, and great household hath been kept, as appeareth by the great hall, which of late years, since the rebatement of bishops' livings, hath not been furnished with household menie and guests, as was meant by the builders thereof, and was of old time used.

The dean's lodging on the other side, directly against the palace, is a fair old house, and also divers large houses are on the same side builded, which yet remain, and of old time were the lodgings of prebendaries and residentiaries, which kept great households and liberal hospitality, but now either decayed, or otherwise converted.

Then is the Stationers' hall on the same side, lately built for them in place of Peter College, where in the year 1549, the 4th of January, five men were slain by the fall of earth upon them, digging for a well. And let this be an end of Baynardes Castle ward, which hath an alderman, his deputy, common council nine, constables ten, scavengers seven, wardmote inquest fourteen, and a beadle. And to the fifteen is taxed at 12^s., in the exchequer 11^s. 13^s.

THE WARD OF FARINGDON EXTRA, OR WITHOUT.

THE farthest west ward of this city, being the twenty-fifth ward of London, but without the walls, is called Faringdon Without, and was of old time part of the other Faringdon Within, until the 17th of Richard II., that it was divided and made twain, by the names of Faringdon *infra* and Faringdon *extra*, as is afore shown.

The bounds of which ward without Newgate and Ludgate are these: first, on the east part thereof, is the whole precinct of the late priory of St. Bartholomew, and a part of Long lane on the north, towards Aldersgate street and Ducke lane, with the hospital of St. Bartholomew on the west, and all Smithfield to the bars in St. John Street. Then out of Smithfield, Chicke lane toward Turmile brook, and over that brook by a bridge of timber into the field, then back again by the pens (or folds) in Smithfield, by Smithfield pond to Cow lane, which turneth toward Oldborne, and then Hosiars lane out of Smithfield, also toward Oldborne, till it

* The name Lollard is supposed by some to be derived from *lolium*, "tares, darnel, or cockle growing among corn;" a derivation which is supported by the words of Chaucer's Shipman:—

"This loller here wol prechen us somewhat.

He wol sowen some difficultee,
Or springen cockle in our clene corne."

While in Ziemann's *Mittel-hoch deutsches Wörterbuch*, we find *Loi-bruder Loi-lart*,—a lay brother.

meet with a part of Cow lane. Then Cocke lane out of Smithfield, over-against Pye corner, then also is Giltspur street, out of Smithfield to Newgate, then from Newgate west by St. Sepulchres church to Turnagaine lane, to Oldboorne conduit, on Snow hill, to Oldboorne bridge, up Oldboorne hill to the bars on both sides. On the right hand or north side, at the bottom of Oldboorne hill, is Gold lane, sometime a filthy passage into the fields, now both sides built with small tenements. Then higher is Lither lane, turning also to the field, lately replenished with houses built, and so to the bar.

Now on the left hand or south side from Newgate lieth a street called the Old Bayly, or court of the chamberlain of this city; this stretcheth down by the wall of the city unto Ludgate, on the west side of which street breaketh out one other lane, called St. Georges lane, till ye come to the south end of Seacole lane, and then turning towards Fleet street it is called Fleete lane. The next out of the high street from Newgate turning down south, is called the Little Bayly, and runneth down to the east of St. George's lane. Then is Seacole lane which turneth down into Fleet lane; near unto this Seacole lane, in the turning towards Oldboorn conduit, is another lane, called in records Wind Againe lane, it turneth down to Turnemill brook, and from thence back again, for there is no way over. Then beyond Oldboorn bridge to Shoe lane, which runneth out of Oldboorne unto the Conduit in Fleete street. Then also is Fewtars lane, which likewise stretcheth south into Fleet street by the east end of St. Dunstons church, and from this lane to the bars be the bounds without Newgate.

Now without Ludgate, this ward runneth by from the said gate to Temple bar, and hath on the right hand or north side the south end of the Old Bayly, then down Ludgate hill to the Fleet lane over Fleete bridge, and by Shoe lane and Fewters lane, and so to New street (or Chancery lane), and up that lane to the house of the Rolles, which house is also of this ward, and on the other side to a lane over against the Rolles, which entereth Fiequets' field.

Then hard by the bar is one other lane called Shyre lane, because it divideth the city from the shire, and this turneth into Fiequets' field.

From Ludgate again on the left hand, or south side to Fleet bridge, to Bride lane, which runneth south by Bridewell, then to Water lane, which runneth down to the Thames.

Then by the White Fryers and by the Temple, even to the bar aforesaid, be the bounds of this Farringdon Ward without.

Touching ornaments and antiquities in this ward, first betwixt the said Newgate and the parish-church of St. Sepulchre's, is a way towards Smithfield, called Gilt Spurre, or Knightriders' street, of the knights and others riding that way into Smithfield, replenished with buildings on both sides up to Pie corner, a place so called of such a sign, sometimes a fair inn for receipt of travellers, but now divided into tenements, and over against the said Pie corner lieth Cocke lane, which runneth down to Oldboorne conduit.

Beyond this Pie corner lieth West Smithfield, compassed about with buildings, as first on the south side following the right hand, standeth the fair parish-church and large hospital of St. Bar-

tilmew, founded by Rahere, the first prior of St. Barthilnewes thereto near adjoining, in the year 1102*.

Alfune, that had not long before built the parish-church of St. Giles without Cripple-gate, became the first hospitaller, or proctor, for the poor of this house, and went himself daily to the shambles and other markets, where he begged the charity of devout people for their relief, promising to the liberal givers (and that by alleging testimonies of the holy scripture) reward at the hands of God. Henry III. granted to Katherine, late wife to W. Hardell, twenty feet of land in length and breadth in Smithfield, next to the chapel of the hospital of St. Bartilmew, to build her a recluse or anchorage, commanding the mayor and sheriffs of London to assign the said twenty feet to the said Katherine, Carta 11 of Henry III. The foundation of this hospital, for the poor and diseased their special sustentation, was confirmed by Edward III. the 26th of his reign: it was governed by a master and eight brethren, being priests, for the church, and four sisters to see the poor served. The executors of R. Whittington, sometime mayor of London, of his goods repaired this hospital, about the year 1423.

Sir John Wakering, priest, master of this house in the year 1463, amongst other books, gave to their common library the fairest Bible that I have seen, written in large vellum by a brother of that house named John Coke, at the age of sixty-eight years, when he had been priest forty-three years: since the spoil of that library, I have seen this book in the custody of my worshipful friend, Master Walter Cope.

Monuments in this church of the dead, benefactors thereunto, be these: Elizabeth, wife to Adam Hone, gentleman; Bartilmew Bildington; Jane, wife to John Cooke; Dame Alice, wife to Sir Richard Isham; Alice, wife to Nicholas Bayly; John Woodhouse, esquire; Robert Palmer, gentleman; Idona, wife to John Walden, lying by her husband on the north side, late newly built, 1424; Sir Thomas Malifant, or Nanfant, Baron of Winnow, Lord St. George in Glamorgan, and Lord Ockeneton and Pile in the county of Pembroke, 1438; Dame Margaret his wife, daughter to Thomas Astley, esquire, with Edmond and Henry his children; William Markeby, gentleman, 1438; Richard Shepley, and Alice his wife; Thomas Savill, serjeant-at-arms; Edward Beasthy, gentleman, and Margaret his wife; Walter Ingham, and Aliener his wife; Robert Warnar, and Alice Lady Carne; Robert Caldset, Johan and Agnes his wives; Sir Robert Danvars, and Dame Agnes his wife, daughter to Sir Richard Delaber; William Brookes, esquire; John Shirley, esquire, and Margaret his wife, having their pictures of brass, in the habit of pilgrims, on a fair flat stone, with an epitaph thus:—

"Beholde how ended is our poore pilgrimage,
Of John Shirley, esquier, with Margaret his wife,
That xii. children had together in marriage,
Eight sonnes and foure daughters withouten strife,
That in honor, nurtur, and labour flowed in fame,
His pen reporteth his lives occupation,

* A very chatty and pleasant sketch of the history of this establishment, by Mr. Saunders, will be found in Knight's *London*, li. p. 33—64.

Since Pier his life time, John Shirley by name,
Of his degree, that was in Brutes Albion,
That in the yeare of grace deceased from hen,
Foureteene hundred winter, and sixe and fiftie,
In the yeare of his age, foursescore and ten,
Of October moneth, the day one and twenty."

This gentleman, a great traveller in divers countries, amongst other his labours, painfully collected the works of Geoffrey Chaucer, John Lidgate, and other learned writers, which works he wrote in sundry volumes to remain for posterity; I have seen them, and partly do possess them. Jane, Lady Clinton, gave ten pounds to the poor of this house, was there buried, 1458; Agnes, daughter to Sir William St. George; John Rogerbrooke, esquire; Richard Sturgeon; Thomas Burgan, gentleman; Elizabeth, wife to Henry Skinard, daughter to Chinneroft, esquire; William Mackley, gentleman, and Alice his wife; W. Fitzwater, gentleman, 1466.

This hospital was valued at the suppression in the year 1539, the 31st of Henry VIII., to thirty-five pounds five shillings and seven pence yearly. The church remaineth a parish-church to the tenants dwelling in the precinct of the hospital; but in the year 1546, on the 13th of January, the bishop of Rochester, preaching at Paules cross, declared the gift of the said king to the citizens for relieving of the poor, which contained the church of the Gray Fryers, the church of St. Bartilmew, with the hospital, the messuages, and appurtenances in Giltspurre *alias* Knightriders' street, Breton street, Petar quay, in the parish of St. Mary Magdalen, in Old Fish street, and in the parish of St. Benet Buda, Lymehurst, or Limehost, in the parish of Stebunlieth, &c. Then also were orders devised for relief of the poor, the inhabitants were all called to their parish-churches, whereby Sir Richard Dobbes, then mayor, their several aldermen, or other grave citizens, they were by eloquent orations persuaded how great and how many commodities would ensue unto them and their city, if the poor of divers sorts, which they named, were taken from out their streets, lanes, and alleys, and were bestowed and provided for in hospitals abroad, &c. Therefore was every man moved liberally to grant, what they would impart towards the preparing and furnishing of such hospitals, and also what they would contribute weekly towards their maintenance for a time, which they said should not be past one year, or twain, until they were better furnished of endowment: to make short, every man granted liberally, according to his ability; books were drawn of the relief in every ward of the city, towards the new hospitals, and were delivered by the mayor to the king's commissioners, on the 17th of February, and order was taken therein; so as the 26th of July in the year 1552, the repairing of the Gray Fryers' house, for poor fatherless children, was taken in hand; and also in the latter end of the same month, began the repairing of this hospital of St. Bartilmew, and was of new endowed, and furnished at the charges of the citizens.

On the east side of this hospital lieth Ducke lane, which runneth out of Smithfield south to the north end of Little Britaine street. On the east side of this Ducke lane, and also of Smithfield, lieth the late dissolved priory of St. Bartilmew, founded also by Rahere, a pleasant witted gentleman, and there-

fore in his time called the king's minstrel*, about the year of Christ 1102; he founded it in a part of the oft before-named morish ground, which was therefore a common laystall of all filth that was to be voided out of the city; he placed canons there, himself became their first prior, and so continued till his dying day, and was there buried in a fair monument†, of late renewed by Prior Bolton.

Amongst other memorable matters touching this priory, one is of an archbishop's visitation, which Matthew Paris hath thus:—Boniface (saith he) Archbishop of Canterbury, in his visitation came to this priory, where being received with procession in the most solemn wise, he said, that he passed not upon the honour, but came to visit them; to whom the canons answered, that they having a learned bishop, ought not in contempt of him to be visited by any other: which answer so much offended the archbishop, that he forthwith fell on the sub-prior, and smote him on the face, saying, 'Indeed, indeed, doth it become you English traitors so to answer me.' Thus raging, with oaths not to be recited, he rent in pieces the rich cope of the sub-prior, and trod it under his feet, and thrust him against a pillar of the chancel with such violence, that he had almost killed him; but the canons seeing their subprior thus almost slain, came and plucked off the archbishop with such force, that they overthrew him backwards, whereby they might see that he was armed and prepared to fight; the archbishop's men seeing their master down, being all strangers, and their master's countrymen, born at Provence, fell upon the canons, beat them, tare them, and trod them under feet; at length the canons getting away as well as they could, ran bloody and miry, rent and torn, to the bishop of London to complain, who bade them go to the king at Westminster, and tell him thereof; whereupon four of them went thither, the rest were not able, they were so sore hurt; but when they came to Westminster, the king would neither hear nor see them, so they returned without redress. In the mean season the whole city was in an uproar, and ready to have rung the common bell, and to have hewn the archbishop into small pieces, who was secretly crept to Lambhith, where they sought him, and not knowing him by sight, said to themselves, Where is this ruffian? that cruel smiter! he is no winner of souls, but an exactor of money, whom neither God, nor any lawful or free election did bring to this promotion, but the king did unlawfully intrude him, being utterly unlearned, a stranger born, and having a wife, &c. But the archbishop conveyed himself over, and went to the king with a great complaint against the canons, whereas himself was guilty. This priory of St. Bartholomew was again new built in the year 1410.

* In the paper by Mr. Saunders, to which we have referred in a preceding note (p. 139), will be found an outline of the life of our jesting prior, in which is introduced much quaint and curious information from the Manuscript Account of the Life, Character, and Doings of Rahere, written shortly after his death by a monk of the establishment, and now preserved among the MSS. in the Cottonian Library. Some notices of Rahere will also be found in an article communicated by the late Mr. Octavius Gilchrist to the *London Magazine*, for April, 1824.

† With the following inscription: "*Hic jacet Raherus primus canonicus, et primus prior istius Ecclesie.*"

Bolton was the last prior of this house, a great builder there; for he repaired the priory church, with the parish-church adjoining, the offices and lodgings to the said priory belonging, and near adjoining; he built anew the manor of Canonbury at Islington *, which belonged to the canons of this house, and is situate in a low ground, somewhat north from the parish-church there; but he built no house at Harrow on the Hill, as Edward Hall hath written a fable then on foot. The people (saith he) being feared by prognostications, which declared, that in the year of Christ 1524 there should be such eclipses in watery signs, and such conjunctions, that by waters and floods many people should perish, people victualled themselves, and went to high grounds for fear of drowning, and especially one Bolton, which was prior of St. Bartholomewes in Smithfield, built him a house upon Harrow on the Hill, only for fear of this flood; thither he went, and made provision of all things necessary within him for the space of two months †, &c.: but this was not so indeed, as I have been credibly informed. True it is, that this Bolton was also parson of Harrow, and therefore bestowed some small reparations on the parsonage-house, and built nothing there more than a dove-house, to serve him when he had forgone his priory.

To this priory King Henry II. granted the privilege of fair, to be kept yearly at Bartholomew tide for three days, to wit, the eve, the day, and next morrow ‡, to the which the clothiers of all England, and drapers of London, repaired §, and

* It is not possible to omit a note which may serve to remind the reader, that one of the apartments of this house was the scene of many of Goldsmith's literary labours—nay more, is said to have been the room in which he wrote his inimitable *Vicar of Wakefield*. At least, so some of his admirers have reported; but though he certainly resided at Canonbury in 1763, it would appear from the Life of Goldsmith, prefixed by the Rev. John Mitford to his edition of his *Poems*, that this admirable novel was written in Wine Office court.

† Such predictions, of tempests, floods, and earthquakes, have been frequently made and believed. The reader of Chaucer will remember, how "hendy Nicholas" beguiled the carpenter, whose wife he loved, by telling him—

"I have yfound in min astrologie,
As I have looked in the moone bright,
That now on Monday next, at quarter night,
Shal fall a rain, and that so wild and wood,
That half so gret was never Noe's flood;
This world, be said, in lesse than in an houre,
Shal all be dreint, so hidous is the shoure:
Thus shal mankind dreneche, and lese his lif."

And Horace Walpole, in his inimitable letters to Mann, tells how the people of London got frightened about an earthquake in 1750 and 1756, when "several of the women made earthquake gowns, that is, warm gowns to sit out of doors all night," while the visitors at Bedford House amused themselves as they returned home by bawling in the watchman's note, "Past four o'clock, and a dreadful earthquake."

Lastly, have we not seen, in the month of March, 1842, the greatest alarm created in the minds of the poorer classes in London by the pretended prophecy of Dr. Dee's?

‡ A very curious collection of materials for illustrating the history of Bartholomew fair, from the time of Ben Jonson, through the last century, down to September, 1826, has been got together by the industry of Mr. Hone in the first volume of his *Every Day Book*, pp. 1166—1251.

§ "The forrens were licensed for three dayes; the freemen so long as they would, which was sixe or seven dayes."—*Stow*.

had their booths and standings within the churchyard of this priory, closed in with walls, and gates locked every night, and watched, for safety of men's goods and wares; a court of pie powders *, was daily during the fair holden for debts and contracts. But now, notwithstanding all proclamations of the prince, and also the act of parliament, in place of booths within this churchyard (only let out in the fair-time, and closed up all the year after,) be many large houses built, and the north wall towards Long lane taken down, a number of tenements are there erected for such as will give great rents.

Monuments of the dead in this priory are these: of Rahere, the first founder; Roger Walden, Bishop of London, 1406; John Warton, gentleman, and Elizabeth his wife, daughter to William Scot, esquire; John Louth, gentleman; Robert Shikeld, gentleman; Sir — Bacon, knight; John Ludlow and Alice his wife; W. Thirlewall, esquire; Richard Lancaster, herald-at-arms; Thomas Torald; John Royston; John Watford; John Carleton; Robert, son to Sir Robert Willowby; Gilbert Halstoocke; Eleanor, wife to Sir Hugh Fen, mother to Margaret Lady Burgavene; William Essex, esquire; Richard Vancke, baron of the exchequer, and Margaret his wife, daughter to William de la Rivar; John Winderhall; John Duram, esquire, and Elizabeth his wife; John Malwaine; Alice, wife to Balstred, daughter to Kniffe; William Scarlet, esquire; John Golding; Hugh Waltar, gentleman; and the late Sir Waltar Mildmay, knight, chancellor of the exchequer, &c.

This priory at the late surrender, the 30th of Henry VIII., was valued at 653l. 15s. by year.

This church having in the bell-tower six bells in a tune, those bells were sold to the parish of St. Sepulchre's; and then the church being pulled down to the choir, the choir was, by the king's order, annexed for the enlarging of the old parish-church thereto adjoining, and so was used till the reign of Queen Mary, who gave the remnant of the priory church to the Friars preachers, or Black Friars, and was used as their conventual church until, the 1st of our sovereign lady Queen Elizabeth, those friars were put out, and all the said church, with the old parish-church, was wholly as it stood

* The lowest, and at the same time the most expeditious court of justice known to the law of England (says Blackstone, book iii. cap. 4. § 1.) is the Court of Piepoudre—*Curia pedis puteizati*; so called from the dusty feet of the suitors, or, according to Sir Edward Coke, because justice is there done as speedily as dust can fall from the foot. "But," he continues, "the etymology given us by a learned modern writer (Barrington, *Observations on the Statutes*, p. 337.) is more ingenious and satisfactory; it being derived, according to him from *piéd pûdreux*, a pedlar, in old French, and, therefore, signifying the court of such petty chapmen as resort to fairs and markets.

In confirmation of this latter derivation, and in illustration of the nature of the court, which was instituted to administer justice for all commercial injuries done in that very fair or market during which it is held, it may be observed, that Rabelais uses the expression, "*avoir les pieds poudreux*," to signify one who cannot pay, or wishes to escape without paying; and that the same expression, used in the same sense, may be found in Le Roux, *Dictionnaire Comique*, &c. s. v. Poudreux; while Roquefort, in his *Glossaire de la Langue Romane*, explains the word *Pie poudreux*, by "*Etranger, Marchand forain, qui court les fuïres*."

in the last year of Edward VI., given by parliament to remain for ever a parish-church to the inhabitants within the close called Great St. Bartholomewes. Since the which time that old parish-church is pulled down, except the steeple of rotten timber ready to fall of itself. I have oft heard it reported, that a new steeple should be built with the stone, lead, and timber, of the old parish-church, but no such thing was performed. The parish have lately repaired the old wooden steeple to serve their turn. On the north side of this priory is the lane truly called Long, which reacheth from Smithfield to Aldersgate street. This lane is now lately built on both the sides with tenements for brokers, tipplers, and such like; the rest of Smithfield from Long lane end to the bars is enclosed with inns, brewhouses, and large tenements; on the west side is Chicken lane down to Cowbridge. Then be the pens or folds, so called, of sheep there parted, and penned up to be sold on the market-days.

Then is Smithfield pond, which of old time in records was called Horse-pool, for that men watered horses there, and was a great water. In the 6th of Henry V. a new building was made in this west part of Smithfield betwixt the said pool and the river of the Wels, or Turnemill brooke, in a place then called the Elmes, for that there grew many elm-trees; and this had been the place of execution for offenders; since the which time the building there hath been so increased, that now remaineth not one tree growing.

Amongst these new buildings is Cowbridge street, or Cow lane, which turneth toward Oldborne, in which lane the prior of Semperingham had his inn, or London lodging.

The rest of that west side of Smithfield hath divers fair inns, and other comely buildings, up to Hosiar lane, which also turneth down to Oldborne till it meet with Cowbridge street. From this lane to Cocke lane, over against Pie corner.

And thus much for encroachments and enclosure of this Smithfield, whereby remaineth but a small portion for the old uses; to wit, for markets of horses and cattle, neither for military exercises, as joustings, turnings, and great triumphs, which have been there performed before the princes and nobility both of this realm and foreign countries.

For example to note:—In the year 1357, the 31st of Edward III., great and royal jousts were there holden in Smithfield; there being present, the Kings of England, France, and Scotland, with many other nobles and great estates of divers lands.

1362, the 36th of Edward III., on the first five days of May, in Smithfield, were jousts holden, the king and queen being present, with the most part of the chivalry of England, and of France, and of other nations, to the which came Spaniards, Cyprians and Arminians, knightly requesting the king of England against the pagans that invaded their confines.

The 48th of Edward III., Dame Alice Perrers (the king's concubine), as Lady of the Sun, rode from the Tower of London, through Cheape, accompanied of many lords and ladies, every lady leading a lord by his horse-bridle, till they came into West Smithfield, and then began a great joust, which endured seven days after.

Also, the 9th of Richard II., was the like great

riding from the Tower to Westminster, and every lord led a lady's horse-bridle; and on the morrow began the joust in Smithfield, which lasted two days: there bare them well, Henry of Darby, the Duke of Lankester's son, the Lord Beaumont, Sir Simon Burley, and Sir Paris Courtney.

In the 14th of Richard II., after Froisart, royal jousts and tournaments were proclaimed to be done in Smithfield, to begin on Sunday next after the feast of St. Michael. Many strangers came forth of other countries, namely, Valarian, Earl of St. Paul, that had married King Richard's sister, the Lady Maud Courtney, and William, the young Earl of Ostervant, son to Albart of Baviere, Earl of Holland and Henault. At the day appointed there issued forth of the Tower, about the third hour of the day, sixty coursers, apparelled for the jousts, and upon every one an esquire of honour, riding a soft pace; then came forth sixty ladies of honour, mounted upon palfreys, riding on the one side, richly apparelled, and every lady led a knight with a chain of gold, those knights being on the king's party, had their harness and apparel garnished with white harts*, and crowns of gold about the harts' necks, and so they came riding through the streets of London to Smithfield, with a great number of trumpets, and other instruments of music before them. The king and queen, who were lodged in the bishop's palace of London, were come from thence, with many great estates, and placed in chambers to see the jousts; the ladies that led the knights were taken down from their palfreys, and went up to chambers prepared for them. Then alighted the esquires of honour from their coursers, and the knights in good order mounted upon them; and after their helmets were set on their heads, and being ready in all points, proclamation made by the heralds, the jousts began, and many commendable courses were run, to the great pleasure of the beholders. These jousts continued many days, with great feasting, as ye may read in Froisart.

In the year 1393, the 17th of Richard II., certain lords of Scotland came into England to get worship by force of arms; the Earl of Mare challenged the Earl of Nottingham to joust with him, and so they rode together certain courses, but not the full challenge, for the Earl of Mare was cast both horse and man, and two of his ribs broken with the fall, so that he was conveyed out of Smithfield, and so towards Scotland, but died by the way at Yorke. Sir William Darell, knight, the king's banner-bearer of Scotland, challenged Sir Percie Courtney, knight, the king's banner-bearer of England; and when they had run certain courses, gave over without conclusion of victory. Then Cookeborne, esquire, of Scotland, challenged Sir Nicholas Hawberke, knight, and rode five courses, but Cookeborne was borne over horse and man, &c.

* Richard II. is said to have adopted this badge, which was certainly his most favourite device, from the White Hind, which is stated to have been borne by his mother, the Fair Maid of Kent; and in the Life of this monarch, printed by Hearne, he is said to have first employed it on the occasion of the tournament here referred to by Stow. See further a valuable paper by J. Gough Nichols, Esq. F.S.A. "On the Heraldic Devices discovered on the Effigies of Richard II. and his Queen," printed in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxix. p. 32.

In the year 1409, the 10th of Henry IV., a great play was played at the Skinners' well, which lasted eight days, where were to see the same the most part of the nobles and gentles in England. And forthwith began a royal jousting in Smithfield between the Earl of Somerset, and the Seneschal of Henalt, Sir John Cornwall, Sir Richard Arrundell, and the son of Sir John Cheiney, against certain Frenchmen. And the same year a battle was fought in Smithfield between two esquires, the one called Gloucester, appellant, and the other Arthure, defendant; they fought valiantly, but the king took up the quarrel into his hands, and pardoned them both.

In the year 1430, the 8th of Henry VI., the 14th of January, a battle was done in Smithfield, within the lists, before the king, between two men of Faversham in Kent, John Upton, notary, appellant, and John Downe, gentleman, defendant; John Upton put upon John Downe, that he and his compeers should imagine the king's death the day of his coronation. When these had fought long, the king took up the matter, and forgave both the parties.

In the year 1442, the 20th of Henry VI., the 30th of January, a challenge was done in Smithfield, within lists, before the king, there being Sir Philip la Beaufe of Aragon, knight, the other an esquire of the king's house, called John Ansley or Anstley; they came to the field all armed, the knight with his sword drawn, and the esquire with his spear, which spear he cast against the knight, but the knight avoided it with his sword, and cast it to the ground; then the esquire took his axe, and smote many blows on the knight, and made him let fall his axe, and brake up his unibor three times, and would have smote him on the face with his dagger, for to have slain him, but then the king cried hold, and so they were departed. The king made John Ansley, knight, and the knight of Aragon offered his harness at Windsor.

In the year 1446, the 24th of Henry VI., John David appeached his master Wil. Catur, of treason, and a day being assigned them to fight in Smithfield; the master being well-beloved, was so cherished by his friends, and plied with wine, that being therewith overcome, was also unluckily slain by his servant*; but that false servant (for he falsely accused his master) lived not long unpunished, for he was after hanged at Teyborne for felony. Let such false accusers note this for example†, and look for no better end without speedy repentance.

The same year Thomas Fitz-Thomas Prior of Kilmaine appeached Sir James Butlar, Earl of Ormond, of treasons; which had a day assigned them to fight in Smithfield, the lists were made, and the field prepared; but when it came to the point, the king commanded they should not fight, and took the quarrel into his hands.

In the year 1467, the 7th of Edward IV., the Bastard of Burgoine challenged the Lord Scales,

brother to the queen, to fight with him both on horseback and on foot; the king, therefore, caused lists to be prepared in Smithfield, the length of one hundred and twenty tailors' yards and ten feet, and in breadth eighty yards and twenty feet, double-barred, five feet between the bars, the timber-work whereof cost two hundred marks, besides the fair and costly galleries prepared for the ladies and other; at the which martial enterprise the king and nobility were present. The first day they ran together with spears, and departed with equal honour. The next day they tourneyed on horseback, the Lord Scales horse having on his chafraon, a long spear pike of steel; and as the two champions coped together, the same horse thrust his pike into the nostrils of the Bastard's horse, so that for very pain he mounted so high that he fell on the one side with his master, and the Lord Scales rode about him with his sword drawn, till the king commanded the marshal to help up the Bastard, who said, I cannot hold me by the clouds; for though my horse fail me, I will not fail an encounter companion; but the king would not suffer them to do any more that day.

The next morrow they came into the lists on foot with two pole-axes, and fought valiantly; but at the last the point of the pole-axe of the Lord Scales entered into the side of the Bastard's helm, and by force might have placed him on his knees; but the king cast down his warder, and the marshal severed them. The Bastard required that he might perform his enterprise; but the king gave judgment as the Bastard relinquished his challenge, &c. And this may suffice for jousts in Smithfield.

Now to return through Giltspur street by Newgate, where I first began, there standeth the fair parish-church called St. Sepulchers in the Bayly, or by Chamberlain gate, in a fair churchyard, though not so large as of old time, for the same is letten out for buildings and a garden-plot.

This church was newly re-edified or built about the reign of Henry VI. or of Edward IV. One of the Pophames was a great builder there, namely, of one fair chapel on the south side of the choir, as appeareth by his arms and other monuments in the glass windows thereof, and also the fair porch of the same church towards the south; his image, fair graven in stone, was fixed over the said porch, but defaced and beaten down; his title by offices was this, Chancellor of Normandy, Captain of Vernoyle, Peach, Susan, and Bayon, and treasurer of the king's household: he died rich, leaving great treasure of strange coins, and was buried in the Charterhouse church by West Smithfield. The first nobilitating of these Pophames was by Matilda the empress, daughter to Henry I., and by Henry her son: one Pophame, gentleman, of very fair lands in Southamptonshire, died without issue male, about Henry VI., and leaving four daughters, they were married to Foster, Barentine, Wodham, and Hamden. Popham Deane (distant three miles from Clarendon, and three miles from Mortisham) was sometime the chief lordship or manor-house of these Pophames.

There lie buried in this church, William Andrew, Stephen Clamparde, Lawrence Warcam, John Dagworth, William Porter, Robert Scarlet, esquires.

Next to this church is a fair and large inn for

* The readers of Shakspeare will remember, that a similar incident is introduced into the *Second Part of Henry VI.*, act ii. scene 3, where Horner, the armourer, who has been accused of treason by his apprentice Peter, is made drunk by his neighbours, and consequently beaten in the combat.

† "John Davy, a false accenser of his master, of him was raised the by-word,—If ye serve me so, I will call you Davy." *Stow.*

receipt of travellers, and hath to sign the Sarasen's head.

There lieth a street from Newgate west to the end of Turnagaine lane, and winding north to Oldborne conduit. This conduit by Oldborne cross was first built 1498. Thomasin, widow to John Percival, mayor, gave to the second making thereof twenty marks, Richard Shore ten pounds. Thomas Knesworth and others also did give towards it.

But of late a new conduit was there built in place of the old, namely, in the year 1577, by William Lamb, sometime a gentleman of the chapel to King Henry VIII., and afterward a citizen and cloth-worker of London; the water thereof he caused to be conveyed in lead, from divers springs to one head, and from thence to the said conduit, and waste of one cock at Oldborne bridge, more than two thousand yards in length; all of which was by him performed at his own charges, amounting to the sum of fifteen hundred pounds.

From the west side of this conduit is the high way, there called Snor hill; it stretcheth out by Oldborne bridge over the oft-named water of Turmill brook, and so up to Oldborne hill, all replenished with fair building.

Without Oldborne bridge, on the right hand, is Gold lane, as is before shown; up higher on the hill be certain inns, and other fair buildings, amongst the which of old time was a messuage called Scropes inn, for so I find the same recorded in the 37th of Henry VI.

This house was sometime letten out to serjeants-at-law, as appeareth, and was found by inquisition taken in the Guild hall of London, before William Purchase, mayor, and escheator for the king, Henry VII., in the 14th of his reign, after the death of John Lord Scrope, that he died deceased in his demesne of fee, by the feoffment of Guy Fairfax, knight, one of the king's justices, made in the 9th of the same king, unto the said John Scrope, knight, Lord Scrope of Bolton, and Robert Wingfield, esquire, of one house or tenement, late called Sergeants' inn, situate against the church of St. Andrew in Oldborne, in the city of London, with two gardens and two messuages to the same tenement belonging in the said city, to hold in burgage, valued by the year in all reprises ten shillings.

Then is the bishop of Elie's inn*, so called of belonging and pertaining to the bishops of Elie. William de Luda, bishop of Elye, deceased 1297, gave this house by the name of his manor, with the appurtenances in Oldborne, to his successors, with condition his next successor should pay one thousand marks to the finding of three chaplains in the chapel there. More, John Hotham, bishop of Elie, did give by the name of six messuages, two cellars, and forty acres of land, in the suburbs of London, in the parish of St. Andrew in Oldborne, to the prior and convent of Elie, as appeareth by patent, the 9th of Edward III.: this man was bishop of Ely twenty years, and deceased 1336.

Thomas Arundell, bishop of Elie, beautifully built of new his palace at Elie, and likewise his manors in divers places, especially this in Oldborne, which he did not only repair, but rather new-built, and augmented it with a large port, gate-house, or

front, towards the street or highway; his arms are yet to be discerned in the stone-work thereof: he sat bishop of Elie fourteen years, and was translated to Yorke*.

In this house, for the large and commodious rooms thereof, divers great and solemn feasts have been kept, especially by the serjeants-at-law, whereof twain are to be noted for posterity.

The first in the year 1464, the 4th of Edward IV., in Michaelmas term, the serjeants-at-law held their feast in this house, to the which, amongst other estates, Matthew Phillip, mayor of London, with the aldermen, sheriffs, and commons, of divers crafts, being invited, did repair; but when the mayor looked to keep the state in the hall, as it had been used in all places within the city and liberties (out of the king's presence), the Lord Gray of Ruthen, then lord treasurer of England, unwitting the serjeants, and against their wills (as they said), was first placed; whereupon the mayor, aldermen, and commons, departed home, and the mayor made the aldermen to dine with him; howbeit he and all the citizens were wonderfully displeased, that he was so dealt with; and the new serjeants and others were right sorry therefore, and had rather then much good (as they said) it had not so happened.

One other feast was likewise there kept in the year 1531, the 23d of King Henry VIII.: the serjeants then made were in number eleven; namely, Thomas Audeley, Walter Luke, I. Bawdwin, I. Hinde, Christopher Jennie, John Dowsell, Edward Mervine, Edmond Knightley, Roger Chomley, Edward Montague, and Robert Yorke.

These also held their feast in this Elye house for five days, to wit, Friday the 10th of November, Saturday, Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday. On Monday (which was their principal day) King Henry and Queen Katherine dined there (but in two chambers), and the foreign ambassadors in a third chamber. In the hall, at the high table, sat Sir Nicholas Lambard, Mayor of London, the judges, the barons of the exchequer, with certain aldermen of the city. At the board on the south side sat the master of the rolls, the master of the chancery, and worshipful citizens. On the north side of the hall certain aldermen began the board, and then followed merchants of the city; in the cloister, chapel, and gallery, knights, esquires, and gentlemen, were placed; in the halls the crafts of London; the serjeants-of-law and their wives, kept in their own chambers.

It were tedious to set down the preparation of fish, flesh, and other victuals, spent in this feast, and would seem almost incredible, and, as to me it seemeth, wanted little of a feast at a coronation; nevertheless, a little I will touch, for declaration of

* Holinshed has recorded a fact, which to those who only know Ely place, as it now exists, appears somewhat apocryphal; namely, the excellency of the strawberries cultivated in the garden there by Bishop Morton, and tells us that the Duke of Gloucester, afterwards Richard III., at the Council held in the Tower on the morning he put Hastings to death, requested a dish of them from the bishop,—an effective incident which has not escaped Shakspeare—

"My Lord of Ely, when I was last in Holborn
I saw good strawberries in your garden there,
I do beseech you send for some of them."

* "Commonly called Ely place."—1st edition, p. 323.

the change of prices. There were brought to the slaughter-house twenty-four great beefs at twenty-six shillings and eight pence the piece from the shambles, one carcass of an ox at twenty-four shillings, one hundred fat muttuns, two shillings and ten pence the piece, fifty-one great veals at four shillings and eight pence the piece, thirty-four porks three shillings and eight pence the piece, ninety-one pigs, sixpence the piece, capons of grese, of one poulter (for they had three) ten dozens at twenty pence the piece, capons of Kent, nine dozens and six at twelve pence the piece, capons coarse, nineteen dozen at six pence the piece, cocks of grese, seven dozen and nine at eight pence the piece, cocks coarse, fourteen dozen and eight at three pence the piece, pullets, the best, two pence halfpenny, other pullets two pence, pigeons thirty-seven dozen at ten pence the dozen, swans fourteen dozen, larks three hundred and forty dozen at five pence the dozen, &c. Edward Nevill was seneschal or steward, Thomas Ratcliffe, comptroller, Thomas Wildon, clerk of the kitchen.

Next beyond this manor of Ely house is Lither lane, turning into the field. Then is Furnivalles inn, now an inn of chancery, but sometime belonging to Sir William Furnivall, knight, and Thomesin his wife, who had in Oldborne two messuages and thirteen shops, as appeareth by record of Richard II., in the 6th of his reign.

Then is the Earl of Bathes inn, now called Bath place, of late for the most part new built, and so to the bars.

Now again, from Newgate, on the left hand, or south side, lieth the Old Bailey, which runneth down by the wall upon the ditch of the city, called Houndes ditch, to Ludgate. I have not read how this street took that name, but is like to have risen of some court, of old time there kept; and I find, that in the year 1356, the 34th of Edward III., the tenement and ground upon Houndes ditch, between Ludgate on the south, and Newgate on the north, was appointed to John Cambridge, fishmonger, Chamberlain of London, wherely it seemeth that the chamberlains of London have there kept their courts, as now they do by the Guildhall, and till this day the mayor and justices of this city kept their sessions in a part thereof, now called the Sessions hall, both for the city of London and shire of Middlesex. Over against the which house, on the right hand, turneth down St. George's lane towards Fleet lane.

In this St. George's lane, on the north side thereof, remaineth yet an old wall of stone, enclosing a piece of ground up Seacole lane, wherein by report sometime stood an inn of chancery; which house being greatly decayed, and standing remote from other houses of that profession, the company removed to a common hostelry, called of the sign Our Lady inn, not far from Clement's inn, which they procured from Sir John Fineox, lord chief justice of the king's bench, and since have held it of the owners by the name of the New inn, paying therefore six pounds rent by the year, as tenants at their own will, for more (as is said) cannot be gotten of them, and much less will they be put from it. Beneath this St. George's lane, the lane called Fleet lane, winding south by the prison of the Fleet into Fleet street by Fleet bridge. Lower down in the Old Bayly is at this present a standard

of timber, with a cock or cocks, delivering fair spring water to the inhabitants, and is the waste of the water serving the prisoners in Ludgate.

Next out of the high street turneth down a lane called the Little Bayly, which runneth down to the east end of St. George's lane. The next is Seacole lane, I think called Limeburner's lane, of burning lime there with seacole. For I read in record of such a lane to have been in the parish of St. Sepulcher, and there yet remaineth in this lane an alley called Limeburner's alley. Near unto this Seacole lane, in the turning towards Oldborne conduit is Turnagain lane, or rather, as in a record of the 5th of Edward III., Windagain lane, for that it goeth down west to Fleet dike, from whence men must turn again the same way they came, for there it stopped. Then the high street turneth down Snore hill to Oldborne conduit, and from thence to Oldborne bridge, beyond the which bridge, on the left hand, is Shoe lane, by the which men pass from Oldborne to Fleet street, by the conduit there. In this Shoe lane, on the left hand, is one old house called Oldborne hall, it is now letten out into divers tenements.

On the other side, at the very corner, standeth the parish church of St. Andrew, in the which church, or near thereunto, was sometime kept a grammar school, as appeareth in another place by a patent made, as I have shown, for the erection of schools. There be monuments in this church of Thomas Lord Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, buried 1550; Raph Rokeyby of Lincoln's inn, esquire, Master of St. Katherine's and one of the masters of requests to the queen's majesty, who deceased the 14th of June, 1596. He gave by his testament to Christ's Hospital in London one hundred pounds, to the college of the poor of Queen Elizabeth in East Greenwich one hundred pounds, to the poor scholars in Cambridge one hundred pounds, to the poor scholars in Oxford one hundred pounds, to the prisoners in the two compters in London two hundred pounds, to the prisoners in the Fleet one hundred pounds, to the prisoners in Ludgate one hundred pounds, to the prisoners in Newgate one hundred pounds, to the prisoners in the King's Bench one hundred pounds, to the prisoners in the Marshalsea one hundred pounds, to the prisoners in the White Lion twenty pounds, to the poor of St. Katherine's twenty pounds, and to every brother and sister there forty shillings; William Sydnam founded a chantry there. There was also of old time (as I have read in the 3d of Henry V.) an hospital for the poor, which was a cell to the house of Cluny in France, and was, therefore, suppressed among the priories aliens.

From this church of St. Andrew, up Oldborne hill be divers fair built houses, amongst the which, on the left hand, there standeth three inns of Chancery, whereof the first adjoining unto Crookhorn alley is called Thaves inn, and standeth opposite, or over against the said Ely house. Then is Fewter lane, which stretcheth south into Fleet street, by the east end of St. Dunstone's church, and is so called of Fewters' * (or idle people) lying there, as in a way leading to gardens; but the same is now

* Fewters, idle people, probably from the old French *Fautier*, which Riquetfort, *Glossaire de la Langue Romane*, defines "*Criminel Coupable*," or from *Fautteur*, "*rempli de défauts et de mauvaises habitudes*."

of latter years on both sides built through with many fair houses.

Beyond this Fewter lane is Barnard's inn, *alias* Mackworth's inn, which is of Chancery, belonging to the dean and chapter of Lincoln, as saith the record of Henry VI., the 32d of his reign, and was founded by inquisition in the Guildhall of London, before John Norman, mayor, the king's escheator; the jury said, that it was not hurtful for the king to license T. Atkins, citizen of London, and one of the executors to John Mackeworth, Dean of Lincoln, to give one messuage in Holborn in London, with the appurtenances called Mackeworth's inn, but now commonly known by the name of Barnardes inn, to the dean and chapter of Lincoln, to find one sufficient chaplain to celebrate Divine service in the chapel of St. George, in the cathedral church of Lincoln, where the body of the said John is buried, to have and to hold the said messuage to the said dean and chapter, and to their successors for ever, in part of satisfaction of twenty pounds lands and rents, which Edward III. licensed the said dean and chapter to purchase to their own use, either of their own fee or tenor, or of any other, so the lands were not holden of the king *in capite*.

Then is Staple inn, also of Chancery, but whereof so named I am ignorant; and the same of late is for a great part thereof fair built, and not a little augmented. And then at the bar endeth this ward without Newgate.

Without Ludgate, on the right hand, or north side from the said gate lieth the Old Bayly, as I said, then the high street called Ludgate hill down to Fleet lane, in which lane standeth the Fleet, a prison house so called of the Fleet or water running by it, and sometime flowing about it; but now vaulted over.

I read that Richard I., in the 1st of his reign, confirmed to Osbert, brother to William Longshampe, Chancellor of England and elect of Elie, and to his heirs for ever, the custody of his house or palace at Westminster, with the keeping of his gaol of the Fleet at London; also King John, by his patent, dated the 3d of his reign, gave to the Archdeacon of Welles, the custody of the said king's house at Westminster, and of his gaol of the Fleet, together with the wardship of the daughter and heir of Robert Loveland, &c. Then is Fleet bridge pitched over the said water, whereof I have spoken in another place.

Then also against the south end of Shoe lane standeth a fair water-conduit, whereof William Eastfield, sometime mayor, was founder; for the mayor and commonalty of London being possessed of a conduit head, with divers springs of water gathered therein in the parish of Paddington, and the water conveyed from thence by pipes of lead towards London unto Teyborne; where it had lain by the space of six years or more; the executors of Sir William Eastfield obtained licence of the mayor and commonalty for them, in the year 1453, with the goods of Sir William to convey the said waters, first in pipes of lead into a pipe begun to be laid besides the great conduit head at Maribone, which stretcheth from thence unto a separall, late before made against the chapel of Rounsevall by Charing cross, and no further, and then from thence to convey the said water into the city, and there to make receipt or receipts for the same unto the

common weal of the commonalty, to wit, the poor to drink, the rich to dress their meats; which water was by them brought thus into Fleet street to a standard, which they had made and finished 1471.

The inhabitants of Fleet street, in the year 1478, obtained licence of the mayor, aldermen, and commonalty, to make at their own charges two cisterns, the one to be set at the said standard, the other at Fleet bridge, for the receipt of the waste water; this cistern at the standard they built, and on the same a fair tower of stone, garnished with images of St. Christopher on the top, and angels round about lower down, with sweet sounding bells before them, whereupon, by an engine placed in the tower, they divers hours of the day and night chimed such an hymn as was appointed.

This Conduit, or standard, was again new built with a larger cistern, at the charges of the city, in the year 1582.

From this Conduit up to Fewtars lane, and further, is the parish church of St. Dunstan called in the West (for difference from St. Dunstan in the East), where lieth buried T. Duke, skinner, in St. Katherin's chapel by him built, 1421; Nicholas Coningstone, John Knappe, and other, founded chantries there; Ralph Bane, Bishop of Coventrie and Lichfield, 1559, and other.

Next beyond this church is Clifford's inn, sometime belonging to Robert Clifford, by gift of Edward II. in these words: "The king granteth to Robert Clifford that messuage, with the appurtenances, next the church of St. Dunstane in the West, in the suburbs of London, which messuage was sometime Malculines de Herley, and came to the hands of Edward I., by reason of certaine debts which the said Malculine was bound at the time of his death to our sayde father, from the time that hee was escautor on this side Trent; which honse John, Earle of Richmount, did holde of our pleasure, and is now in our possession."—Patent, the 3rd of Edward II. After the death of this Robert Clifford, Isabel, his wife, let the same messuage to students of the law, as by the record following may appear:—

"Isabel que fuit uxor Roberti Clifford, Messuagium unipartitum, quod Robertus Clifford habuit in parochia sci. Dunstoni West. in suburbio Londini, &c., tenuit, et illud dimisit post mortem dict. Roberti, Apprenticiis de banco, pro x. li. annuatim, &c. Anno 18 Eduardi Tertii, inquisito post mortem Roberti Clifford."

This house hath since fallen into the king's hands, as I have heard, but returned again to the Cliffordes, and is now let to the said students for four pounds by the year.

Somewhat beyond this Clifforde's inn is the south end of New street (or Chancelar lane), on the right hand whereof is Sergeantes' inn called in Chauncery lane. And then next was sometime the house of the converted Jewes, founded by King Henry III., in place of a Jewe's house to him forfeited, in the year 1233, and the 17th of his reign, who built there for them a fair church now used, and called the chapel for the custody of the Rolles and Records of Chancerie. It standeth not far from the Old Temple, but in the midway between the Old Temple and the New, in the which house all such Jewes and infidels, as were converted to the Christian faith, were ordained and appointed,

under an honest rule of life, sufficient maintenance, whereby it came to pass, that in short time there were gathered a great number of converts, which were baptized, instructed in the doctrine of Christ, and there lived under a learned Christian appointed to govern them; since the which time, to wit, in the year 1290, all the Jews in England were banished out of the realm, whereby the number of converts in this place was decayed: and, therefore, in the year 1377, this house was annexed* by patent to William Burstall Clearke, custos rotulorum, or keeper of the Rolles of the Chauncerie, by Edward III., in the 5th year of his reign; and this first Master of the Rolles was sworn in Westminster hall, at the table of marble stone; since the which time, that house hath been commonly called the Rolles in Chancerie lane.

Notwithstanding such of the Jewes, or other infidels, as have in this realm been converted to Christianity, and baptized, have been relieved there; for I find in record that one William Piers, a Jew that became a Christian, was baptized in the fifth of Richard II., and had two-pence the day allowed him during his life by the said king.

On the west side was sometime a house pertaining to the prior of Necton Parke, a house of canons in Lincolnshire; this was commonly called Herefete inn, and was a brewhouse, but now fair built for the five clerks of the Chancerie, and standeth over against the said house called the Rolles, and near unto the lane which now entereth Fickets croft, or Fickets field. Then is Shere lane, opening also into Fickets field, hard by the bars.

On this north side of Fleet street, in the year of Christ 1595, I observed, that when the labourers had broken up the pavement, from against Chancerie lane's end up towards St. Dunston's church, and had digged four feet deep, they found one other pavement of hard stone, more sufficient than the first, and, therefore, harder to be broken, under the which they found in the made ground, piles of timber driven very thick, and almost close together, the same being as black as pitch or coal, and many of them rotten as earth, which proveth that the ground there (as sundry other places of the city) have been a marish, or full of springs.

On the south side from Ludgate, before the wall of the city, be fair built houses to Fleete bridge, on the which bridge a cistern for receipt of spring water was made by the men of Fleet street, but the watercourse is decayed, and not restored.

Next is Bride lane, and therein Bridewell, of old time the king's house, for the kings of this realm have been there lodged; and till the ninth of Henry III. the courts were kept in the king's house, wheresoever he was lodged, as may appear by ancient records, whereof I have seen many, but for example set forth one in the Chapter of Towers and Castles.

King Henry VIII. built there a stately and beautiful house of new, for receipt of the Emperor

Charles V., who, in the year of Christ 1522, was lodged himself at the Blacke Friars, but his nobles in this new built Bridewell, a gallery being made out of the house over the water, and through the wall of the city, into the emperor's lodging at the Blacke Friars. King Henry himself oftentimes lodged there also, as, namely, in the year 1525, a parliament being then holden in the Black Friars, he created estates of nobility there, to wit, Henry Fitz Roy, a child (which he had by Elizabeth Blunt) to be Earl of Nottingham, Duke of Richmond and of Somerset, Lieutenant General from Trent northward, Warden of the East, Middle, and West Marches for anenst Scotland; Henry Courtney, Earl of Devonshire, cousin-german to the king, to be marquis of Exeter; Henry Brandon, a child of two years old, son to the Earl of Suffolke, to be Earl of Lincoln; Sir Thomas Mannars, Lord Rose, to be Earl of Rutland; Sir Henry Clifford, to be Earl of Cumberland; Sir Robert Ratcliffe, to be Viscount Fitzwater; and Sir Thomas Boloine, treasurer of the king's household, to be Viscount Rochford.

In the year 1528, Cardinal Campeius was brought to the king's presence, being then at Bridewell, whither he had called all his nobility, judges, and councillors, &c. And there, the 8th of November, in his great chamber, he made unto them an oration touching his marriage with Queen Katheren, as ye may read in Edward Hall.

In the year 1529, the same King Henrie and Queen Katherine were lodged there, whilst the question of their marriage was argued in the Blacke Friars, &c.

But now you shall hear how this house became a house of correction. In the year 1553, the 7th of King Edward VI., the 10th of April, Sir George Baron, being mayor of this city, was sent for to the court at Whitehall, and there at that time the king gave unto him for the commonalty and citizens to be a workhouse for the poor and idle persons of the city, his house of Bridewell, and seven hundred marks land, late of the possessions of the house of the Savoy, and all the bedding and other furniture of the said hospital of the Savoy, towards the maintenance of the said workhouse of Bridewell, and the hospital of St. Thomas in Southwark.

This gift King Edward confirmed by his charter, dated the 26th of June next following; and in the year 1555, in the month of February, Sir William Gerarde, mayor, and the aldermen entered Bridewell, and took possession thereof according to the gift of the said King Edward, the same being confirmed by Queen Mary.

The Bishop of St. David's had his inn over against the north side of this Bridwell, as I have said.

Then is the parish church of St. Bridges, or Bride, of old time a small thing, which now remaineth to be the choir, but since increased with a large body and side aisles towards the west, at the charges of William Venor, esquire, warden of the Fleet, about the year 1480, all which he caused to be wrought about in the stone in the figure of a vine with grapes, and leaves, &c. The partition betwixt the old work and the new, sometime prepared as a screen to be set up in the hall of the Duke of Somerset's house at Strand, was bought for eight score pounds, and set up in the year 1557; one wilful body began to spoil and break the same

* The annexation of this estate to the Mastership of the Rolles having been found to stand in the way of certain public improvements, Parliament interfered in the year 1837, and by statute 7 William IV. and 1 Vict. c.116, vested the Rolles' estate in the Crown, settling upon the Master of the Rolles an annual income of seven thousand pounds, in lieu of all pecuniary fines and rents received by him.

in the year 1596, but was by the high commissioners forced to make it up again, and so it resteth. John Ulsthorpe, William Evesham, John Wigan, and other, founded chantries there.

The next is Salisbury court, a place so called for that it belonged to the Bishops of Salisbury, and was their inn, or London house, at such time as they were summoned to come to the parliament, or came for other business; it hath of late time been the dwelling, first of Sir Richard Sackville, and now of Sir Thomas Sackville his son, Baron of Buckhurst, Lord Treasurer, who hath greatly enlarged it with stately buildings.

Then is Waterlane, running down, by the west side of a house called the Hanging Sword, to the Thames.

Then was the White Friars' church, called *Præter beate Mariæ de Monte Carmeli*, first founded (saith John Bale) by Sir Richard Gray, knight, ancestor to the Lord Gray Codnor, in the year 1241. King Edward I. gave to the prior and brethren of that house a plot of ground in Fleete street, whereupon to build their house, which was since re-edified or new built, by Hugh Courtney, Earl of Devonshire, about the year 1350, the 24th of Edward III. John Lutken, mayor of London, and the commonalty of the city, granted a lane called Crockers lane, reaching from Fleet street to the Thames, to build in the west end of that church. Sir Robert Knoles, knight, was a great builder there also, in the reign of Richard II., and of Henry IV.; he deceased at his manor of Scone Thorpe, in Norfolk, in the year 1407, and was brought to London, and honourably buried by the Lady Constance his wife, in the body of the said White Friars' church, which he had newly built.

Robert Marshall, Bishop of Hereford, built the choir, presbytery, steeple, and many other parts, and was there buried, about the year 1420. There were buried also in the new choir, Sir John Mowbery, Earl of Nottingham, 1398; Sir Edward Courtney; Sir Hugh Montgomerie, and Sir John his brother; John Wolle, son to Sir John Wolle; Thomas Bayholt, esquire; Elizabeth, Countess of Athole; Dame Johan, wife to Sir Thomas Say of Alden; Sir Pence Castle, Baron; John, Lord Gray, son to Reginald, Lord Gray of Wilton, 1418; Sir John Ludlow, knight; Sir Richard Derois, knight; Richarde Gray, knight; John Ashley, knight; Robert Bristow, esquire; Thomas Perry, esquire; Robert Tempest, esquire; William Call; William Neddow.

In the old choir were buried: Dame Margaret, &c.; Eleanor Gristles; Sir John Browne, knight, and John his son and heir; Sir Simon de Berforde, knight; Peter Wigus, esquire; Robert Mathew, esquire; Sir John Skargell, knight; Sir John Norice, knight; Sir Geoffrey Roose, knight; Matthew Hadocke, esquire; William Clarell, esquire; John Aprichard, esquire; William Wentworth, esquire; Thomas Wicham, esquire; Sir Terwit, knight; Sir Stephen Popham, knight; Bastard de Scales; Henrie Blunt, esquire; Elizabeth Blunt; John Swan, esquire; Alice Foster, one of the heirs of Sir Stephen Popham; Sir Robert Brocket, knight; John Drayton, esquire; John, son to Robert Chanlowes, and his daughter Katherine; John Salvin, William Hampton, John Bampton, John Winter, Edmond Oldhall, William Appleyard, Thomas Dabby, esquires; Sir Hugh Court-

ney, knight; John Drury, son to Robert Drurie; Elizabeth Gemersey, gentlewoman; Sir Thomas Townsend, knight; Sir Richarde Greene, knight; William Scot, esquire; Thomas Federinghey, I. Fulforde, esquire; Edward Eldsmere, gentleman; W. Hart, gentleman; Dame Mary Senclare, daughter to Sir Thomas Talbot, knight; Ancher, esquire; Sir William Moris, knight, and Dame Christian his wife; Sir Peter de Mota, knight; Richard Hewton, esquire; Sir I. Heron, knight; Richard Eton, esquire; Hugh Stapleton, gentleman; William Copley, gentleman; Sir Ralph Saintowen, knight; Sir Hugh Bromeflete, knight; Lord Vessey, principal founder of that order, the 6th of Edward IV., &c.

This house was valued at 62*l.* 7*s.* 3*d.*, and was surrendered the 10th of November, the 30th of Henry VIII.

In place of this Friars' church be now many fair houses built, lodgings for noblemen and others.

Then is the Sergeants' inn, so called, for that divers judges and sergeants at the law keep a commons, and are lodged there in term time.

Next is the New Temple, so called because the Templars, before the building of this house, had their Temple in Oldborne. This house was founded by the Knights Templars in England, in the reign of Henry II., and the same was dedicated to God and our blessed Lady, by Heraclius, Patriarch of the church called the Holy Resurrection in Jerusalem, in the year of Christ, 1185.

These Knights Templars took their beginning about the year 1118*, in manner following. Certain noblemen, horsemen, religiously bent, bound by vow themselves in the hands of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, to serve Christ after the manner of regular canons in chastity and obedience, and to renounce their own proper wills for ever; the first of which order were Hugh Paganus, and Geoffrey de S. Andromare. And whereas at the first they had no certain habitation, Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, granted unto them a dwelling place in his palace by the Temple, and the canons of the same Temple gave them the street thereby to build therein their houses of office, and the patriarch, the king, the nobles, and prelates gave unto them certain revenues out of their lordships.

Their first profession was for safeguard of the pilgrims coming to visit the sepulchre, and to keep the highways against the lying in wait of thieves, &c. About ten years after they had a rule appointed unto them, and a white habit, by Honorius II. then Pope; and whereas they had but nine in number, they began to increase greatly. Afterward, in Pope Eugenius' time, they bare crosses of red cloth on their uppermost garments, to be known from others; and in short time, because they had their first mansion hard by the Temple of our Lord in Jerusalem, they were called Knights of the Temple.

Many noble men in all parts of Christendom, became brethren of this order, and built for themselves temples in every city or great town in Eng-

* In addition to the works mentioned in a preceding note (page 124), as containing the history of this once powerful order, there has since appeared in this country a handsomely illustrated work upon the subject, entitled "*The Knights Templars*," called forth, it is stated, by the extensive restorations which the Temple church is at present undergoing.

land, but this at London was their chief house, which they built after the form of the temple near to the sepulchre of our Lord at Jerusalem; they had also other temples in Cambridge*, Bristow, Canterbury, Dover, Warwick†. This Temple in London, was often made a storehouse of men's treasure, I mean such as feared the spoil thereof in other places.

Matthew Paris noteth, that in the year 1232, Hubert de Burgh, Earl of Kent, being prisoner in the Tower of London, the king was informed that he had much treasure laid up in this New Temple, under the custody of the Templars; whereupon he sent for the master of the Temple, and examined him straitly, who confessed that money being delivered unto him and his brethren to be kept, he knew not how much there was of it; the king demanded to have the same delivered, but it was answered, that the money being committed unto their trust, could not be delivered without the licence of him that committed it to ecclesiastical protection, whereupon the king sent his Treasurer and Justiciar of the Exchequer unto Hubert, to require him to resign the money wholly into his hands, who answered that he would gladly submit himself, and all his, unto the king's pleasure; and thereupon desired the knights of the Temple, in his behalf, to present all the keys unto the king, to do his pleasure with the goods which he had committed unto them. Then the king commanded the money to be faithfully told and laid up in his treasury, by inventory, wherein was found (besides ready money) vessels of gold and silver unpricedable, and many precious stones, which would make all men wonder if they knew the worth of them.

This Temple was again dedicated 1240, belike also newly re-edified then.

These Templars at this time were in so great glory, that they entertained the nobility, foreign ambassadors, and the prince himself very often, inasmuch that Mathew Paris crieth out on them for their pride‡, who being at the first so poor, as they had but one horse to serve two of them, (in token whereof they gave in their seal two men riding of one horse,) yet suddenly they waxed so insolent, that they disdaind other orders, and sorted themselves with noblemen.

King Edward I. in the year 1283, taking with him Robert Waleran, and other, came to the Temple, where calling for the keeper of the treasure house, as if he meant to see his mother's jewels, that were laid up there to be safely kept, he entered into the house, breaking the coffers of certain

persons that had likewise brought their money thither, and he took away from thence to the value of a thousand pounds.

Many parliaments and great councils have been there kept, as may appear by our histories. In the year 1308, all the Templars in England, as also in other parts of Christendom, were apprehended and committed to divers prisons. In 1310, a provincial council was holden at London, against the Templars in England, upon heresy and other articles whereof they were accused, but denied all except one or two of them, notwithstanding they all did confess that they could not purge themselves fully as faultless, and so they were condemned to perpetual penance in several monasteries, where they behaved themselves modestly.

Philip, king of France, procured their overthrow throughout the whole world, and caused them to be condemned by a general council to his advantage, as he thought, for he believed to have had all their lands in France, and, therefore, seized the same in his hands (as I have read), and caused the Templars to the number of four and fifty (or after Fabian, threescore) to be burned at Paris.

Edward II. in the year 1313, gave unto Aimer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, the whole place and houses called the New Temple at London, with the ground called Ficquetes Croft, and all the tenements and rents, with the appurtenances, that belonged to the Templars in the city of London and suburbs thereof*.

After Aimer de Valence (sayeth some) Hugh Spencer, usurping the same, held it during his life, by whose death it came again to the hands of Edward III.; but in the mean time, to wit, 1324, by a council holden at Vienna, all the lands of the Templars (lest the same should be put to profane uses) were given to the knights hospitalers of the order of St. John Baptist, called St. John of Jerusalem, which knights had put the Turkes out of the Isle of Rhodes, and after won upon the said Turkes daily for a long time.

The said Edward III., therefore, granted the same to the said knights, who possessed it, and in the eighteenth year of the said king's reign, were forced to repair the bridge of the said Temple. These knights had their head house for England by West Smithfield, and they in the reign of the same Edward III. granted (for a certain rent of ten pounds by the year) the said Temple, with the appurtenances thereunto adjoining, to the students of the common laws of England, in whose possession the same hath ever since remained; and is now divided into two houses of several students, by the name of inns of court, to wit, the Inner Temple, and the Middle Temple, who kept two several halls, but they resort all to the said Temple church, in the round walk whereof (which is the west part without the choir) there remaineth monuments of noblemen buried*, to the number of eleven, eight

* Matthew Paris.

† "And others in other places."—1st edition, p. 325.

‡ The pride of the Templars was proverbial, and is well illustrated by the following anecdote, told by Camden in his *Remains*, p. 226, ed. 1629.

"One Fulke, a Frenchman, of great opinion for his holiness, told this King Richard that he kept with him three daughters, that would procure him the wrath of God, if he did not shortly ridde himself of them.—'Why hypocrite (quoth the king), all the world knoweth that I never had child.' 'Yea, (said Fulke) you have as I said three, and their names are Pride, Covetousnesse, and Lechery.' 'Is it so (said the king), you shall see me presently bestow them; the Knights Templars shall have Pride; the white monkes Covetousnesse; and the clergie, Lechery; and there have you my three daughters bestowed among you.'"

* Patent 2 E. 3 Clasc. 18 E. 3.

† In March 1841, in the progress of the reparation and restoration which the Temple church is now undergoing, the important discovery was made of the ancient lead coffins containing the bodies of the knights. They do not appear to have been buried in their armour. The coffins, some of which were six feet eight inches, and some six feet ten inches long, were in a very corroded state, none of the orna-

of them are images of armed knights, five lying cross-legged as men vowed to the Holy Land, against the infidels and unbelieving Jews; the other three straight-legged; the rest are coped stones all of gray marble; the first of the cross-legged was W. Marshall, the elder Earl of Pembroke, who died 1219; Will. Marshall his son, earl of Pembroke, was the second, he died, 1231; and Gilbert Marshall his brother, Earl of Pembroke, slain in a tournament at Hertford, beside Ware, in the year 1241.

After this Robert Rose, otherwise called Fursan, being made a Templar in the year 1245, died and was buried there, and these are all that I can remember to have read of. Sir Nicholas Hare, Master of the Rolls, was buried there in the year 1557.

In the year 1381, the rebels of Essex and of Kent destroyed and plucked down the houses and lodgings of this Temple, took out of the church the books and records that were in hutches of the apprentices of the law, carried them into the streets, and burnt them; the house they spoiled and burnt for wrath that they bare Sir Robert Halles, Lord-prior of St. John's in Smithfield; but it was since again at divers times repaired, namely, the gate-house of the Middle Temple in the reign of Henry VIII., by Sir Amias Paulet, knight, upon occasion, as in my Annales I have shown. The great hall of the Middle Temple was newly built in the year 1572, in the reign of our Queen Elizabeth.

This Temple church hath a master and four stipendiary priests, with a clerk: these for the ministration of Divine service there have stipends allowed unto them out of the possessions and revenues of the late hospital and house of St. John's of Jerusalem in England, as it had been in the reign of Edward VI.; and thus much for the said new Temple, the farthest west part of this ward, and also of this city for the liberties thereof; which ward hath an alderman, and his deputies three. In Sepulchre's parish, common council six, constables four, scavengers four, wardmote inquest twelve; St. Bridgetes parish, common councillors eight, constables eight, scavengers eight, wardmote inquest twenty; in St. Andrewes, common council two, constables two, scavengers three, wardmote inquest twelve. It is taxed to the fifteen at thirty-five pounds one shilling*.

BRIDGE WARDE WITHOUT, THE TWENTY-SIXTH IN NUMBER; CONSISTING OF THE BOROUGH OF SOUTHWARKE, IN THE COUNTY OF SURREY.

HAVING treated of wards in London, on the north side the Thames (in number twenty-five), I am now to cross over the said river into the borough of Southwark, which is also a ward of London without the walls, on the south side thereof, as is Portsoken on the east, and Farringdon extra on the west.

This borough being in the county of Surrey, consisteth of divers streets, ways, and winding lanes, all full of buildings, inhabited; and, first, to begin at the west part thereof, over against the west suburb of the city.

ments upon them being of earlier date than the beginning of the thirteenth century.

* "And in the Exchequer at thirty-four pounds."—1st edition, p. 338.

On the bank of the river Thames there is now a continual building of tenements, about half a mile in length to the bridge. Then from the bridge, straight towards the south, a continual street, called Long Southwark, built on both sides with divers lanes and alleys up to St. George's church, and beyond it through Blackman street towards New town (or Newington); the liberties of which borough extend almost to the parish church of New town aforesaid, distant one mile from London Bridge, and also south-west a continual building almost to Lambeth, more than one mile from the said bridge.

Then from the bridge along by the Thames eastward is St. Olave's street, having continual building on both the sides, with lanes and alleys, up to Battle bridge, to Horsedowne, and towards Rother hithe; also some good half mile in length from London bridge.

So that I account the whole continual buildings on the bank of the said river, from the west towards the east, to be more than a large mile in length.

Then have ye, from the entering towards the said Horsedown, one other continual street called Bermondsey high street, which stretcheth south, likewise furnished with buildings on both sides, almost half a mile in length, up to the late dissolved monastery of St. Saviour called Bermondsey. And from thence is one Long lane (so called of the length), turning west to St. George's church afore named. Out of the which lane mentioned Long lane breaketh one other street towards the south and by east, and this is called Kentish street, for that is the way leading into that country: and so have you the bounds of this borough.

The antiquities most notable in this borough are these: First, for ecclesiastical, there was Bermondsey, an abbey of black monks, St. Mary Overies, a priory of canons regular, St. Thomas, a college or hospital for the poor, and the Loke, a Lazar house in Kent street. Parish churches there have been six, whereof five do remain; viz. St. Mary Magdalen, in the priory of St. Mary Overie, now the same St. Mary Overie is the parish church for the said Mary Magdalen, and for St. Margaret on the hill, and is called St. Saviour.

St. Margaret on the hill being put down is now a court for justice; St. Thomas in the hospital serveth for a parish church as afore; St. George a parish church as before it did; so doth St. Olave and St. Mary Magdalen, by the abbey of Bermondsey.

There be also these five prisons or gaols:

The Clink on the Banke.

The Compter, in the late parish church of St. Margaret.

The Marshalsey.

The Kinges Bench.

And the White Lion, all in Long Southwarke.

Houses most notable be these:

The Bishop of Winchester's house.

The Bishop of Rochester's house.

The Duke of Suffolk's house, or Southwark place.

The Tabard, an hostery or inn.

The Abbot of Hyde, his house.

The Prior of Lewes, his house.

The Abbot of St. Augustine, his house.

The Bridge house.

The Abbot of Battaile, his house.
Battaile bridge.
The Stewes on the bank of Thames.
And the Bear gardens there.

Now, to return to the west bank, there be two bear gardens, the old and new places, wherein be kept bears, bulls, and other beasts, to be baited ; as also mastiffs in several kennels, nourished to bait them. These bears and other beasts are there baited in plots of ground, scaffolded about for the beholders to stand safe.

Next on this bank was sometime the Bordello, or Stewes, a place so called of certain stew-houses privileged there, for the repair of incontinent men to the like women ; of the which privilege I have read thus :

In a parliament holden at Westminster, the 8th of Henry II.*, it was ordained by the commons, and confirmed by the king and lords, that divers constitutions for ever should be kept within that lordship or franchise, according to the old customs that had been there used time out of mind : amongst the which these following were some, viz.

"That no stew-holder or his wife should let or stay any single woman, to go and come freely at all times when they listed.

"No stew-holder to keep any woman to board, but she to board abroad at her pleasure.

"To take no more for the woman's chamber in the week than fourteen pence.

"Not to keep open his doors upon the holidays.

"Not to keep any single woman in his house on the holidays, but the bailiff to see them voided out of the lordship.

"No single woman to be kept against her will that would leave her sin.

"No stew-holder to receive any woman of religion, or any man's wife.

"No single woman to take money to lie with any man, but she lie with him all night till the morrow.

"No man to be drawn or enticed into any stew-house.

"The constables, bailiff, and others, every week to search every stew-house.

"No stewardholder to keep any woman that hath the perilous infirmity of burning, not to sell bread, ale, flesh, fish, wood, coal, or any victuals, &c."

These and many more orders were to be observed upon great pain and punishment. I have also seen divers patents of confirmation, namely, one dated 1345, the 19th of Edward III.†. Also I find, that in the 4th of Richard II., these stew-houses belonging to William Walworth, then mayor of London, were farmed by Froes of Flanders, and spoiled by Walter Tyler, and other rebels of Kent : notwithstanding, I find that ordinances for the same place and houses were again confirmed in the reign

* The class of persons referred to in the text became the subject of legislative enactment in this country apparently at a much earlier period than in France, where their numbers appear to have increased so greatly during the reign of St. Louis, as to have called forth an extremely severe ordinance for their regulation, which is quoted by Roquefort in his *Glossaire*, s.v. *Femmes Foles de leur corps*. See also Legend d'Aussy, *Fabliaux ou Contes* (iv. p. 217, ed. 1829).

† *Li. St. Mary Eborum*. English people disdayned to be baudes. Froes of Flaunders were women for that purpose."—*Stow*.

of Henry VI., to be continued as before. Also, Robert Fabian writeth, that in the year 1506, the 21st of Henry VII., the said stew-houses in Southwarke were for a season inhibited, and the doors closed up, but it was not long (saith he) ere the houses there were set open again, so many as were permitted, for (as it was said) whereas before were eighteen houses, from thenceforth were appointed to be used but twelve only. These allowed stew-houses had signs on their fronts, towards the Thames, not hanged out, but painted on the walls, as a Boar's head, the Cross keys, the Gun, the Castle, the Crane, the Cardinal's hat, the Bell, the Swan, &c. I have heard of ancient men, of good credit, report, that these single women were forbidden the rites of the church, so long as they continued that sinful life, and were excluded from Christian burial, if they were not reconciled before their death. And therefore there was a plot of ground called the Single Woman's churchyard, appointed for them far from the parish church.

In the year of Christ 1546, the 37th of Henry VIII., this row of stews in Southwarke was put down by the king's commandment, which was proclaimed by sound of trumpet, no more to be privileged, and used as a common brothel, but the inhabitants of the same to keep good and honest rule as in other places of this realm, &c.

Then next is the Clink*, a gaol or prison for the trespassers in those parts ; namely, in old time, for such as should brabble, frey, or break the peace on the said bank, or in the brothel houses, they were by the inhabitants thereabout apprehended and committed to this gaol, where they were straitly imprisoned.

Next is the bishop of Winchester's house, or lodging, when he cometh to this city ; which house was first built by William Gifford, bishop of Winchester, about the year 1107, the 7th of Henry I., upon a plot of ground pertaining to the prior of Bermondsey, as appeareth by a writ directed unto the barons of the Exchequer, in the year 1366, the 41st of Edward III. (the bishop's see being void), for eight pounds, due to the monks of Bermondsey for the bishop of Winchester's lodging in Southwark. This is a very fair house, well repaired, and hath a large wharf and landing-place, called the bishop of Winchester's stairs.

Adjoining to this, on the south side the roof, is the bishop of Rochester's inn or lodging, by whom first erected I do not now remember me to have read ; but well I wot the same of long time hath not been frequented by any bishop, and lieth ruinous for any lack of reparations. The abbot of Maverley had a house there.

East from the bishop of Winchester's house, directly over against it, standeth a fair church called St. Mary over the Rie, or Overy, that is over the water. This church, or some other in place thereof, was of old time, long before the Conquest, a house of sisters, founded by a maiden named Mary ; unto the which house and sisters she left (as was left to her by her parents) the oversight and profits of a cross ferry, or traverse ferry over the Thames,

* It is now but little used ; and it is understood that the persons who are at present confined therein for debt will, under a late act of parliament, shortly be removed to the Queen's Bench.

there kept before that any bridge was built. This house of sisters was after by Swithen, a noble lady, converted into a college of priests, who in place of the ferry built a bridge of timber, and from time to time kept the same in good reparations, but lastly the same bridge was built of stone; and then in the year 1106 was this church again founded for canons regulars by William Pont de la Arche and William Dauncey, knights, Normans.

William Gifford, bishop of Winchester, was a good benefactor also, for he, as some have noted, built the body of that church in the year 1106, the 7th of Henry I.

The canons first entered the said church then; Algodus was the first prior.

King Henry I. by his charter gave them the church of St. Margaret in Southwarke.

King Stephen confirmed the gift of King Henry, and also gave the stone-house, which was William Pont de le Arche's, by Downegate.

This priory was burnt about the year 1207, wherefore the canons did found a hospital near unto their priory, where they celebrated until the priory was repaired; which hospital was after, by consent of Peter de la Roch, bishop of Winchester, removed into the land of Anicius, archdeacon of Surrey, in the year 1228, a place where the water was more plentiful, and the air more wholesome, and was dedicated to St. Thomas.

This Peter de Rupibus, or de la Roch, founded a large chapel of St. Mary Magdalen, in the said church of St. Mary Overie; which chapel was after appointed to be the parish church for the inhabitants near adjoining.

This church was again newly built in the reign of Richard II. and King Henry IV.

John Gower, esquire, a famous poet *, was then an especial benefactor to that work, and was there buried on the north side of the said church, in the chapel of St. John, where he founded a chantry †: he lieth under a tomb of stone, with his image, also of stone, over him: the hair of his head, auburn, long to his shoulders, but curling up, and a small forked beard; on his head a chaplet, like a coronet of four roses; a habit of purple, damasked down to his feet; a collar of essies gold about his neck; under his head the likeness of three books, which he compiled. The first, named *Speculum Meditantis*, written in French; the second, *Vox Clamantis*, penned in Latin; the third, *Confessio Amantis*, written in English, and this last is printed. *Vox Clamantis*, with his *Cronica Tripartita*, and other, both in Latin and French, never printed, I have and do possess, but *Speculum Meditantis* I never saw, though heard thereof to be in Kent ‡. Be-

* "John Gower was no knight, neither had he any garland of ivie and roses, but a chaplet of four roses onely."—Stow.

† Berthelet, in his preface to the edition of the *Confessio Amantis*, published by him in 1532, which is quoted by Todd in his *Illustrations of Gower and Chaucer*, when describing the monument, adds, "And moreover he hath an obyte yerely done for hym within the same church on Fryday after the feast of the blessed pope Saynte Gregory."

‡ The *Speculum Meditantis* has never yet been seen by any of our poetical antiquaries. A description of the various MSS. extant of the poems of the 'moral Gower,' together with his will, will be found in Mr. Todd's volume already referred to, and likewise an engraving of his monument, which appears, from the words, "*Noviter constructum impensis*

side on the wall where he lieth, there was painted three virgins crowned; one of the which was named Charity, holding this device:

"En toy qui es Fitz de diu le pere,
Sauve soit, que gist souz cest pierre."

The second writing, Mercy, with this device:

"O bone Jesu, fait ta mercie,
Al alme, dont le corps gist icy."

The third writing, Pity, with this device:

"Pur ta pité Jesu regarde,
Et met cest alme en sauve garde."

His arms a field argent, on a cheveron azure, three leopards' heads gold, their tongues gules; two angels supporters, on the crest a talbot: his epitaph,

"Armigeri scutum nihil a modo fert sibi tutum,
Redditit immolatum morti generale tributum,
Spiritus exutum se gaudeat esse solum,
Est ubi virtutum regnum sine labe statutum."

The roof of the middle west aisle fell down in the year 1469. This priory was surrendered to Henry VIII., the 31st of his reign, the 27th of October, the year of Christ 1539, valued at 624*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.* by the year.

About Christmas next following, the church of the said priory was purchased of the king by the inhabitants of the borough, Doctor Stephen Gardner, bishop of Winchester, putting to his helping hand; they made thereof a parish church for the parish church of St. Mary Magdalen, on the south side of the said choir, and of St. Margaret on the hill, which were made one parish of St. Saviour.

There be monuments in this church,—of Robert Liliarde, or Hiliarde, esquire; Margaret, daughter to the Lady Audley, wife to Sir Thomas Audley; William Greவில், esquire, and Margaret his wife; one of the heirs of William Spershut, esquire; Dame Katherine, wife to John Stoke, alderman; Robert Merfin, esquire; William Undall, esquire; Lord Ospay Ferar; Sir George Brewes, knight; John Browne; Lady Brandon, wife to Sir Thomas Brandon; William, Lord Scales; William, Earl Warren; Dame Maude, wife to Sir John Peach; Lewknor; Dame Margaret Elrington, one of the heirs of Sir Thomas Elrington; John Bowden, esquire; Robert St. Magil; John Sandhurst; John Gower; John Duncell, merchant-tailor, 1516; John Sturton, esquire; Robert Rouse; Thomas Tong, first Norroy, and after Clarenceaux king of arms; William Wickham, translated from the see of Lincoln to the bishopric of Winchester in the month of March 1595, deceased the 11th of June next following, and was buried here; Thomas Cure, esquire, saddler to King Edward VI., Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth, deceased the 24th of May, 1598, &c.

Now passing through St. Mary Over's close (in possession of the Lord Mountacute), and Pepper alley, into Long Southwarke, on the right hand thereof the market-hill, where the leather is sold,

Parochia, Anno Domini 1615," to have received greater attention than has been awarded to that of his great poetical rival Chaucer, whose tomb in Poet's corner, Westminster abbey, is in a disgraceful state of dilapidation.

there stood the late named parish church of St. Margaret, given to St. Mary Overies by Henry I., put down and joined with the parish of St. Mary Magdalen, and united to the late dissolved priory church of St. Mary Overy.

A part of this parish church of St. Margaret is now a court, wherein the assizes and sessions be kept, and the court of admiralty is also there kept. One other part of the same church is now a prison, called the Compter in Southwarke, &c.

Farther up on that side, almost directly over against St. George's church, was sometime a large and most sumptuous house, built by Charles Brandon, late Duke of Suffolk, in the reign of Henry VIII., which was called Suffolk house, but coming afterwards into the king's hands, the same was called Southwarke place, and a mint of coinage was there kept for the king.

To this place came King Edward VI., in the second of his reign, from Hampton Court, and dined in it. He at that time made John Yorke, one of the sheriffs of London, knight, and then rode through the city to Westminster.

Queen Mary gave this house to Nicholas Heath, Archbishop of Yorke, and to his successors, for ever, to be their inn or lodging for their repair to London, in recompense of Yorke house near to Westminster, which King Henry her father had taken from Cardinal Wolsey, and from the see of Yorke.

Archbishop Heath sold the same house to a merchant, or to merchants, that pulled it down, sold the lead, stone, iron, &c.; and in place thereof built many small cottages of great rents, to the increasing of beggars in that borough. The archbishop bought Norwich house, or Suffolke place, near unto Charing cross, because it was near unto the court, and left it to his successors.

Now on the south side to return back again towards the bridge, over against this Suffolke place, is the parish church of St. George, sometime pertaining to the priory of Barmondsey, by the gift of Thomas Arderne and Thomas his son, in the year 1122. There lie buried in this church, William Kirton, esquire, and his wives, 1464.

Then is the White Lion, a gaol so called, for that the same was a common hosterie for the receipt of travellers by that sign. This house was first used as a gaol within these forty years last, since the which time the prisoners were once removed thence to a house in Newtowne, where they remained for a short time, and were returned back again to the foresaid White Lion, there to remain as in the appointed gaol for the county of Surrey.

Next is the gaol or prison of the King's Bench, but of what antiquity the same is I know not. For I have read that the courts of the King's Bench and Chancery have oftentimes been removed from London to other places, and so hath likewise the gaols that serve those courts; as in the year 1304, Edward I. commanded the courts of the King's Bench and the Exchequer, which had remained seven years at Yorke, to be removed to their old places at London. And in the year 1387, the 11th of Richard II., Robert Tresilian, chief justice, came to the city of Coventrie, and there sate by the space of a month, as justice of the King's benches, and caused to be indicted in that court, about the

number of two thousand persons of that country, &c.

It seemeth, therefore, that for that time, the prison or gaol of that court was not far off. Also in the year 1392, the 16th of the same Richard, the Archbishop of York being Lord Chancellor, for good will that he bare to his city, caused the King's Bench and Chancery to be removed from London to York, but ere long they were returned to London.

Then is the Marshalsey*, another gaol or prison, so called, as pertaining to the marshals of England. Of what continuance kept in Southwark I have not learned; but like it is, that the same hath been removable, at the pleasure of the marshals: for I find that in the year 1376, the 50th of Edward III., Henry Percie (being marshal) kept his prisoners in the city of London, where having committed one John Prendergast, of Norwich, contrary to the liberties of the city of London, the citizens, by persuasion of the Lord Fitzwalter their standard-bearer, took armour and ran with great rage to the marshal's inn, brake up the gates, brought out the prisoner, and conveyed him away, minding to have burnt the stocks in the midst of their city, but they first sought for Sir Henry Percie to have punished him, as I have noted in my Annales.

More about the feast of Easter next following, John, Duke of Lancaster, having caused all the whole navy of England to be gathered together at London: it chanced a certain esquire to kill one of the shipmen, which act the other shipmen taking in ill part, they brought their suit into the king's court of the Marshalsey, which then as chanced (saith mine author) was kept in Southwarke: but when they perceived that court to be so favourable to the murderer, and further that the king's warrant was also gotten for his pardon, they in great fury ran to the house wherein the murderer was imprisoned, brake into it, and brought forth the prisoner with his gyves on his legs, they thrust a knife to his heart, and sticked him as if he had been a dog; after this they tied a rope to his gyves, and drew him to the gallows, where when they had hanged him, as though they had done a great act, they caused the trumpets to be sounded before them to their ships, and there in great triumph they spent the rest of the day.

Also the rebels of Kent, in the year 1381, brake down the houses of the Marshalsey and King's Bench in Southwark, took from thence the prisoners, brake down the house of Sir John Immorth, then marshal of the Marshalsey and King's Bench, &c. After this, in the year 1387, the 11th of Richard II., the morrow after Bartholomew day, the king kept a great council in the castle of Nottingham, and the Marshalsey of the king was then kept at Loughborough by the space of five days or more. In the year 1443, Sir Walter Manny was marshal of the Marshalsey, the 22nd of Henry VI. William Brandon, esquire, was marshal in the 8th of Edward IV. In the year 1504 the prisoners of the Marshalsey, then in Southwarke, brake out,

* Some interesting illustrations of the history of this prison, the inmates of which it is understood are shortly to be removed to the Queen's Bench, will be found in an *Essay towards a History of the Ancient Jurisdiction of the Marshalsea of the King's House*, &c. 8vo. 1812.

and many of them being taken were executed, especially such as had been committed for felony or treason.

From thence towards London bridge, on the same side, be many fair inns, for receipt of travellers, by these signs, the Spurre, Christopher, Bull, Queene's Head, Tabarde, George, Hart, Kinge's Head, &c. Amongst the which, the most ancient * is the Tabard, so called of the sign, which, as we now term it, is of a jacket, or sleeveless coat, whole before, open on both sides, with a square collar, winged at the shoulders; a stately garment of old time, commonly worn of noblemen and others, both at home and abroad in the wars, but then (to wit in the wars) their arms embroidered, or otherwise depict upon them, that every man by his coat of arms might be known from others; but now these tabards are only worn by the heralds, and be called their coats of arms in service; for the inn of the tabard, Geoffrey Chaucer, esquire, the most famous poet of England, in commendation thereof, writeth thus:—

"Befell that in that season, on a day,
In Southwarke at the Tabard, as I lay,
Readie to wenden on my Pilgrimage
To Canterburie with devout courage,
At night was come into that hostelerie,
Well nine-and-twentie in a companie,
Of sundrie folke, by adventure yfall,
In fellowship, and pilgrimes were they all,
That toward Canterburie wolden ride,
The chambers and the stables weren wide,
And well we weren eased at the best," &c.

Within this inn was also the lodging of the abbot of Hide (by the city of Winchester), a fair house for him and his train, when he came to that city to parliament, &c.

And then Theeves lane, by St. Thomas' hospital. The hospital of St. Thomas, first founded by Richard Prior of Bermondsey, in the Selers ground against the wall of the monastery, in the year 1213, he named it the Almerie, or house of alms for converts and poor children; for the which ground the prior ordained that the almoner should pay ten shillings and four pence yearly to the Selerer at Michaelmas.

But Peter de Rupibus†, Bishop of Winchester, in the year 1215, founded the same again more fully for canons regular in place of the first hospital; he increased the rent thereof to three hundred and forty-four pounds in the year. Thus was this hospital holden of the prior and abbot of Bermondsey till the year 1428, at which time a composition was made between Thomas Thetford, abbot of Bermondsey, and Nicholas Buckland, master of the said hospital of St. Thomas, for all the lands and tenements which were holden of the said abbot and convent in Southwarke, or elsewhere, for the old rent to be paid unto the said abbot.

* A pleasant paper upon the Tabard, by Mr. Saunders, in Knight's *London* (vol. i. p. 57—72), serves to prove satisfactorily, at least to those who love to contemplate scenes made memorable by genius, that the very gallery still exists along which Chaucer and the pilgrims walked,—and that the very room in which they met, curtailed certainly of its fair proportions, is still to be seen, as it was when "newly repaired" in the latter part of the reign of Elizabeth.

† Li. St. Marie Overy.

There be monuments in this hospital church of Sir Robert Chamber, knight; William Fines, Lord Say; Richard Chaucer, John Gloucester, Adam Atwood, John Ward, Michael Cambridge, William West, John Golding, esquires; John Benham, George Kirkes, Thomas Kninton, Thomas Baker, gentlemen; Robert, son to Sir Thomas Fleming; Agnes, wife to Sir Walter Dennis, knight, daughter, and one of the heirs of Sir Robert Danvars; John Evarey, gentleman; &c.

This hospital was by the visitors, in the year 1538, valued at two hundred and sixty-six pounds seventeen shillings and six pence, and was surrendered to Henry VIII., in the 30th of his reign.

In the year 1552, the citizens of London having purchased the void suppressed hospital of St. Thomas in Southwarke, in the month of July began the reparations thereof, for poor, impotent, lame, and diseased people, so that in the month of November next following, the sick and poor people were taken in. And in the year 1553, on the 10th of April, King Edward VI., in the 7th of his reign, gave to the mayor, commonalty, and citizens of London, to be a workhouse for the poor and idle persons of this city, his house of Bridewell, and seven hundred marks lands of the Savoy rents, which hospital he had suppressed, with all the beds, bedding, and other furniture belonging to the same, towards the maintenance of the said workhouse of Bridewell, and of this hospital of St. Thomas in Southwarke. This gift the king confirmed by his charter, dated the 26th of June next following, and willed it to be called the King's hospital in Southwarke.

The church of this hospital, which of old time served for the tenements near adjoining, and pertaining to the said hospital, remaineth as a parish-church.

But now to come to St. Olave's street. On the bank of the river of Thames, is the parish-church of St. Olave, a fair and meet large church, but a far larger parish, especially of aliens or strangers, and poor people; in which church there lieth entombed Sir John Burectur, knight, 1466.

Over against this parish-church, on the south side the street was sometime one great house built of stone, with arched gates, pertaining to the prior of Lewes in Sussex, and was his lodging when he came to London; it is now a common hosterie for travellers, and bath to sign the Walnut Tree.

Then east from the said parish-church of St. Olave is a key. In the year 1330, by the license of Simon Swanolond, mayor of London, built by Isabel, widow to Hamond Goodchepe. And next thereunto was then a great house of stone and timber, belonging to the abbot of St. Augustine without the walls of Canterburie, which was an ancient piece of work, and seemeth to be one of the first built houses on that side the river over-against the city; it was called the abbot's inn of St. Augustine in Southwarke, and was sometime holden of the Earls of Warren and Surrey, as appeareth by a deed made 1281, which I have read, and may be Englished thus:—

"To all whom this present writing shall come, John Earl Warren sendeth greeting. Know ye, that we have altogether remised and quit-clamed for us and our heirs for ever, to Nicholas, abbot of St. Augustine's of Canterburie, and the convent of

the same, and their successors, suit to our court of Southwarke, which they owe unto us, for all that messuage and houses thereon built, and all their appurtenances, which they have of our fee in Southwarke, situate upon the Thames, between the Bridge house and the church of St. Olave. And the said messuage, with the buildings thereon built, and all their appurtenances, to them and their successors, we have granted in perpetual alms, to hold of us and our heirs for the same, saving the service due to any other persons, if any such be, then to us; and for this remit and grant the said abbot and convent have given unto us five shillings of rent yearly in Southwarke, and have received us and our heirs in all benefices which shall be in their church for ever." This suit of court one William Graspeis was bound to do to the said earl for the said messuage, and heretofore to acquit in all things the church of St. Augustine against the said earl.

This house of late time belonged to Sir Anthony Sentlegar, then to Warham Sentlegar, &c., and is now called Sentlegar house, but divided into sundry tenements. Next is the Bridgehouse, so called as being a storehouse for stone, timber, or whatsoever pertaining to the building or repairing of London bridge.

This house seemeth to have taken beginning with the first founding of the bridge either of stone or timber; it is a large plot of ground, on the bank of the river Thames, containing divers large buildings for stowage of things necessary towards reparation of the said bridge.

There are also divers garners, for laying up of wheat, and other grainers for service of the city, as need requireth. Moreover, there be certain ovens built, in number ten, of which six be very large, the other four being but half so big. These were purposely made to bake out the bread corn of the said grainers, to the best advantage for relief of the poor citizens, when need should require. Sir John Throstone, knight, sometime an embroiderer, then a goldsmith, one of the sheriffs 1516, gave by his testament towards the making of these ovens, two hundred pounds, which thing was performed by his executors. Sir John Munday, goldsmith, then being mayor, there was of late, for the enlarging of the said Bridge house, taken in an old brewhouse, called Goldings, which was given to the city by George Monex, sometime mayor, and in place thereof, is now a fair brewhouse new built, for service of the city with beer.

Next was the abbot of Battailes inn, betwixt the Bridge house and Bataille bridge, likewise on the bank of the river of Thames; the walks and gardens thereunto appertaining, on the other side of the way before the gate of the said house, and was called the Maze; there is now an inn, called the Flower de Luce, for that the sign is three Flower de Lucas. Much other buildings of small tenements are thereon builded, replenished with strangers and other, for the most part poor people.

Then is Bataille bridge, so called of Bataille abbey, for that it standeth on the ground, and over a water-course (flowing out of Thames) pertaining to that abbey, and was, therefore, both built and repaired by the abbots of that house, as being hard adjoining to the abbot's lodging.

Beyond this bridge is Bermondsey street, turning

south, in the south end whereof was sometime a priory or abbey of St. Saviour, called Bermond's Eye in Suthwarke, founded by Alwin Childe, a citizen of London, in the year 1081.

Peter, Richard, Obstert, and Umbalde, monks de Charitate, came unto Bermondsey, in the year 1089, and Peter was made first prior there, by appointment of the prior of the house, called Charity in France, by which means this priory of Bermondsey (being a cell to that in France) was accounted a priory of Aliens.

In the year 1094 deceased Alwin Childe, founder of this house. Then William Rufus gave to the monks his manor of Bermondsey, with the appurtenances, and built for them there a new great church.

Robert Blewet, Bishop of Lincolne (King William's chancellor) gave them the manor of Charlton, with the appurtenances. Also Geoffrey Martell, by the grant of Geoffrey Magnaville, gave them the land of Halingbury, and the tithe of Alferton, &c.

More, in the year 1122, Thomas of Arderne, and Thomas his son, gave to the monks of Bermond's Eye the church of St. George in Southwarke, &c.

In the year 1165, King Henry II. confirmed to them the hyde or territory of Southwarke, and Laygham Wadden, with the land of Coleman, &c.

In the year 1371, the priors of Aliens, throughout England, being seized into the king's hands, Richard Denton an Englishman was made prior of Bermondsey, to whom was committed the custody of the said priory, by the letters patents of King Edward III., saving to the king the advowsons of churches.

In the year 1380, the 4th of Richard II., this priory was made a denison (or free English) for the fine of two hundred marks paid to the king's Hanaper in the Chancery. In the year 1399 John Attelborough, prior of Bermondsey, was made the first abbot of that house by Pope Boniface IX., at the suit of King Richard II.

In the year 1417, Thomas Thetford, abbot of Bermondsey, held a plea in chancery against the king, for the manors of Preston, Bermondsey, and Stone, in the county of Somerset, in the which suit the abbot prevailed and recovered against the king.

In the year 1539 this abbey was valued to dispend by the year four hundred and seventy-four pounds fourteen shillings and four pence halfpenny, and was surrendered to Henry VIII., the 31st of his reign; the abbey church was then pulled down by Sir Thomas Pope, knight, and in place thereof a goodly house built of stone and timber, now pertaining to the earls of Sussex*.

There are buried in that church, Leofane, provost, shrive or domesman of London, 1115; Sir William Bowes, knight, and Dame Elizabeth his wife; Sir Thomas Pikeworth, knight; Dame Anne Audley; George, son to John Lord Audley; John

* The reader desirous of investigating more closely the history of this once celebrated priory, is referred to the *Chronicles of Bermondsey*, written most probably by a monk of that house; to Philip's *History and Antiquities of Bermondsey*; and lastly, to an agreeable epitome of the information to be derived from these sources, in the opening number of the third volume of Knight's *London*.

Winkefield, esquire; Sir Nicholas Blonket, knight; Dame Bridget, wife to William Trussell; Holgrave, baron of the exchequer; &c.

Next unto this abbey church standeth a proper church of St. Mary Magdalen, built by the priors of Bermondsey, serving for resort of the inhabitants (tenants to the prior or abbots near adjoining) there to have their Divine service: this church remaineth, and serveth as afore, and is called a parish church.

Then in Kent street is a lazar house for leprous people, called the Loke in Southwarke; the foundation whereof I find not. Now, having touched divers principal parts of this borough, I am to speak somewhat of its government, and so to end.

This borough, upon petition made by the citizens of London to Edward I., in the 1st year of his reign, was, for divers causes, by parliament granted to them for ever, yielding into the exchequer the fee-firm of ten pounds by the year; which grant was confirmed by Edward III., who, in the 3rd of his reign gave them license to take a toll towards the charge of paving the said borough with stone. Henry IV. confirmed the grant of his predecessors, so did Edward IV., &c.

But in the year 1550, King Edward VI., for the sum of six hundred and forty-seven pounds two shillings and one penny, paid into his court of augmentations and revenues of his crown, granted to the mayor and commonalty all his lands and tenements in Southwarke, except, and reserved, the capital messuage, two mansions, called Southwarke place, late the Duke of Suffolkes, and all the gardens and lands to the same appertaining, the park, and the messuage called the Antelope. Moreover, he gave them the lordship and manor of Southwark, with all members and rights thereof, late pertaining to the monastery of Bermondsey. And all messuages, places, buildings, rents, courts, waifs and strays, to the same appertaining, in the county of Surrey, except as is before excepted. He also granted unto them his manor and borough of Southwark, with all the members, rights, and appurtenances, late of the possession of the Archbishop of Canterbury and his see in Southwarke. Moreover, for the sum of five hundred marks, he granted to the said mayor and commonalty, and their successors, in and through the borough and town of Southwarke, and in all the parishes of St. Saviour, St. Olave, and St. George, and the parish of St. Thomas Hospital, now called the King's hospital, and elsewhere, in the said town and borough of Southwarke, and Kentish street, Bermondsey street, in the parish of Newington, all waifs and strays, treasure trove, all felons' goods, &c., within the parishes and precinct aforesaid, &c.: the return of writs, processes, and warrants, &c.: together with a fair in the whole town for three days, to wit, the 7th, 8th, and 9th of September, yearly, with a court of pye powders. A view of franke pledge, with attachments, arrests, &c. Also to arrest all felons, and other malefactors, within their precinct, and send them to ward, and to Newgate. Provided that nothing in that grant should be prejudicial to the stewards and marshal of the king's house. The same premises to be holden of the manor of East Greenwich, in the county of Kent, by fealty in free forage. Dated at Westminster, the 23d of April,

in the 4th of his reign. All which was also confirmed by parliament, &c. And the same year, in the Whitsun week, in a court of aldermen, kept at the Guildhall of London, Sir John Aylophe, knight, was sworn the first alderman of Bridge ward without, and made up the number of twenty-six aldermen of London.

This borough at a subsidy to the king yieldeth about one thousand marks, or eight hundred pounds, which is more than any one city in England payeth, except the city of London. And also the muster of men in this borough doth likewise in number surpass all other cities, except London. And thus much for the borough of Southwarke, one of the twenty-six wards of London, which hath an alderman, deputies three, and a bailiff, common-council none, constables sixteen, scavengers six, wardmote inquest twenty. And is taxed to the fifteen at seventeen pounds seventeen shillings and eight pence.

THE SUBURBS WITHOUT THE WALLS OF THE SAID CITY BRIEFLY TOUCHED. AS ALSO WITHOUT THE LIBERTIES MORE AT LARGE DESCRIBED.

HAVING spoken of this city, the original, and increase, by degrees: the walls, gates, ditch, castles, towers, bridges, the schools, and houses of learning: of the orders and customs, sports, and pastimes: of the honour of citizens, and worthiness of men: and last of all, how the same city is divided into parts and wards: and how the same be bounded: and what monuments of antiquity, or ornaments of building, in every of them, as also in the borough of Southwarke: I am next to speak briefly of the suburbs, as well without the gates and walls as without the liberties, and of the monuments in them.

Concerning the estate of the suburbs of this city, in the reign of Henry II., Fitz Stephen hath these words:—"Upwards, on the west (saith he), is the king's palace, which is an incomparable building, rising with a wawmure and bulwark aloft upon the river, two miles from the wall of the city, but yet conjoined with a continual suburb. On all sides, without the houses of the suburbs, are the citizens' gardens and orchards, planted with trees, both large, sightly, and adjoining together. On the north side are pastures and plain meadows, with brooks running through them, turning water-mills with a pleasant noise. Not far off is a great forest, a well wooded chase, having good covert for harts, bucks, does, boars, and wild bulls. The corn fields are not of a hungry sandy mould, but as the fruitful fields of Asia, yielding plentiful increase, and filling the barns with corn. There are near London, on the north side, especial wells in the suburbs, sweet, wholesome, and clear. Amongst which, Holywell, Clarkenwell, and St. Clement's well, are most famous, and most frequented by scholars and youths of the city in summer evenings, when they walk forth to take the air." Thus far out of Fitz Stephen for the suburbs at that time.

The 2d of King Henry III. the forest of Middlesex, and the warren of Staines, were disafforested; since the which time the suburbs about London hath been also mightily increased with buildings; for first, to begin in the East, by the Tower of

London, is the hospital of St. Katherine, founded by Matilda the queen, wife to King Stephen, as is afore shown in Portsoken ward ; from this precinct of St. Katherine to Wapping in the west *, the usual place of execution for hanging of pirates and sea rovers, at the low-water mark, and there to remain, till three tides had overflowed them, was never a house standing within these forty years ; but since the gallows being after removed farther off, a continual street, or filthy strait passage, with alleys of small tenements, or cottages, built, inhabited by sailors' victuallers, along by the river of Thames, almost to Radcliff, a good mile from the Tower.

On the east side, and by north of the Tower, lieth East Smithfield, Hogs' street, and Tower hill ; and east from them both, was the new abbey called Grace, founded by Edward III. From thence Radcliffe, up East Smithfield, by Nightingall lane (which runneth south to the hermitage, a brew-house so called of a hermit sometime being there), beyond this lane to the manor of Bramley (called in record of Richard II. Villa East Smithfield, and Villa de Bramley), and to the manor of Shadwell, belonging to the Dean of Pauls, there hath been of late, in place of elm trees, many small tenements raised towards Radcliffe ; and Radcliffe itself hath been also increased in building eastward (in place where I have known† a large highway, with fair elm trees on both the sides), that the same hath now taken hold of Lime hurst, or Lime host, corruptly called Lime house, sometime distant a mile from Ratcliffe.

Having said this much for building at Wapping, East Smithfield, Brambley, and Shadwell, all on the south side of the highway to Radcliffe, now one note on the north side, also concerning pirates. I read that in the year 1440, in the Lent season, certain persons, with six ships, brought from beyond the seas fish to victual the city of London, which fish, when they had delivered, and were returning homeward, a number of sea thieves, in a barge, in the night came upon them, when they were asleep in their vessels, riding at anchor on the river Thames, and slew them, cut their throats, cast them overboard, took their money, and drowned their ships, for that no man should espy or accuse them. Two of these thieves were after taken, and hanged in chains upon a gallows set upon a raised hill, for that purpose made, in the field beyond East Smithfield, so that they might be seen far into the river Thames. The first building at Radcliffe in my youth (not to be forgotten) was a fair free school and alms houses, founded by Avice Gibson, wife to Nicholas Gibson, grocer, as before I have noted : but of late years shipwrights, and (for the most part) other marine men, have built many large and strong houses for themselves, and smaller for sailors, from thence almost to Poplar, and so to Blake wall. Now for Tower hill ; the plain there is likewise greatly diminished by merchants† for building of small tenements ; from

thence towards Aldgate was the Minorities, whereof I have spoken.

From Aldgate east again lieth a large street, replenished with buildings ; to wit, on the north side the parish church of St. Botolph, and so other buildings, to Hog lane, and to the bars on both sides.

Also without the bars both the sides of the street be pestered with cottages and alleys, even up to Whitechapel church, and almost half a mile beyond it, into the common field ; all which ought to be open and free for all men. But this common field, I say, being sometime the beauty of this city on that part, is so encroached upon by building of filthy cottages, and with other purpressors, inclosures, and laystalls (notwithstanding all proclamations and acts of parliament made to the contrary), that in some places it scarce remaineth a sufficient highway for the meeting of carriages and droves of cattle ; much less is there any fair, pleasant, or wholesome way for people to walk on foot ; which is no small blemish to so famous a city to have so unsavoury and unseemly an entrance or passage thereunto.

Now of Whitechapel church somewhat, and then back again to Aldgate. This church is, as it were, a chapel of ease to the parish of Stebbinbith, and the parson of Stebbinbith hath the gift thereof ; which being first dedicated to the name of God and the blessed Virgin, is now called St. Mary Matfellow. About the year 1428, the 6th of King Henry VI., a devout widow of that parish had long time cherished and brought up of alms a certain Frenchman, or Breton born, which most unkindly and cruelly in a night murdered the said widow sleeping in her bed, and after fled with such jewels and other stuff of hers as he might carry ; but he was so freshly pursued, that for fear he took the church of St. George in Southwarke, and challenged privilege of sanctuary there, and so abjured the king's land *. Then the constables (having charge of him) brought him into London, intending to have conveyed him eastward ; but so soon as he was come into the parish, where before he had committed the murder, the wives cast upon him so much filth and odour of the street, that (notwithstanding the best resistance made by the constables) they slew him out of hand ; and for this feat, it hath been said, that parish to have purchased that

list. From this Tower hill towards Aldgate (being a long continuous street), amongst other buildings, was that abbey of nunnies called the Minorities, or Minorities, whereof I have spoken. And on the other side of that streete lyeth the ditche without the wall of the citie from the Tower unto Aldgate."—1st edition, p. 347-8.

* This abjuring the king's land was an act of self-banishment, which any person claiming the privilege of sanctuary was called upon to put in force. Within the space of forty days he was to clothe himself in sackcloth, confess his crime before the coroner, solemnly abjure the realm, and taking a cross in his hand, repair to an appointed port, embark, and quit the country. If apprehended, or brought back on his way thither within forty days, he was entitled to plead his privilege of sanctuary, and to claim a free passage.

The murderer mentioned in the text was obviously being conveyed by the constables to the port appointed for his embarkation, when he was visited by the summary justice of the friends and neighbours of the widow whom he had slain.

* "To Wapping in the Wose, and Wapping itself, the usual place, &c."—1st edition, p. 347.

† "Fayre hedges, long rowes of elme, and other trees."—1st edition, p. 347.

‡ "By encroachments for building of small tenements, and taking in of garden-plots, timber-yards, or what they

name of St. Mary Matfellow; but I find in record, the same to be called Villa beatae Mariæ de Matfellow, in the 21st of Richard II.

More, we read, that in the year 1336, the 10th of Edward III., the bishop of Alba, cardinal and parson of Stebunhith, procurator general in England, presented a clerk to be parson in the church of the blessed Mary called Matfellow, without Aldgate of London, &c.

Now again from Aldgate north-west to Bishopsgate, lieth Houndsditch, and so to Bishopsgate.

North, and by east from Bishopsgate, lieth a large street or highway, having on the west side thereof the parish church of St. Buttolph.

Then is the hospital of St. Mary of Bethelam, founded by a citizen of London, and as before is showed: up to the bars without the which is Norton fall gate, a liberty so called, belonging to the dean of Paules; thence up to the late dissolved priory of St. John Baptist, called Holywell, a house of nuns, of old time founded by a bishop of London. Stephen Grausend, bishop of London, about the year 1318, was a benefactor thereunto; re-edified by Sir Thomas Lovel*, knight of the garter, who built much there in the reigns of Henry VII. and of Henry VIII.; he endowed this house with fair lands, and was there buried in a large chapel by him built for that purpose. This priory was valued at the suppression to have of lands two hundred and ninety-three pounds by year, and was surrendered 1539, the 31st of Henry VIII. The church thereof being pulled down, many houses have been built for the lodgings of noblemen, of strangers born, and other†.

From Holywell in the high street is a continual building of tenements to Sewers ditch‡, having one small side of a field, already made a garden plot. Over against the north corner of this field, between it and the church of St. Leonarde in Shoreditch, sometime stood a cross, now a smith's forge, dividing three ways: forth right the highway is built upon either side, more than a good flight shot, towards Kinges land, Newington, Totanham, &c.

On the left hand is Galde street, which reacheth west to a stone cross, over against the north end of Golden lane§, and so to the end of Goswell street. On the right hand of this Galde street, not far from Sowers ditch, but on the north side thereof, is Hoxton, a large street with houses on both sides, and is a prebend belonging to Paules church in London, but of Soers ditch parish.

* "Brought up in Lincoln's inn."—1st edition, p. 349.

† And near thereunto are builded two publique houses for the acting and shewe of comedies, tragedies, and histories, for recreation. Whereof one is called the Courtein, the other the Theatre; both standing on the south-west side towards the field."—1st edition, p. 349.

Mr. J. P. Collier, in his valuable *Annals of the Stage* (iii. p. 263), was the first to point out the existence of this passage in the first edition of the Survey, and the importance of the information it contained; Malone having declared himself "unable to ascertain the situation of the Theatre." and Chalmers, who confounded it with the Blackfriars, having said "it was probably situated in the Blackfriars, out of the Lord Mayor's jurisdiction."

‡ Shoreditch. In the first edition, it is called Sors ditch, or Sewers ditch.

§ "Over against the north end of Grub street."—1st edition, p. 349.

On the right hand beyond Soers ditch church toward Hackney are some late built houses upon the common soil, for it was a leystall, but those houses belong to the parish of Stebunhith.

On the other side of the highway from Bishopsgate and Houndsditch is the Dolphin, a common inn for receipt of travellers; then a house built by the Lord John Powlet, then Fisher's folly*, and so up to the west end of Berwardes lane, is a continual building of small cottages, then the hospital called St. Mary Spittle, hard within the bars, whereof I have spoken in Bishopsgate ward.

From the which bars towards Soers ditch† on that side is all along a continual building of small and base tenements, for the most part lately erected.

Amongst the which (I mean of the ancientest building) was one row of proper small houses, with gardens for poor decayed people, there placed by the prior of the said hospital; every one tenant whereof paid one penny rent by the year at Christmas, and dined with the prior on Christmas day: but after the suppression of the hospital, these houses, for want of reparations, in few years were so decayed, that it was called Rotten row, and the poor worn out (for there came no new in their place) houses, for a small portion of money, were sold from Goddard to Russell, a draper, who new built them, and let them out for rent enough, taking also large fines of the tenants, near as much as the houses cost him purchase and building; for he made his bargains so hardly with all men, that both carpenter, bricklayer, and plasterer, were by that work undone: and yet, in honour of his name, it is now called Russell's row.

Now for the parish of St. Leonard at Soersditch, the archdeacon of London is always parson thereof, and the cure is served by a vicar. In this church have been divers honourable persons buried, as appeareth by monuments yet remaining: Sir John Elrington, with Margaret his wife, daughter and heir to Thomas Lord Itchingham, widow to William Blount, son and heir to Walter Blount, the first Lord Mountjoy, which Margaret died 1481. Sir Humfrey Starkie, recorder of London, baron of the Exchequer; John Gadde, shereman of London, and Anne his wife, 1480; Sir Thomas Seymore, mayor of London, deceased 1535; Sir Thomas Ligh, doctor of law, 1545. Item, under one fair monument lieth buried the Lady Katherine, daughter to Edward, duke of Buckingham, wife to Ralph Nevell, Earl of Westmoreland, who died 1553; also Elianor, daughter to Sir William Paston, wife to Thomas Mannars, earl of Rutland, 1551; Margaret, daughter to Ralph Nevell, earl of Westmoreland, and wife to Henry Mannars, earl of Rutland, 1560; Katherine, daughter to Henry Nevel, earl of Westmoreland, and wife to Sir John Constable of Holderness, 1591; Anne, daughter to T. Mannars, earl of Rutland; Sir T. Mannars, fourth son to Thomas, earl of Rutland, 1591; Oliver Mannars, fifth son to Thomas, earl of Rutland, 1563, all under one monument; Richard and Harry Young, 1545.

Notwithstanding that, of late one vicar there, for

* "Next to that a large house, with gardens of pleasure, builded by Jasper Fisher, from this up to the west end of Hog lane, &c."—1st edition, p. 350.

† "Soerditch, so called more than four hundred years since, as I can prove by record."—Stow.

covetousness of the brass, which he converted into coined silver, plucking up many plates fixed on the graves, and left no memory of such as had been buried under them, a great injury both to the living and the dead, forbidden by public proclamation, in the reign of our sovereign lady Queen Elizabeth, but not forborne by many, that either of a preposterous zeal, or of a greedy mind, spare not to satisfy themselves by so wicked a means.

One note of Shoreditch, and so an end of that suburb. I read, that in the year 1440, the 18th of Henry VI., a fuller of Shoreditch appeached of treason many worthy esquires and gentlemen of Kent, but he being proved false, was attainted, condemned, and had judgment to be drawn, hanged, and quartered; which was done; his head set on London bridge, and his quarters on the gates. This justice was done according to the xvth of Deuteronomy: "The judges shall make diligent inquisition, and if the witness be found false, and to have given false witness against his brother, then shall they do unto him as he had thought to do unto his brother," &c. I read of the King's Manor vocatur Shoreditch-place, in the parish of Hackney, but how it took that name I know not, and therefore I will turn back from Shoreditch cross to Bethelam cross, and so pass through that hospital into the Morefield, which lieth without the postern called Moregate.

This field of old time was called the More, as appeareth by the charter of William the Conqueror to the college of St. Martin, declaring a running water to pass into the city from the same More. Also Fitzstephen writeth of this More, saying thus: "When the great fen, or moor, which watereth the walls on the north side, is frozen," &c. This fen, or moor field, stretching from the wall of the city betwixt Bishopsgate and the postern called Cripples gate, to Fensbury and to Holy well, continued a waste and unprofitable ground a long time, so that the same was all letten for four marks the year, in the reign of Edward II.; but in the year 1415, the 3rd of Henry V., Thomas Fawconer, mayor, as I have showed, caused the wall of the city to be broken toward the said moor, and built the postern called Moregate, for the ease of the citizens to walk that way upon causeys towards Iseldon and Hoxton: moreover, he caused the ditches of the city, and other the ditches from Soers ditch to Deepe ditch, by Bethelam, into the More ditch, to be new cast and cleansed; by means whereof the said fen or moor was greatly drained and dried; but shortly after, to wit, in 1477, Ralph Joceline, mayor, for repairing of the wall of the city, caused the said moor to be searched for clay, and brick to be burnt there, &c.; by which means this field was made the worse for a long time.

In the year 1498, all the gardens, which had continued time out of mind without Moregate, to wit, about and beyond the lordship of Finsbury, were destroyed; and of them was made a plain field for archers to shoot in. And in the year 1512, Roger Archley, mayor, caused divers dikes to be cast, and made to drain the waters of the said Morefields, with bridges arched over them, and the grounds about to be levelled, whereby the said field was made somewhat more commodious, but yet it stood full of noisome waters; whereupon, in the year 1527, Sir Thomas Semor, mayor, caused

divers sluices to be made to convey the said waters over the Town ditch, into the course of Walbrooke, and so into the Thames; and by these degrees was this fen or moor at length made main and hard ground, which before being overgrown with flags, sedges, and rushes, served to no use; since the which time also the further grounds beyond Fensbury court have been so overheightened with lay-stalls of dung, that now three windmills are thereon set; the ditches be filled up, and the bridges overwhelmed.

And now concerning the inclosures of common grounds about this city, whereof I mind not much to argue, Edward Hall setteth down a note of his time, to wit, in the 5th, or rather 6th of Henry VIII. "Before this time," saith he, "the inhabitants of the towns about London, as Iseldon, Hoxton, Shoreditch, and others, had so inclosed the common fields with hedges and ditches, that neither the young men of the city might shoot, nor the ancient persons walk for their pleasures in those fields, but that either their bows and arrows were taken away or broken, or the honest persons arrested or indicted; saying, 'that no Londoner ought to go out of the city, but in the highways.' This saying so grieved the Londoners, that suddenly this year a great number of the city assembled themselves in a morning, and a turner, in a fool's coat, came crying through the city, 'Shovels and spades! shovels and spades!' so many of the people followed, that it was a wonder to behold; and within a short space all the hedges about the city were cast down, and the ditches filled up, and every thing made plain, such was the diligence of these workmen. The king's council hearing of this assembly, came to the Gray Friars, and sent for the mayor and council of the city to know the cause, which declared to them the injury and annoying done to the citizens and to their liberties, which though they would not seek disorderly to redress, yet the commonalty and young persons could not be stayed thus to remedy the same. When the king's council had heard their answer, they dissimuled the matter, and commanded the mayor to see that no other thing were attempted, but that they should forthwith call home the younger sort; who having speedily achieved their desire, returned home before the king's council, and the mayor departed without more harm: after which time (saith Hall) these fields were never hedged, but now we see the thing in worse case than ever, by means of inclosure for gardens, wherein are built many fair summer-houses*; and, as in other places of the suburbs, some of them like Midsummer pageants, with towers, turrets, and chimney-tops, not so much for use of profit as for show and pleasure, betraying the vanity of men's minds, much unlike to the disposition of the ancient citizens, who delighted in the building of hospitals and alms-houses for the poor, and therein both employed their wits, and spent their wealths in preferment of the common commodity of this our city.

But to come back again to Moregate, and from thence west through a narrow lane called the Postern, because it hath at either end a door to be

* "Banqueting houses like banqueroutes, bearing great shew and little worth."—*Stow*.

shut in the night season, betwixt the More ditch inclosed with brick for tenter-yards, and the gardens of the said More field, to More lane; a part of the suburb without Cripplegate, without this postern, called Cripplegate, also lay a part of the said More even to the river of the Wells, as in another place I have showed; and no houses were there built till the latter end of the reign of William the Conqueror, and of his son William Rufus; about which times some few houses being there built along east and west, thwart before the said gate, one Alfune built for the inhabitants a parish church, which is of St. Giles, somewhat west from the said gate, and is now on the bank of the town ditch; and so was there a street, since called Fore street, as standing before the gate.

This Alfune, in the reign of Henry I., became the first hospitaller of St. Bartlemewe's hospital in Smithfield, as in another place I have noted. And this parish church of St. Giles being at the first a small thing, stood in place where now standeth the vicarage-house, but hath been since at divers times much enlarged, according as the parish hath increased, and was at the length newly built in place where now it standeth. But the same new church being large, strongly built, and richly furnished with ornaments, was in the year 1545, by casualty of fire, sore burnt and consumed, notwithstanding it was again within a short space of time repaired, as now it sheweth.

Some little distance from the east end of this church standeth a fair conduit, castellated, in Fore street. Then have ye a boss of sweet water in the wall of the churchyard, lately made a pump, but already decayed.

Then have ye a fair pool of sweet water near to the church of St. Giles, wherein Anne of Lodbery was drowned, as I have before declared.

In the east end of Fore street is More lane: then next is Grub street; of late years inhabited, for the most part, by bowyers, fletchers, bow-string makers, and such like occupations, now little occupied; archery giving place to a number of bowling-alleys and dicing-houses, which in all places are increased, and too much frequented.

This street stretcheth north to Guerdas Well street, which thwarteth it to White cross street; the next from Fore street north is White cross street, likewise extending itself up to the west end of Guerdas Well street, and from the end thereof to Eald street.

From the west end of Fore street lieth Red cross street; from the which cross on the right hand east lieth Beech lane, and reacheth to the White cross street. From Red cross north lieth Golding lane, which stretcheth up to a cross in Ealde street, which Golding lane on both the sides is replenished with many tenements of poor people.

On the left hand, and west of the Red cross, lieth a street of old time called Houndes ditch, and of later time named Barbican, of such cause as I have before noted. And thus have you all the suburb without Creplegate, being almost altogether in the parish of St. Giles, which hath more than eighteen hundred householders, and above four thousand communicants.

Without Aldersgate on the left hand is the parish church of St. Buttolph; on the north side of the which church lieth a way called Little Britane

street, towards the priory of St. Bartholomew in Smithfield; but the highway without Aldersgate runneth straight north from the said gate unto Houndes ditch, or Barbican street, on the right hand, and Long lane on the left hand, which runneth into Smithfield.

Then from the farther end of Aldersgate street, straight north to the bar, is called Goswell street, replenished with small tenements, cottages, and alleys, gardens, banqueting-houses, and bowling-places.

Beyond these bars, leaving the Charter-house on the left hand, or the west side, the way stretcheth up towards Iseldon, and on the right hand, or east side, at a Red cross, turneth into Eald street, so called, for that it was the old highway from Aldersgate, for the north-east parts of England, before Bishopsgate was built, which street runneth east to a smith's forge, sometime a cross before Shoreditch church, from whence the passengers and carriages were to turn north to King's land, Tottenham, Waltham, Ware, &c.

There was sometime in this suburb without Aldersgate an hospital for the poor, but an alien of Clunie, a French order, and therefore suppressed by King Henry V., who gave the house, with lands and goods, to the parish of St. Buttolph, and a brotherhood of the Trinity was there founded, which was afterward suppressed by Henry VIII. or Edward VI.

There is at the farthest north corner of this suburb a windmill, which was sometime by a tempest of wind overthrowen, and in place thereof a chapel was built by Queen Katherine (first wife to Henry VIII.), who named it the Mount of Calvary, because it was of Christ's passion, and was in the end of Henry VIII. pulled down, and a windmill newly set up as afore.

Without Newgate lieth the west and by north suburb; on the right hand, or north-side whereof, betwixt the said gate and the parish of St. Sepulchre, turneth a way towards West Smithfield, called, as I have showed, Giltspurre street, or Knightriders street; then is Smithfield itself compassed about with buildings, as I have before declared, in Faringdon ward without.

And without the bar of West Smithfield lieth a large street or way, called of the house of St. John there St. John's street, and stretcheth toward Iseldon, on the right hand whereof stood the late dissolved monastery called the Charterhouse*, founded by Sir Walter Manny, knight, a stranger born, lord of the town of Manny, in the diocese of Cambrey, beyond the seas, who for service done to King Edward III. was made knight of the garter: so his house he founded upon this occasion. A great pestilence entering this island, began first in Dorsetshire, then proceeded into Devonshire, Somersetshire, Gloucestershire, and Oxfordshire, and at

* A very pleasing sketch of this interesting spot—its chivalrous projector, Sir Walter Manny—its ill-fated possessor, the Duke of Norfolk, beheaded in the reign of Elizabeth—and, lastly, of the munificent founder of what Fuller calls "the masterpiece of Protestant English charity," Sir Thomas Sutton, the man whose pious prayer was, "Lord, thou hast given me a large and liberal estate; give me also a heart to make use thereof!"—will be found in Knight's *London*, ii. 113—132.

length came to London, and overspread all England, so wasting the people, that scarce the tenth person of all sorts was left alive, and churchyards were not sufficient to receive the dead, but men were forced to choose out certain fields for burials; whereupon Ralph Stratford, bishop of London, in the year 1348, bought a piece of ground called No Man's Land, which he inclosed with a wall of brick, and dedicated for burial of the dead, building thereupon a proper chapel, which is now enlarged and made a dwelling-house; and this burying plot is become a fair garden, retaining the old name of Pardon churchyard.

About this, in the year 1349, the said Sir Walter Manny, in respect of danger that might befall in this time of so great a plague and infection, purchased thirteen acres and a rod of ground adjoining to the said No Man's Land, and lying in a place called Spittle cross, because it belonged to St. Bartholomew's hospital, since that called the New church haw, and caused it to be consecrated by the said bishop of London to the use of burials.

In this plot of ground there were in that year more than fifty thousand persons buried, as I have read in the charters of Edward III.: also, I have seen and read an inscription fixed on a stone cross, sometime standing in the same churchyard, and having these words:—*“Anno Domini 1349, regnante magna pestilentia consecratum fuit hoc Cœmeterium, in quo et infra septa presentis monasterii, sepulta fuerunt mortuorum corpora plusquam quinquaginta milia, præter alia multa abhinc usque ad presens, quorum animabus propitiatur Deus. Amen.”*

In consideration of the number of Christian people here buried, the said Sir Walter Manny caused first a chapel to be built, where for the space of twenty-three years offerings were made; and it is to be noted, that above one hundred thousand bodies of Christian people had in that churchyard been buried; for the said knight had purchased that place for the burial of poor people, travellers, and other that were deceased, to remain for ever; whereupon an order was taken for the avoiding of contention between the parsons of churches and that house; to wit, that the bodies should be had unto the church where they were parishioners, or died, and, after the funeral service done, had to the place where they should be buried. And in the year 1371 he caused there to be founded a house of Carthusian monks, which he willed to be called the Salutation, and that one of the monks should be called prior; and he gave them the said place of thirteen acres and a rod of land, with the chapel and houses there built, for their habitation: he also gave them the three acres of land lying without the walls on the north part, betwixt the lands of the abbot of Westminster and the lands of the prior of St. John (which three acres were purchased, inclosed, and dedicated by Ralph Stratford, bishop of London, as is afore showed), and remained till our time by the name of Pardon churchyard, and served for burying of such as desperately ended their lives, or were executed for felonies, who were fetched thither usually in a close cart, bailed over and covered with black, having a plain white cross thwarting, and at the fore end a St. John's cross without, and within a bell ringing by shaking of the cart, whereby the same might be heard when it passed; and this was called the friary cart, which

belonged to St. John's, and had the privilege of sanctuary.

In this charter-house were the monuments of the said Sir Walter Manny, and Margaret his wife; Marmaduke Lumley; Laurence Brumley, knight; Sir Edward Hederet, knight; Sir William Manny, knight; Dame Joan Borough; John Dore; Want Water, knight; Robert Olney, esquire; Katherine, daughter to Sir William Babington, knight; Blanch, daughter to Hugh Waterton; Katherine, wife to John at Poote, daughter and heir to Richard de Lacie; William Rawlin; Sir John Lenthaine, and Dame Margaret his wife, daughter to John Fray; John Peake, esquire; William Baron, and William Baron, esquire; Sir Thomas Thawites, knight; Philip Morgan, bishop of Ely, 1434.

In the cloister:—Bartholomew Rede, knight, mayor of London, buried 1505; Sir John Popham, &c.

This monastery, at the suppression in the 29th of Henry VIII., was valued at six hundred and forty-two pounds and four-pence halfpenny yearly.

A little without the bars of West Smithfield is Charterhouse lane, so called, for that it leadeth to the said plot of the late dissolved monastery; in place whereof, first the Lord North, but since Thomas Howard, late Duke of Norfolk, have made large and sumptuous buildings both for lodging and pleasure. At the gate of this Charter-house is a fair water conduit, with two cocks, serving the use of the neighbours to their great commodity.

St. John's street, from the entering this lane, is also on both the sides replenished with buildings up to Clerkenwell. On the left hand of which street lieth a lane called Cow cross, of a cross sometime standing there; which lane turneth down to another lane called Turnemill street, which stretcheth up to the west of Clerkenwell, and was called Turnemill street, for such cause as is afore declared.

One other lane there is called St. Peter's lane, which turneth from St. John's street to Cow cross.

On the left hand also stood the late dissolved priory of St. John of Jerusalem in England, founded about the year of Christ 1100 by Jorden Bristet, baron, and Muriell his wife, near unto Clarkes well besides West Smithfield; which Jorden having first founded the priory of nuns at Clarkes well, bought of them ten acres of land, giving them in exchange ten acres of land in his lordship of Welling hall, in the county of Kent. St. John's church was dedicated by Eraclius, patriarch of the holy resurrection of Christ at Jerusalem, in the year 1185, and was the chief seat in England of the religious knights of St. John of Jerusalem; whose profession was, besides their daily service of God, to defend Christians against pagans, and to fight for the church, using for their habit a black upper garment, with a white cross on the fore part thereof; and for their good service was so highly esteemed, that when the order of Templars was dissolved, their lands and possessions were by parliament granted unto these, who after the loss of Jerusalem recovered the isle of Rhodes from the Turks, and there placed themselves, being called thereof for many years knights of the Rhodes; but after the loss thereof, 1523, they removed to the

isle of Malta*, manfully opposing themselves against the Turkish invasions.

The rebels of Essex and of Kent, 1381, set fire on this house, causing it to burn by the space of seven days together, not suffering any to quench it; since the which time the priors of that house have new built both the church and houses thereunto appertaining; which church was finished by Thomas Doewrey, late lord prior there, about the year 1504, as appeareth by the inscription over the gate-house, yet remaining. This house, at the suppression in the 32nd of Henry VIII., was valued to dispend in lands three thousand three hundred and eighty-five pounds nineteen shillings and eightpence yearly. Sir W. Weston being then lord prior, died on the same seventh of May, on which the house was suppressed; so that great yearly pensions being granted to the knights by the king, and namely to the lord prior during his life one thousand pounds, he never received a penny.

The king took into his hands all the lands that belonged to that house and that order, wheresoever in England and Ireland, for the augmentation of his crown.

This priory church and house of St. John was preserved from spoil or down pulling, so long as King Henry VIII. reigned, and was employed as a store-house for the king's toils and tents, for hunting, and for the wars, &c.; but in the 3rd of King Edward VI., the church, for the most part, to wit, the body and side aisles, with the great bell tower (a most curious piece of workmanship, graven, gilt, and enamelled, to the great beautifying of the city, and passing all other that I have seen), was undermined and blown up with gunpowder; the stone thereof was employed in building of the lord protector's house at the Strand. That part of the choir which remaineth, with some side chapels, was by cardinal Pole, in the reign of Queen Mary, closed up at the west end, and otherwise repaired; and Sir Thomas Tresham, knight, was then made lord prior there, with restitution of some lands, but the same was again suppressed in the first year of Queen Elizabeth.

There were buried in this church brethren of that house and knights of that order: John Botell; William Bagecore; Richard Barrow; John Vancley; Thomas Launcelen; John Mallory; William Turney; William Hulles, Hils, or Hayles; John Weston; Redington; William Longstrother; John Longstrother; William Tong; John Wakeline. Then of other: Thomas Thornburgh, gentleman; William West, gentleman; John Fulling, and Adam Gill, esquires; Sir John Mortimor, and Dame Elianor his wife; Nicholas Silverston; William Plompton, esquire; Margaret Tong, and Isabel Tong; Walter Bellingham, alias Ireland, king of arms of Ireland; Thomas Bedle, gentleman; Katherine, daughter of William Plompton, esquire; Richard Turpin, gentleman; Joan, wife to Alexander Dikes; John Bottle, and Richard Bottle, esquires; Rowland Darcie; Richard Sut-

ton, gentleman; Richard Bottill, gentleman; Sir W. Harpden, knight; Robert Kingston, esquire, and Margery his wife; John Roch; Richard Cednor, gentleman; Simon Mallory, 1442; William Mallory, Robert Longstrother, Ralph Asteley, William Marshall, Robert Savage, Robert Gondall, esquires, and Margery his wife; William Bapthorpe, baron of the Exchequer, 1442.

North from the house of St. John's was the priory of Clarken well, so called of Clarkes well adjoining; which priory was also founded about the year 1100 by Jorden Briset, baron, the son of Ralph, the son of Brian Briset; who gave to Robert, a priest, fourteen acres of land lying in the field next adjoining to the said Clarkes well, thereupon to build a house of religious persons, which he founded to the honour of God and the assumption of our lady, and placed therein black nuns. This Jorden Briset gave also to that house one piece of ground, thereby to build a windmill upon, &c. He and Muriall his wife were buried in the Chapter-house there. More buried in this church: John Wikes, esquire, and Isabel his wife; Dame Agnes Clifford; Ralph Timbleby, esquire; Dame Jahan, baroness of Greystocke; Dame Jahan, Lady Ferrars. And of later time in the parish church, Constances Bennet, a Greek born: he gave two houses, the one in St. John's street, the other in Turnmill street; the rents of them to be distributed in coals every year against Christmas to the poor of that parish.

William Herne, a master of defence, and yeoman of the guard, 1580, gave lands and tenements to the clothworkers in London; they to pay yearly for ever fourteen pounds to the churchwardens of Clarkenwell, and fourteen pounds to the churchwardens of St. Sepulcher's, towards reparations of these churches, and relief of the poor men; more he gave after the death of one man, yet living, eight pounds the year for ever to the mending of highways.

Thomas Sackeford, esquire, one of the masters of requests, gave to the poor of that parish forty shillings the year for ever, out of his alms-house at Woodbridge in Suffolk, where he is buried. Henry Stoke, gardener, buried there, gave twenty shillings the year for ever, towards reparation of that church. This priory was valued to dispend two hundred and sixty-two pounds nine shillings by the year, and was surrendered the 31st of Henry VIII. Many fair houses are now built about the priory, namely, by the highway towards Iseldon.

So much of the church which remaineth (for one great aisle thereof fell down) serveth as a parish church of St. John, not only for the tenements and near inhabitants, but also (as is aforesaid) for all up to Hightgate, Muswell, &c.

Near unto this church, beside Clarke's well lane, divers other wells, namely, Skinners well, Fags well, Tode well, Loder's well, Rede well, &c., now dammed up

Now to return again to Giltspurre street, where I first began with this suburb, there standeth the parish church of St. Sepulchre in the Bayly, as is before showed; from this street to Turnagain lane, by Hosiar lane, Cow lane, and Holdborn conduit, down Snore hill to Oldborne bridge, and up Oldborne hill, by Gold lane on the right hand, and Lither lane beyond it, to the bars; beyond the

* The history of the Knights of St. John, afterwards called the Knights of Rhodes, and subsequently the Knights of Malta, has been related by Raushnick, in the German Taschenbuch, 'Vorzeit,' and by Villeneuve Bargemont, in his *Monumens Historiques des Grand-Maîtres de l'Ordre de St. Jean de Jérusalem*, published at Paris in 1829.

which bars on the same side is Porte pool, or Grayes inn lane, so called of the inn of court, named Grayes inn, a goodly house there situate, by whom built or first begun I have not yet learned, but seemeth to be since Edward III.'s time, and is a prebend to Paule's church in London.

This lane is furnished with fair buildings and many tenements on both the sides, leading to the fields towards Highgate and Hamsted.

On the high street have ye many fair houses built, and lodgings for gentlemen, inns for travellers, and such like up almost (for it lacketh but little) to St. Giles in the fields; amongst the which buildings, for the most part being very new, one passeth the rest in largeness of rooms, lately built by a widow, sometime wife to Richard Alington, esquire; which Richard Alington deceased in the year 1561. And thus much for that north side of Oldborne.

Now from Newgate, on the left hand or south side, lieth the Old Bayly, and so down by Seacole lane end to Oldborne bridge, up Oldborne hill, by Shoe lane and Fewters lane, to the bars.

Beyond the bars had ye in old time a temple built by the Templars, whose order first began in the year of Christ 1118, in the 19th of Henry I. This temple was left and fell to ruin since the year 1184, when the Templars had built them a new temple in Fleet street, near to the river of Thames. A great part of this old temple was pulled down, but of late in the year 1595. Adjoining to this old Temple* was sometime the bishop of Lincolne's inn, wherein he lodged when he repaired to this city. Robert de Curars, bishop of Lincolne, built it about the year 1147. John Russell, bishop of Lincolne, chaneellor of England, in the reign of Richard III., was lodged there. It hath of late years belonged to the earls of Southampton, and therefore called Southampton house. Master Repar hath of late built much there; by means whereof part of the ruins of the old Temple were seen to remain built of Caen stone, round in form as the new Temple, by Temple bar, and other temples in England. Beyond this old Temple and the bishop of Lincolne's house† is New street, so called in the reign of Henry III., when he of a Jew's house founded the house of Converts, betwixt the old Temple and the new.

The same street hath since been called Chancery lane, by reason that King Edward III. annexed the house of Converts by patent to the office of Custos Rotulorum, or master of the rolls, in the 15th of his reign.

In this street the first fair building to be noted on the east side is called the Coursitors' office, built with divers fair lodgings for gentlemen, all of brick and timber, by Sir Nicholas Bacon, late lord keeper of the great seal.

Near unto this Coursitors' office be divers fair houses and large gardens, built and made in a ground sometime belonging to one great house on the other side the street, there made by Ralph Nevel, bishop of Chichester. This ground he had by the gift of Henry III., as appeareth. The king granteth to Ralph, bishop of Chichester, chancellor, that place, with the garden, which John Herlirum

* "The same was after the bishop of Lincoln's inn.—1st edition, p. 361.

† "Beyond this Southampton house."—*Ibid.*

forfeited in that street, called New street, over against the land of the said bishop in the same street; which place, with the garden and appurtenance, was the king's escheat by the liberty of the city of London, as it was acknowledged before the king in his court at the Tower of London, in the last pleas of the crown of that city, cart. 11 Henry III.

Then was the house of Converts, wherein now the rolls of Chancery be kept; then the Sergeants' inn, &c.

On the west side of New street, towards the north end thereof, was of old time the church and house of the Preaching Friars*; concerning the which house I find, that in the year of Christ 1221, the friars' preachers, thirteen in number, came into England, and having to their prior one named Gilbert de Fraxinetto, in company of Peter de la Roche, bishop of Winchester, came to Canterbury, where presenting themselves before the archbishop Steven, he commanded the said prior to preach, whose sermon he liked so well, that ever after he loved that order. These friars came to London, and had their first house without the wall of the city by Oldborne, near unto the old Temple.

Hubert de Burgh, earl of Kent, was a great benefactor unto these friars, and deceasing at his manor of Bansted in Surrey, or, after some writers, at his castle of Barkhamsted in Hartfordshire, in the year 1242, was buried in their church; unto the which church he had given his place at Westminster, which the said friars afterwards sold to Walter Grey, archbishop of York; and he left it to his successors in that see for ever, to be their house, when they should repair to the city of London. And therefore the same was called York place; which name so continued until the year 1529, that King Henry VIII. took it from Thomas Wolsey, cardinal and archbishop of York, and then gave it to name White hall.

Margaret, sister to the king of Scots, widow to Geoffrey, earl marshal, deceased 1244, and was buried in this church.

In the year 1250, the friars of this order of preachers through Christendom and from Jerusalem, were by a convocation assembled together at this their house by Oldborne, to intreat of their estate, to the number of four hundred, having meat and drink found them of alms, because they had no possessions of their own. The first day, the king came to their chapter, found them meat and drink, and dined with them. Another day the queen found them meat and drink; afterward the bishop of London, then the abbot of Westminster, of St. Alban's, Waltham, and others. In the year 1276, Gregory Rokesley, mayor, and the barons of London, granted and gave to Robert Kilwarbie, archbishop of Canterbury, two lanes or ways next the street of Baynard's castle, and the tower of Mountfichet, to be destroyed. On the which place the said Robert built the late new church, with the rest of the stones that were left of the said tower:

* The Black Friars, or Dominicans, were a branch of the order of Friars Preachers (*Prædicatores*), founded at Thoulouse in 1215 by Dominicus de Guzman, from whom they took their name. Dominicus having enjoined the members of this order to repeat the *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria* a stated number of times daily, has been by many regarded as the inventor of the rosary or beads.

and thus the black friars left their church and house by Oldborne, and departed to their new. This old friar house (juxta Holborne, saith the patent) was by King Edward I., in the 16th of his reign, given to Henry Laey, earl of Lincoln.

Next to this house of friars was one other great house, sometime belonging to the bishop of Chichester, whereof Mathew Paris writeth thus :—"Ralph de Nova Villa, or Nevill, bishop of Chichester and chancellor of England, sometime built a noble house, even from the ground, not far from the new Temple and house of Converts ; in the which place he deceased in the year 1244. In this place, after the decease of the said bishop, and in place of the house of black friars before spoken of, Henry Lacy, earl of Lincoln, constable of Chester, and custos of England, built his inn, and for the most part was lodged there : he deceased in this house in the year 1310, and was buried in the new work (whereunto he had been a great benefactor) of St. Paul's church betwixt our Lady chapel and St. Dunstan's chapel. This Lincoln's inn, sometime pertaining to the bishops of Chichester, as a part of the said great house, is now an inn of court, retaining the name of Lincoln's inn as afore, but now lately increased with fair buildings, and replenished with gentlemen studious in the common laws. In the reign of Henry VIII. Sir Thomas Lovell was a great builder there ; especially he built the gate-house and fore front towards the east, placing thereon as well the Lacies' arms as his own : he caused the Lacies' arms to be cast and wrought in lead, on the lower* of the hall of that house, which was in the three escutcheons, a lion rampant for Lacie, seven mascules voided for Quince, and three wheatheafs for Chester. This lower being of late repaired, the said escutcheons were left out. The rest of that side, even to Fleet street, is replenished with fair buildings.

Now the High Oldborne street, from the north end of New street, stretcheth on the left hand in building lately framed, up to St. Giles in the field, which was an hospital founded by Matilda the queen, wife to Henry I., about the year 1117. This hospital, saith the record of Edward III., the 19th year, was founded without the bar : *Veteris Templi London, et conversorum* †.

This hospital was founded as a cell to Burton Lager of Jerusalem, as may appear by a deed

* The architectural term "loover" has already occurred (see page 102) ; where it is stated that "William Hariot, draper, mayor 1481, gave forty pounds to the making of two loovers in the said Guild hall." It is from the Latin, *Lobia, Laubia, Lobium*, a gallery. See Ducange's *Glossarium*, s. v., which again is derived from the German *Loube*. See Zie-mann's *Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch*.

† "Moreover (saith the same Recorde), in the 20th of Edward III., the said king sent commandement under his greateseale to the mayor and sheriffs of London, willing them to make proclamation in every ward of the cite and suburbs, that all leprous persons, within the saide cite and suburbs, should avoid within fifteen daies, and no man suffer any such leprose person to abide within his house, upon paine to forfeite his saide house, and to incurre the kinges further displeasure. And that they should cause the said lepers to be removed into some out places of the fieldes, from the haunt or company of all sound people ; whereupon it followed that the citizens required of the guardian of St. Giles' hospitall to take from them, and to keep continually, the number of fourteene persons, according to the founda-

tion of the 24th of Henry VII. in these words :—"Thomas Norton, knight, master of Burton Lager of Jerusalem in England, and the brethren of the same place, keepers of the hospital of St. Giles, without the bars of the old Temple of London, have sold to Geoffrey Kent, citizen and draper of London, a messuage or house, with two cellars above, edified in the parish of Alhallowes, Hony lane, in West Chepe, adjoining to the west part of a tene-ment called the Cote on the Hope, pertaining to the drapers of London, for thirty-one pounds."

At this hospital, the prisoners conveyed from the city of London towards Teyborne, there to be executed for treasons, felonies, or other trespasses, were presented with a great bowl of ale, thereof to drink at their pleasure, as to be their last refreshing in this life.

Now without Ludgate lieth the south end of the Old Bayly, then down Ludgate hill by Fleet lane, over Fleet bridge, up Fleet street, by Shoe lane, Fewtar's lane, New street, or Chauncerie lane, and to Shire lane, by the bar on the right hand ; and from Ludgate on the left hand, or south side, by Bride lane, Water lane, Croker's lane, Sergeants' inn, and the new Temple, by the bar ; all which is of Faringdon ward, as is afore showed.

LIBERTIES OF THE DUCHY OF LANCASTER.

NEXT without the bar is the New Temple, and liberties of the city of London, in the suburbs, is a liberty pertaining to the duchy of Lancaster, which beginneth in the east, on the south side or left hand, by the river Thames, and stretcheth west to Ivie bridge, where it endeth ; and again on the north side, or right hand, some small distance without Temple bar, in the high street, from a pair of stocks there standing, stretcheth one large Middle row, or troop of small tenements, partly opening to the south, partly towards the north, up west to a stone cross, now headless, over against the Strand ; and this is the bounds of that liberty, which sometime belonged to Briane Lisle, since to Peter of Savoy, and then to the house of Lancaster, as shall be showed. Henry III., in the 30th year of his reign, did grant to his uncle Peter of Savoy all those houses upon the Thames, which sometimes pertained to Briane de Insula, or Lisle, without the walls of his city of London, in the way or street called the Strand, to hold to him and to his heirs, yielding yearly in the Exchequer, at the feast of St. Michael the Archangell, three barbed arrows, for all services, dated at Reding, &c. This Peter of Savoy built the Savoy.

But first amongst other buildings memorable for

tion of Mathilde the queen, which was for leprose persons of the cite of London and shire of Middlesex."—1st edition, p. 364.

A frightful picture of the ravages inflicted by this dreadful malady, and of the extent to which it existed, may be seen in a long and curious note by Le Grand d'Aussy, in the fifth volume of his *Fabliaux ou Contes* (p. 102–105, ed. 1829), in which it is stated that Louis the Young left legacies to no less than two thousand hospitals established for the reception of lepers.

This horrible disease, the memory of which long survived in the songs and popular poetry of the middle ages, has furnished them with some of their most touching passages. See upon this point Hoffman's *Horæ Belgicæ*, Pars II. (*Holländische Volkslieder*), p. 127.

greatness, on the river of Thames, Excester house, so called for that the same belonged to the bishops of Excester, and was their inn or London lodging : who was first builder thereof I have not read, but that Walter Stapleton was a great builder there in the reign of Edward II. is manifest ; for the citizens of London, when they had beheaded him in Cheape, near unto the cathedral church of St. Paule, they buried him in a heap of sand or rubbish in his own house without Temple bar, where he had made great building. Edmond Lacie, bishop of Excester, built the great hall in the reign of Henry VI., &c. The same hath since been called Paget house, because William Lord Paget enlarged and possessed it. Then Leycester house, because Robert Dudley, earl of Leycester, of late new built there, and now Essex house, of the earl of Essex lodging there.

Then west was a chapel dedicated to the Holy Ghost, called St. Sprite, upon what occasion founded I have not read. Next is Milford lane down to the Thames, but why so called I have not read as yet.

Then was the bishop of Bathes inn, lately new built, for a great part thereof, by the Lord Thomas Seymour, admiral ; which house came since to be possessed by the earl of Arundel, and thereof called Arundel house.

Next beyond the which, on the street side, was sometime a fair cemetery or churchyard, and in the same a parish church called of the Nativity of our Lady, and the Innocents of the Strand, and of some by means of a brotherhood kept there, called St. Ursula at the Strand. And near adjoining to the said church, betwixt it and the river of Thames, was an inn of Chancery commonly called Chester's inn (because it belonged to the bishop of Chester), by others, named of the situation, Strand inn.

Then was there a house belonging to the bishop of Landaff ; for I find in record, the 4th of Edward II., that a vacant place lying near the church of our Lady at Strand, the said bishop procured it of Thomas, earl of Lancaster, for the enlarging of this house. Then had ye in the high street a fair bridge called Strand bridge, and under it a lane or way down to the landing-place on the bank of Thames.

Then was the bishop of Chester's (commonly called of Lichfield and Coventrie), his inn or London lodging : this house was first built by Walter Langton, bishop of Chester, treasurer of England in the reign of Edward I.

And next unto it adjoining was the bishop of Worcester's inn ; all which, to wit, the parish of St. Mary at Strand, Strand inn, Strand bridge, with the lane under it, the bishop of Chester's inn, the bishop of Worcester's inn, with all the tenements adjoining, were by commandment of Edward, duke of Somerset, uncle to Edward VI., and lord protector, pulled down, and made level ground in the year 1549 ; in place whereof he built that large and goodly house, now called Somerset house*.

* It is more than probable that the Protector, who was executed in 1552, never enjoyed the use of this palace, which upon his death fell to the crown, and became the residence of Queen Elizabeth, Anne of Denmark, and Catherine of Braganza. The old palace, after undergoing extensive repairs, under the superintendence of Inigo Jones, was eventually pulled down, and in its place the present building

In the high street, near unto the Strand, sometime stood a cross of stone against the bishop of Coventrie or Chester his house ; whereof I read, that in the year 1294, and divers other times, the justices itinerants sate without London, at the stone cross over against the bishop of Coventrie's house, and sometime they sate in the Bishop's house, which was hard by the Strand, as is aforesaid.

Then next is the Savoy, so called of Peter, earl of Savoy, and Richmond, son to Thomas, earl of Savoy, brother to Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, and uncle unto Eleanor, wife to King Henry III.

He first built this house in the year 1245 ; and here is occasion offered me for satisfying of some deniers thereof, to prove that this Peter of Savoy was also earl of Savoy : wherefore, out of a book of the genealogies of all the whole house of Savoy, compiled by Phillebert Pingonio, baron of Guzani, remaining in the hands of W. Smith, alias Rouge-dragon, officer of arms, I have gathered this :—Thomas, earl of Savoy, had issue by Beatrix, daughter to Aimon, earl of Geneva, nine sons and three daughters. Amades, his first son, succeeded earl of Savoy in the year 1253 ; Peter, his second son, earl of Savoy and of Richmond, in 1268 ; Philip, his third son, earl of Savoy and Burgundie, 1284 ; Thomas, the fourth, earl of Flanders and prince of Piemont ; Boniface, the eighth, archbishop of Canterbury ; Beatrix, his daughter, married to Raymond Beringarius of Aragon, earl of Province and Narbone, had issue, and was mother to five queens : The first, Margaret, wife to Lewes, king of France ; the second, Eleanor, wife to Henry III. king of England ; the third, Sanctia, wife to Richard, king of the Romans ; the fourth, Beatrix, wife to Charles, king of Naples ; the fifth, Johanna, wife to Philip, king of Navarre.

To return again to the house of Savoy : Queen Eleanor, wife to king Henry III., purchased this place afterwards of the fraternity or brethren of Montjoy* ; unto whom Peter of Savoy, as it seemeth, had given it, for her son, Edmond earl of Lancaster (as M. Camden hath noted out of a register-book of the dukes of Lancaster). Henry, duke of Lancaster, repaired, or rather new built it, with the charges of fifty-two thousand marks, which money he had gathered together at the town of Bridgerike. John, the French king, was lodged there in the year 1357, and also in the year 1363 ; for it was at that time the fairest manor in England.

In the year 1381, the rebels of Kent and Essex burnt this house ; unto the which there was none in the realm to be compared in beauty and stateliness (saith mine author)†. They set fire on it round about, and made proclamation that none, on pain to lose his head, should convert to his own use any thing that there was, but that they should break such plate and vessels of gold and silver as was found in that house (which was in great plenty) into small pieces, and throw the same into the river of Thames : precious stones they should bruise in mortars, that the same might be to no use, and so it was done by them. One of their

was commenced from the design of Sir William Chambers, in 1775.

* "Frates de Monte Jovis, or Priory de Cornuto, by Havering at the Bower."—*Stow*.

† H. Knighton.—*Stow*.

companions they burnt in the fire, because he minded to have reserved one goodly piece of plate*.

They found there certain barrels of gunpowder, which they thought had been gold or silver, and throwing them into the fire more suddenly than they thought, the hall was blown up, the houses destroyed, and themselves very hardly escaped away.

This house being thus defaced, and almost overthrown by these rebels for malice they bare to John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, of latter time came to the king's hands, and was again raised and beautifully built for an hospital of St. John Baptist by King Henry VII. about the year 1509, for the which hospital, retaining still the old name of Savoy, he purchased lands to be employed upon the relieving of a hundred poor people. This hospital being valued to dispend five hundred and twenty-nine pounds fifteen shillings, &c. by year, was suppressed the tenth of June, the 7th of Edward VI.: the beds, bedding, and other furniture belonging thereunto, with seven hundred marks of the said lands by year, he gave to the citizens of London, with his house of Bridewell, to the furnishing thereof, to be a workhouse for the poor and idle persons, and towards the furnishing of the hospital of St. Thomas in Southwarke, lately suppressed.

This hospital of Savoy was again new founded, erected, corporated, and endowed with lands by Queen Mary, the third of November: in the 4th of her reign, one Jackson took possession, and was made master thereof in the same month of November. The ladies of the court and maidens of honour (a thing not to be forgotten) stored the same of new with beds, bedding, and other furniture, in very ample manner, &c.; and it was by patent so confirmed at Westminster the 9th of May, the 4th and 5th of Philip and Mary. The chapel of this hospital serveth now as a parish church to the tenements thereof near adjoining, and others.

The next was sometime the bishop of Carlisle's inn, which now belongeth to the earl of Bedford, and is called Russell or Bedford house. It stretcheth from the hospital of Savoy, west to Ivie bridge, where Sir Robert Cecil, principal secretary to her majesty, hath lately raised a large and stately house of brick and timber, as also levelled and paved the highway near adjoining, to the great beautifying of that street and commodity of passengers. Richard II., in the 8th of his reign, granted license to pave with stone the highway called Strand street from Temple bar to the Savoy, and toll to be taken towards the charges; and again the like was granted in the 42nd of Henry VI.

Ivie bridge, in the high street, which had a way under it leading down to the Thames, the like as sometime had the Strand bridge, is now taken down, but the lane remaineth as afore, or better, and parteth the liberty of the duchy and the city of Westminster on that south side.

Now to begin again at Temple bar, over against it†. In the high street, as is afore showed, is one large Middle row of houses and small tenements built, partly opening to the south, partly towards the north; amongst the which standeth the parish

church of St. Clement Danes, so called because Harold, a Danish king, and other Danes, were buried there. This Harold, whom king Canutus had by a concubine, reigned three years, and was buried at Westminster; but afterward Hardicanutus, the lawful son of Canutus, in revenge of a displeasure done to his mother, by expelling her out of the realm, and the murder of his brother Allured, commanded the body of Harold to be digged out of the earth, and to be thrown into the Thames, where it was by a fisherman taken up and buried in this churchyard; but out of a fair ledger-book, sometime belonging to the abbey of Chertsey, in the county of Surrey, is noted, as in Francis Thin, after this sort. In the reign of king Etheldred, the monastery of Chertsey was destroyed: ninety monks of that house were slain by the Danes, whose bodies were buried in a place next to the old monastery. William Malmseberie saith,—“They burnt the church, together with the monks and abbot; but the Danes continuing in their fury (throughout the whole land), desirous at the length to return home into Denmarke, were by the just judgment of God all slain at London in a place which is called the church of the Danes.”

This said middle row of houses stretching west to a stone cross, now headless, by or against the Strand, including the said parish church of St. Clement, is also wholly of the liberty and duchy of Lancaster.

Thus much for the bounds and antiquities of this liberty, wherein I have noted parish churches twain, sometime three, houses of name six; to wit, the Savoy or Lancaster house, now a hospital, Somerset house, Essex house, Arundel house, Bedford or Russell house, and Sir Robert Cecil's house; besides of Chester's inn or Strand inn, sometime an inn of Chancery, &c. This liberty is governed by the chancellor of that duchy at this present, Sir Robert Cecil, knight, principal secretary to her majesty, and one of her majesty's most honourable privy councillors; there is under him a steward that keepeth court and leet for the queen; giveth the charge and taketh the oaths of every under officer: then is there four burgesses and four assistants, to take up controversies; a bailiff, which hath two or three under-bailiffs, that make arrests within that liberty; four constables; four wardens, that keep the lands and stock for the poor; four wardens for highways; a jury or inquest of fourteen or sixteen, to present defaults; four ale-conners, which look to assize of weights and measures, &c.; four scavengers and a beadle; and their common prison is Newgate. There is in this liberty fifty men, which is always to be at an hour's warning, with all necessary furniture to serve the queen, as occasion shall require. Their charge at a fifteen is thirteen shillings and four-pence. Thus much for the suburb in the liberty of the duchy of Lancaster.

THE CITY OF WESTMINSTER, WITH THE ANTIQUITIES, BOUNDS, AND LIBERTIES THEREOF.

Now touching the city of Westminster, I will begin at Temple bar, on the right hand or north side, and so pass up west through a back lane or street, wherein do stand three inns of chancery; the first called Clement's inn, because it standeth near to St. Clement's church, but nearer to the fair foun-

* “Savoy brent: blown up with gunpowder. Rebels, more malicious then covetous, spoyle all before them.”—*Stow*.

† “In the high street standeth a pair of stocks.”—*1st edition*, p. 369.

tain called Clement's well ; the second, New inn, so called as latelier made, of a common hostery, and the sign of Our Lady, an inn of chancery for students than the other, to wit, about the beginning of the reign of Henry VII., and not so late as some have supposed ; to wit, at the pulling down of Strand inn, in the reign of King Edward VI. ; for I read that Sir Thomas More, sometime lord chancellor, was a student in this new inn, and went from thence to Lincolne's inn, &c. The third is Lyon's inn, an inn of chancery also.

This street stretcheth up unto Drury lane, so called, for that there is a house belonging to the family of the Druries. This lane turneth north toward St. Giles in the field : from the south end of this lane in the high street are divers fair buildings, hosteries, and houses for gentlemen and men of honour ; amongst the which Cecil house is one, which sometime belonged to the parson of St. Martin's in the field, and by composition came to Sir Thomas Palmer, knight, in the reign of Edward VI., who began to build the same of brick and timber, very large and spacious, but of later time it hath been far more beautifully increased by the late Sir William Cecil, baron of Burghley, lord treasurer, and great councillor of the estate.

From thence is now a continual new building of divers fair houses, even up to the earl of Bedford's house *, lately built nigh to Ivy bridge, and so on the north side to a lane that turneth to the parish church of St. Martin's in the field, in the liberty of Westminster. Then had ye one house, wherein sometime were distraught and lunatic people, of what antiquity founded or by whom I have not read, neither of the suppression ; but it was said that sometime a king of England, not liking such a kind of people to remain so near his palace, caused them to be removed farther off, to Bethlem without Bishops gate of London, and to that hospital : the said house by Charing cross doth yet remain.

Then is the Mewse, so called of the king's falcons there kept by the king's falconer, which of old time was an office of great account, as appeareth by a record of Richard II., in the first year of his reign. Sir Simon Burley, knight, was made constable for the castles of Windsor, Wigmores, and Guilford, and of the manor of Kenington, and also master of the king's falcons at the Mewse, near unto Charing cross by Westminster ; but in the year of Christ 1534, the 28th of Henry VIII., the king having fair stabling at Lomsbery (a manor in the farthest west part of Oldborne), the same was fired and burnt, with many great horses and great store of hay : after which time, the fore-named house, called the Mewse by Charing cross, was new built, and prepared for stabling of the king's horses, in the reign of Edward VI. and Queen Mary, and so remaineth to that use : and this is the farthest building west on the north side of that high street.

On the south side of the which street, in the li-

berties of Westminster (beginning at Ivie bridge), first is Durham house, built by Thomas Hatfield, bishop of Durham, who was made bishop of that see in the year 1545, and sat bishop there thirty-six years.

Amongst matters memorable concerning this house, this is one :—In the year of Christ 1540, the 32nd of Henry VIII., on May-day, a great and triumphant justing was holden at Westminster, which had been formerly proclaimed in France, Flanders, Scotland, and Spain, for all comers that would undertake the challengers of England ; which were, Sir John Dudley, Sir Thomas Seymour, Sir Thomas Ponings, and Sir George Carew, knights, and Anthonic Kingston and Richarde Cromwell, esquires ; all which came into the lists that day richly apparelled, and their horses trapped all in white velvet. There came against them the said day forty-six defendants or undertakers, viz., the earl of Surrey, foremost, Lord William Howard, Lord Clinton, and Lord Cromwell, son and heir to Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, and chamberlain of England, with other ; and that day, after the justs performed, the challengers rode unto this Durham house, where they kept open household, and feasted the king and queen, with her ladies, and all the court : the second day, Anthonic Kingston and Richard Cromwell were made knights there : the third day of May the said challengers did tourney on horseback with swords, and against them came forty-nine defendants ; Sir John Dudley and the earl of Surrey running first, which at the first course lost their gauntlets ; and that day Sir Richarde Cromwell overthrew master Palmer and his horse in the field, to the great honour of the challengers : the fifth of May the challengers fought on foot at the barriers, and against them came fifty defendants, which fought valiantly ; but Sir Richard Cromwell overthrew that day at the barriers master Culpepper in the field ; and the sixth day the challengers brake up their household.

In this time of their housekeeping they had not only feasted the king, queen, ladies, and all the court, as is afore shewed ; but also they cheered all the knights and burgesses of the common house in the parliament, and entertained the mayor of London, with the aldermen, and their wives, at a dinner, &c. The king gave to every of the said challengers, and their heirs for ever, in reward of their valiant activity, one hundred marks and a house to dwell in, of yearly revenue, out of the lands pertaining to the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem.

Next beyond this Durham house is another great house, sometime belonging to the bishop of Norwich, and was his London lodging, which now pertaineth to the archbishop of York by this occasion. In the year 1529, when Cardinal Wolsey, archbishop of Yorke, was indicted in the Premunire, whereby King Henry VIII. was entitled to his goods and possessions : he also seized into his hands the said archbishop's house, commonly called Yorke place, and changed the name thereof into White hall ; whereby the archbishops of Yorke being dispossessed, and having no house of repair about London, Queen Mary gave unto Nicholas Heath, then archbishop of Yorke, and to his successors, Suffolke house in Southwarke, lately built by Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolke, as I have shewed.

* "Which is a goodly house, lately builded nigh to Ivy bridge, over against the old Bedford house, namely, called Russell house and Dacres house, now the house of Sir Thomas Cecil, Lorde Burghley ; and so on the north side to a lane that turneth to the parish church of St. Martin in the Fielde, and stretcheth to St. Giles in the Fielde."—1st edition, p. 370-1.

This house the said archbishop sold, and bought the aforesaid house of old time belonging to the bishops of Norwich, which of this last purchase is now called Yorke house, the lord chancellors or lord keepers of the great seal of England, have been lately there lodged.

Then was there an hospital of St. Marie Rouncivall by Charing cross (a cell to the priory and covent of Rouncivall in Navar, in Pampelion diocese), where a fraternity was founded in the 15th of Edward IV., but now the same is suppressed and turned into tenements.

Near unto this hospital was a hermitage, with a chapel of St. Katherine, over against Charing cross; which cross, built of stone, was of old time a fair piece of work, there made by commandment of Edward I., in the 21st year of his reign, in memory of Eleanor, his deceased queen, as is before declared*.

West from this cross stood sometime an hospital of St. James, consisting of two hides of land, with the appurtenances, in the parish of St. Margaret in Westminster, and founded by the citizens of London, before the time of any man's memory, for fourteen sisters, maidens, that were leprous, living chastely and honestly in divine service.

Afterwards divers citizens of London gave five-and-fifty pounds rent thereunto, and then were adjoined eight brethren to minister divine service there. After this, also, sundry devout men of London gave to this hospital four hides of land in the field of Westminster; and in Hendon, Calcote, and Hampsted, eighty acres of land and wood, &c. King Edward I. confirmed those gifts, and granted a fair to be kept on the eve of St. James, the day, the morrow, and four days following, in the 18th of his reign.

This hospital was surrendered to Henry VIII. the 23rd of his reign: the sisters being compounded with, were allowed pensions for the term of their lives; and the king built there a goodly manor, annexing thereunto a park, closed about with a wall of brick, now called St. James' park, serving indifferently to the said manor, and to the manor or palace of White hall.

South from Charing cross, on the right hand, are divers fair houses lately built before the park, then a large tilt-yard for noblemen, and other, to exercise themselves in justing, turning, and fighting at barriers.

On the left hand from Charing cross be also divers fair tenements lately built, till ye come to a

large plot of ground inclosed with brick, and is called Scotland, where great buildings have been for receipt of the kings of Scotland, and other estates of that country; for Margaret, queen of Scots, and sister to King Henry VIII., had her abiding there, when she came into England after the death of her husband, as the kings of Scotland had in former times, when they came to the parliament of England.

Then is the said White hall, sometime belonging to Hubert de Burgh, earl of Kent, and justice of England, who gave it to the Black Friars in Oldborne, as I have before noted. King Henry VIII. ordained it to be called an honour, and built there a sumptuous gallery and a beautiful gate-house, thwart the high street to St. James' park, &c.

In this gallery the princes, with their nobility, used to stand or sit, and at windows, to behold all triumphant justings and other military exercises.

Beyond this gallery, on the left hand, is the garden or orchard belonging to the said White hall.

On the right hand be divers fair tennis-courts, bowling-alleys, and a cock-pit, all built by King Henry VIII.; and then one other arched gate, with a way over it, thwarting the street from the king's gardens to the said park.

From this gate up King's street to a bridge over Long ditch (so called for that the same almost insulateth the city of Westminster), near which bridge is a way leading to Chanon row, so called for that the same belonged to the dean and canons of St. Stephen's chapel, who were there lodged, as now divers noblemen and gentlemen be; whereof one is belonging to Sir Edward Hobbey, one other to John Thine, esquire, one lately built by Ann Stanhope, duchess of Somerset, mother to the earl of Hartford, who now enjoyeth that house. Next a stately house, now in building by William earl of Darby; over against the which is a fair house, built by Henry Clinton, earl of Lincoln.

From this way up to the Woolestaple and to the high tower, or gate which entereth the palace court, all is replenished with buildings and inhabitants.

Touching this Woolestaple, I read, that in the reign of Edward I., the staple being at Westminster, the parishioners of St. Margaret and merchants of the staple built of new the said church, the great chancel excepted, which was lately before new built by the abbot of Westminster.

Moreover, that Edward III., in the 17th of his reign, decreed that no silver be carried out of the realm on pain of death; and that whosoever transporteth wool should bring over for every sack four nobles of silver bullion.

In the 25th of his reign, he appointed the staple of wool to be kept only at Canterbury, for the honour of St. Thomas; but in the 27th of the same King Edward, the staple of wool, before kept at Bruges in Flanders, was ordained by parliament to be kept in divers places of England, Wales, and Ireland, as at Newcastle, Yorke, Lincoln, Canterbury, Norwich, Westminster, Chichester, Winchester, Excester, Bristow, Carmardyn, &c., to the great benefit of the king and loss unto strangers and merchants: for there grew unto the king by this means (as it was said) the sum of one thousand one hundred and two pounds by the year, more than any his predecessors before had received;

* "This," says the Rev. Joseph Hunter, in the communication to the *Archæologia*, to which reference has already been made; "this was by far the most sumptuous of these works. It was in progress in 1291, and was not complete in 1294. It was begun by Master Richard de Crundale, *cementarius*, but he died while the work was in progress, about Michaelmas Term 1293, and it proceeded under the direction of Roger de Crundale. Richard received about 500l. for work, exclusive of materials supplied by him, and Roger 90l. 17s. 5d. The stone was brought from Caen, and the marble from Corf. The steps and other parts of the fabric were made of the marble, for which considerable sums were paid. Ralph de Chichester supplied the "*virg. capit. et anal.*" (which may possibly admit of being translated, "rod, capital, and ring," and occur in the accounts for all the crosses), and Alexander Le Imaginator received four marks in part payment for statues which were intended for it."

the staple at Westminster at that time began on the next morrow after the feast of St. Peter ad vincula. The next year was granted to the king by parliament, towards the recovery of his title in France, fifty shillings of every sack of wool transported over seas, for the space of six years next ensuing; by means whereof the king might dispend daily during those years more than a thousand marks sterling: for by the common opinion there were more than one hundred thousand sacks of wool yearly transported into foreign lands, so that during six years the said grant extended to fifteen hundred thousand pounds sterling.

In the 37th of Edward III., it was granted unto him for two years, to take five-and-twenty shillings and eight-pence upon every sack of wool transported; and the same year the staple of wool (notwithstanding the king's oath and other great estates) was ordained to be kept at Callis, and six-and-twenty merchants, the best and wealthiest of all England, to be farmers there, both of the town and staple, for three years: every merchant to have six men of arms and four archers at the king's cost. He ordained there also two mayors, one for the town and one for the staple; and he took for *mala capta*, commonly called Maltorth*, twenty shillings, and of the said merchants' guardians of the town forty pence, upon every sack of wool.

In the 44th of Edward III., Quinborough, Kingston-upon-Hull, and Boston, were made staples of wool; which matter so much offended some, that in the 50th of his reign, in a parliament at London, it was complained that the staple of wool was so removed from Callis to divers towns in England, contrary to the statute, appointing that citizens and merchants should keep it there, and that the king might have the profits and customs, with the exchange of gold and silver, that was there made by all the merchants in Christindome (esteemed to amount to eight thousand pounds by year), the exchange only; and the citizens and merchants so ordered the matter, that the king spent nothing upon soldiers, neither upon defence of the town against the enemies; whereas now he spent eight thousand pounds by year.

In the 51st of Edward III., when the staple was sealed at Callis, the mayor of the staple did furnish the captain of the town upon any road with one hundred bilmen, twelve hundred archers of merchants and their servants, without any wages.

In the year 1388, the 12th of Richard II., in a parliament at Cambridge, it was ordained that the staple of wools should be brought from Middleborough in Holland to Callis.

In the 14th of his reign, there was granted forty shillings upon every sack of wool, and in the 21st was granted fifty shillings upon every sack transported by Englishmen, and three pounds by strangers, &c. It seemeth that the merchants of this staple be the most ancient merchants of this realm; and that all commodities of the realm are staple merchandises by law and charter as wools, leather, wool fells, lead, tin, cloth, &c.

King Henry VI. had six wool-houses within the staple at Westminster: those he granted to the

dean and canons of St. Stephen at Westminster, and confirmed it the 21st of his reign. Thus much for the staple have I shortly noted.

And now to pass to the famous monastery of Westminster: at the very entrance of the close thereof, is a lane that leadeth toward the west, called Thieving lane, for that thieves were led that way to the gate-house, while the sanctuary continued in force.

This monastery was founded and built by Sebert*, king of the East Saxons, upon the persuasion of Ethelbert, king of Kent, who having embraced Christianity, and being baptized by Melitus, bishop of London, immediately (to show himself a Christian indeed) built a church to the honour of God and St. Peter, on the west side of the city of London, in a place which (because it was overgrown with thorns, and environed with water,) the Saxons called Thorney, and now of the monastery and west situation thereof is called Westminster.

In this place (saith Sulcardus) long before was a temple of Apollo, which being overthrown, King Lucius built therein a church of Christianity.

Sebert† was buried in this church, with his wife Athelgoda; whose bodies many years after, to wit, in the reign of Richard II. (saith Walsingham), were translated from the old church to the new, and there entered.

Edgar, king of the West Saxons, repaired this monastery about the year of Christ 958; Edward the Confessor built it of new, whereupon T. Clifford writeth thus:

“Without the walls of London (saith he), upon the river of Thames, there was in times passed a little monastery, built to the honour of God and St. Peter, with a few Benedict monks in it, under an abbot, serving Christ: very poor they were, and little was given them for their relief. Here the king intended (for that it was near to the famous city of London and the river of Thames, that brought in all kind of merchandises from all parts of the world,) to make his sepulchre: he commanded, therefore, that of the tenths of all his rents the work should be begun in such sort as should become the prince of the Apostles.

“At this his commandment the work is nobly begun, even from the foundation, and happily proceedeth till the same was finished: the charges bestowed, or to be bestowed, are not regarded. He granted to this church great privileges, above

* “Foundation of Westminster by Sebert, a Christian king, not only in word, but in deed.”—*Stow*.

† A curious painting, supposed to be a portrait of Sebert, the founder of the church, is to be seen on the stalls on the altar, and has been very carefully engraved by Mr. G. P. Harding in his *Antiquities in Westminster Abbey*. Walsingham tells us, that when his sepulchre was opened for the purpose of translating his remains from the old church to the new, his right hand was found perfect, “flesh, skin, nails, and bones, up to the middle of the arms,”—a statement which is confirmed by Robert of Gloucester:—

“Segbrit that I nemped was a right holy man,
For the abbey of Westminster he foremost began;
He was the first king that thilke stete gan rene,
And sithe at his ende day he was buried there.
Seven hundred yere and six there were nigh agon
Sithe that he was buried faire under a ston;
And som del of him was also hooly found,
As thilk day that he was first laid in the ground.”

* “I thinke custome.”—1st edition, p. 376.

It is from the Latin *Mallota*, or *Maltouta*. See Ducange, s. v. Tolta.

all the churches in this land, as partly appeareth by this his charter :—

Ʒðpearð Cynz gnet Willm biſceope
 7 Leofſtane 7 Aelſie Portreves 7
 ealle minne burhſcegn on Lundon ffeon-
 dlice : And ic cype eoƿ þæt hæbbe ƿeo
 gytta gýfen 7 unian Chpýr 7 ð. Pe-
 ter þam halgan Aƿoſtel into Weſt-
 minſter, fulra ffeodome ofer ealle
 þa land þe longaf into þære haligan
 jtop, &c.

“Edwarde, king, greets William, bishop, and Leofstane, and Aelsie Portreves, and all my burgeses of London friendly, and I tell you, that I have this gift given and granted to Christ and St. Peter the holy Apostle, at Westminster, full freedom over all the land that belongeth to that holy place, &c.”

He also caused the parish church of St. Margaret to be newly built without the abbey church of Westminster, for the ease and commodity of the monks, because before that time the parish church stood within the old abbey church in the south aisle, somewhat to their annoyance.

King Henry III., in the year of Christ 1220, and in the 5th of his reign, began the new work of our Lady's chapel, whereof he laid the first stone in the foundation ; and in the year 1245, the walls and steeple of the old church (built by King Edward) were taken down, and enlarging the same church, caused them to be made more comely ; for the furtherance whereof, in the year 1246, the same king (devising how to extort money from the citizens of London towards the charges) appointed a mart to be kept at Westminster, the same to last fifteen days, and in the mean space all trade of merchandise to cease in the city ; which thing the citizens were fain to redeem with two thousand pounds of silver.

The work of this church, with the houses of office, was finished to the end of the choir, in the year 1285, the 14th of Edward I. : all which labour of sixty-six years was in the year 1299 defaced by a fire kindled in the lesser hall of the king's palace at Westminster ; the same, with many other houses adjoining, and with the queen's chamber, were all consumed ; the flame thereof also (being driven with the wind), fired the monastery, which was also with the palace consumed.

Then was this monastery again repaired by the abbots of that church ; King Edward I. and his successors putting to their helping hands.

Edward II. appropriated unto this church the patronages of the churches of Kelvedon and Sawbridgeworth in Essex, in the diocese of London.

Simon Langham, abbot (having been a great builder there in the year 1362), gave forty pounds to the building of the body of the church ; but (amongst others) Abbot Islip was in his time a great builder there, as may appear in the stone-work and glass windows of the church ; since whose decease that work hath staid as he left it, unperfected, the church and steeple being all of one height.

King Henry VII., about the year of Christ 1502, caused the chapel of our Lady, built by Henry III., with a tavern also, called the White Rose, near adjoining, to be taken down : in which plot of ground, on the 24th of January, the first stone of the new chapel was laid by the hands of Abbot Islip, Sir Reginald Bray, knight of the garter, Doctor Barnes, master of the Rolls, Doctor Wall, chaplain to the king, Master Hugh Aldham, chaplain to the countess of Darby and Richmond (the king's mother), Sir Edward Stanhope, knight, and divers other : upon the which stone was engraven the same day and year, &c.

The charges in building this chapel amounted to the sum of fourteen thousand pounds. The stone for this work (as I have been informed) was brought from Huddlestone quarry in Yorkshire.

The altar and sepulture of the same King Henry VII., wherein his body resteth in this his new chapel, was made and finished in the year 1519 by one Peter, a painter of Florence ; for the which he received one thousand pounds sterling for the whole stuff and workmanship at the hands of the king's executors ; Richard, bishop of Winchester ; Richard, bishop of London ; Thomas, bishop of Durham ; John, bishop of Rochester ; Thomas, duke of Norfolk, treasurer of England ; Charles, earl of Worcester, the king's chamberlain ; John Fineaux, knight, chief justice of the King's bench ; Robert Reade, knight, chief justice of the Common Pleas.

This monastery being valued to dispend by the year three thousand four hundred and seventy pounds, &c., was surrendered to Henry VIII. in the year 1539. Benson, then abbot, was made the first dean, and not long after it was advanced to a bishop's see in the year 1541. Thomas Thirlby being both the first and last bishop there, who, when he had impoverished the church, was translated to Norwich in the year 1550, the 4th of Edward VI., and from thence to Ely in the year 1554, the 2nd of Queen Mary*. Richard Cox, doctor in divinity (late schoolmaster to King Edward VI.), was made dean of Westminster, whom Queen Mary put out, and made Doctor Weston dean until the year 1556, and then he being removed from thence on the 21st of November, John Feckenham (late dean of Paules) was made abbot of Westminster, and took possession of the same, being installed, and fourteen monks more received the habit with him that day of the order of St. Benedict ; but the said John Feckenham, with his monks, enjoyed not that place fully three years, for in the year 1559, in the month of July, they were all put out, and Queen Elizabeth made the said monastery a college, instituting there a dean, twelve prebends, a schoolmaster, and usher, forty scholars, called commonly the Queen's scholars, twelve alms men ; and so it was named the Collegiate church of Westminster, founded by Queen Elizabeth, who placed Doctor Bill t, first dean of that new erection ; after whom succeeded Doctor Gabriel Goodman, who governed that church forty years, and after Doctor Lancelot Andrewes.

* Thomas Thirlby, the first and only bishop of Westminster, with all Middlesex, except Fulham, for his diocese, surrendered his bishopric 29th of March, 1550. He was translated to Norwich, thence to Ely, and was one of the compilers of the Book of Common Prayer.

† “One of her majesties chaplains.”—1st edition, p. 381.

Kings and queens crowned in this church : William, surnamed the Conqueror, and Matilde his wife, were the first, and since them all other kings and queens of this realm have been there crowned.

Kings and queens buried in this church are these * : Sebert, king of the East Saxons, with his wife Athelgede ; Harold, surnamed Harefoot, king of the West Saxons ; Edward the Simple, surnamed Confessor, sometime richly shrined in a tomb of silver and gold, curiously wrought by commandment of William the Conqueror ; Egitha his wife was there buried also ; Hugolyn, chamberlain to Edward the Confessor ; King Henry III., whose sepulture was richly garnished with precious stones of jasper, which his son Edward I. brought out of France for that purpose ; Eleaour, wife to Henry III. ; Edward I., who offered to the shrine of Edward the Confessor the chair of marble, wherein the kings of Scotland were crowned, with the sceptre and crown, also to the same king belonging.

He gave also to that church lands to the value of one hundred pounds by the year ; twenty pounds thereof yearly to be distributed to the poor for ever. Then there lieth Eleaour, his wife, daughter to Ferdinando, king of Castile, 1293 ; Edward III. by Queen Philippa of Henault his wife ; Richard II. and Anne his wife, with their images upon them, which cost more than four hundred marks for the gilding ; Henry V., with a royal image of silver and gilt, which Katherine his wife caused to be laid upon him, but the head of this image being of massy silver, is broken off, and conveyed away with the plates of silver and gilt that covered his body ; Katherine, his wife, was buried in the old Lady chapel 1438, but her corpse being taken up in the reign of Henry VII., when a new foundation was to be laid, she was never since buried, but remaineth above ground in a coffin of boards behind the east end of the presbytery ; Henry VII. in a sumptuous sepulture and chapel before specified, and Elizabeth his wife ; Edward VI. in the same chapel, without any monument ; Queen Mary, without any monument, in the same chapel ; Matilde, daughter to Malcolm, king of Scots, wife to Henry I., died 1118, lieth in the vestry ; Anne, wife to Richard III. ; Margaret, countess of Richmond and Darby, mother to Henry VII. ; Anne of Cleves, wife to Henry VIII. ; Edmond, second son to Henry III., first earl of Lancaster, Darby, and Leycester, and Aveline his wife, daughter and heir to William de Fortibus, earl of Albemarle. In St. Thomas' chapel lie the bones of the children of Henry III. and of Edward I., in number nine. In the chapter-house,—Elianor, countess of Barre, daughter to Edward I. ; William of Windsor, and Blaunch his sister, children to Edward III. ; John of Eltham, earl of Cornewell, son to Edward II. ; Elianor, wife to Thomas of Woodstocke, duke of Gloucester ; Thomas of Woodstocke by King Edward III. his father ; Margaret, daughter to Edward IV. ; Elizabeth, daughter to Henry VII. ; William de Valence, earl of Pembroke ; Aymer de

Valence, earl of Pembroke ; Margaret and John, son and daughter to William de Valence ; John Waltham, bishop of Sarum, treasurer of England ; Thomas Ruthal, bishop of Durham, 1522 ; Giles, Lord Dawbeny *, lord lieutenant of Callis, chamberlain to King Henry VII., 1508, and Elizabeth his wife, of the family of the Arundels in Cornwall, 1500 ; John, Viscount Wells, 1498 ; the Lady Katherine, daughter to the duchess of Norfolk ; Sir Thomas Hungerford, knight, father to Sir John Hungerford of Downampney, knight ; a son and daughter to Humfrey Bohun, earl of Hereford and Essex, and Elizabeth his wife ; Philippa, duchess of York, daughter to the Lord Mohun, thrice married, to the Lord Fitzwalter, Sir John Golofer, and to the duke of Yorke ; William Dudley, bishop elect of Durham, son to John, baron of Dudley ; Nicholas, Baron Carew, 1470 ; Walter Hungerford, son to Edward Hungerford, knight ; Sir John Burley, knight, and Anne his wife, daughter to Alane Buxull, knight, 1416 ; Sir John Golofer, knight, 1396 ; Humfrey Bureher, Lord Cromwell, son to Bourchier, earl of Essex, slain at Barnet ; Henry Bourchier, son and heir to John Bourchier, Lord Barners, also slain at Barnet, 1471 ; Sir William Trussell, knight ; Sir Thomas Vaughan, knight ; Frances Brandon, duchess of Suffolke, 1560 ; Mary Gray, her daughter, 1578 ; Sir John Hampden, knight ; Sir Lewis, Viscount Robsart, knight ; Lord Bourchere of Henalt, 1430, and his wife, daughter and heir to the Lord Bourchere ; Robert Brown, and William Browne, esquires ; the Lady Johane Tokyne, daughter of Dabridge Court ; George Mortimer, bastard ; John Felbye, esquire ; Ann, wife to John Watkins ; William Southwike, esquire ; William Southcot, esquire ; Ralph Constantine, gentleman ; Arthur Troffote, esquire ; Robert Hawley, esquire, slain in that church† ; Sir Richarde Rouse, knight ; Sir Geoffrey Maundevile, earl of Essex, and Athelarde his wife ; Sir Foulke of Newcastle ; Sir James Barons, knight ; Sir John Salisbury, knight ; Margaret Dowglas, countess of Lennox, with Charles her son, earl of Lennox ; Henrie Scogan, a learned poet, in the cloister ; Geoffrey Chaucer, the most famous poet of England, also in the cloister, 1400, but since Nicholas Brigham, gentleman, raised a monument for him in the south cross aisle of the church : his works were partly published in print by William Caxton, in the reign of Henry VI., increased by William Thimne, esquire, in the reign of Henry VII. ; corrected and twice increased, through mine own painful labours, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, to wit, in the year 1561 ; and again beautified with notes by me, collected out of divers records and monuments, which

* " Earle of Bridgewater."—1st edition, p. 382.

† Hawley had been committed to the Tower by the duke of Lancaster, from which he escaped and took sanctuary at Westminster. Sir Alan Boxhull, constable of the Tower, and one Sir Ralph Ferrars, following Hawley into the church, upon his resistance, killed him in the choir at the time of high mass. This occurred on the 11th of August, 1378. The church, as profaned by this murder, was closed for four months ; Boxhull, Ferrars, and their followers, excommunicated ; and the abbot of Westminster, in the parliament shortly after held at Gloucester, having strenuously resisted this violation of sanctuary, his church's privileges in that respect were confirmed.

* The learned Camden published an account of the royal, noble, and distinguished persons buried in this church, under the title, "*Reges, Reginae, Nobiles et alii in Ecclesia Collegiæ B. viri Westmonasterii sepulti, una cum ejusdem Ecclesiæ fundatione præfixa*." London, 4to. 1600 ; and another edition in 1606, bringing the work down to that year.

I delivered to my loving friend, Thomas Speght ; and he having drawn the same into a good form and method, as also explained the old and obscure words, &c., hath published them in anno 1597.

Anne Stanhope, duchess of Somerset, and Jane her daughter ; Anne Cecill, countess of Oxford, daughter to the Lord Burghley, with Mildred Burghley her mother ; Elizabeth Barkley, countess of Ormond ; Frances Sidney, countess of Sussex ; Francis Howard, countess of Hertford, 1598 ; Thomas, Baron Wentworth ; Thomas, Baron Warton ; John, Lord Russell ; Sir Thomas Bromley, lord chancellor ; Sir John Puckering, lord keeper ; Sir Henry Cary, Lord Hunsdon, and lord chamberlain, 1596, to whose memory his son, Sir George Cary, Lord Hunsdon, and lord chamberlain, hath created a stately monument.

This church hath had great privilege of sanctuary within the precinct thereof, to wit, the church, churchyard, and close, &c. ; from whence it hath not been lawful for any prince or other to take any person that fled thither for any cause : which privilege was first granted by Sebert, king of the East Saxons, since increased by Edgar, king of the West Saxons, renewed and confirmed by King Edward the Confessor, as appeareth by this his charter following :

“ Edward, by the grace of God, king of Englishmen : I make it to be known to all generations of the world after me, that by special commendement of our holy father, Pope Leo, I have renewed and honored the holy church of the blessed apostle St. Peter, of Westminster ; and I order and establish for ever, that what person, of what condition or estate soever he be, from whence soever he come, or for what offence or cause it be, either for his refuge into the said holy place, he be assured of his life, liberty, and limbs. And over this I forbid, under the paine of everlasting damnation, that no minister of mine, or of my successors, intermeddle them with any the goods, lands, or possessions of the said persons taking the said sanctuary ; for I have taken their goodes and livelode into my special protection, and therefore I grant to every each of them, in as much as my terrestriall power may suffice, all maner freedom of joyous libertie ; and whosoever presumes or doth contrary to this my graunt, I will hee lose his name, worship, dignity, and power, and that with the great traytor Judas that betrayed our Saviour, he be in the everlasting fire of hell ; and I will and ordayne that this my graunt endure as long as there remaineth in England eyther love or dread of Christian name *.”

More of this sanctuary ye may read in our histories, and also in the statute of Henry VIII., the 32nd year.

The parish church of St. Margaret, sometime

within the abbey, was by Edward the Confessor removed, and built without, for ease of the monks. This church continued till the days of Edward I., at which time the merchants of the staple and parishioners of Westminster built it all of new, the great chancel excepted, which was built by the abbots of Westminster ; and this remaineth now a fair parish church, though sometime in danger of down pulling. In the south aisle of this church is a fair marble monument of Dame Mary Billing, the heir of Robert Nesenham of Conington, in Huntingdonshire, first married to William Cotton, to whose issue her inheritance alone descended, remaining with Robert Cotton at this day, heir of her and her first husband's family ; her second husband was Sir Thomas Billing, chief justice of England ; and her last, whom likewise she buried, was Thomas Lacy ; erecting this monument to the memory of her three husbands, with whose arms she hath garnished it, and for her own burial, wherein she was interred in the year 1499.

Next to this famous monastery is the king's principal palace, of what antiquity it is uncertain ; but Edward the Confessor held his court there, as may appear by the testimony of sundry, and, namely, of Ingulphus, as I have before told you. The said king had his palace, and for the most part remained there ; where he also so ended his life, and was buried in the monastery which he had built. It is not to be doubted but that King William I., as he was crowned there, so he built much at his palace, for he found it far inferior to the building of princely palaces in France : and it is manifest, by the testimony of many authors, that William Rufus built the great hall there about the year of Christ 1097. Amongst others, Roger of Wendover and Mathew Paris do write, that King William (being returned out of Normandy into England) kept his feast of Whitsontide very royally at Westminster, in the new hall which he had lately built ; the length whereof (say some) was two hundred and seventy feet, and seventy-four feet in breadth ; and when he heard men say that this hall was too great, he answered and said, “ This hall is not big enough by the one half, and is but a bed-chamber in comparison of that I mean to make.” A diligent searcher (saith Paris) might find out the foundation of the hall, which he was supposed to have built, stretching from the river of Thames, even to the common highway.

This palace was repaired about the year 1163 by Thomas Becket, chancellor of England, with exceeding great celerity and speed, which before was ready to have fallen down. This hath been the principal seat and palace of all the kings of England since the Conquest ; for here have they in the great hall kept their feasts of coronation especially, and other solemne feasts, as at Christmas and such like, most commonly : for proof whereof, I find recorded, that in the year 1236, and the 20th of Henry III., on the 29th of December, William de Haverhull, the king's treasurer, is commanded, that upon the day of circumcision of our Lord, he caused six thousand poor people to be fed at Westminster, for the state of the king, the queen, and their children ; the weak and aged to be placed in the great hall and in the lesser ; those that were most strong, and in reasonable plight, in the king's chamber ; the children in the queen's ; and when

* This sanctuary was taken down in 1750, for the purpose of erecting on its site a new market, as we learn from a communication made by Dr. Stukeley to the Society of Antiquaries in October 1755, containing a succinct history of the building, accompanied by illustrative engravings. The spirit of humanity, which here in a former age erected an asylum for those who were in peril and danger, still seems to hover over the spot, though manifesting itself in a manner more congenial to the feelings of the times ; where the sanctuary once stood, the Westminster hospital now offers its friendly shelter, and ministers to the wants of the sick and the afflicted.

the king knoweth the charge, he would allow it in the accounts*.

In the year 1238, the same King Henry kept his feast of Christmas at Westminster in the great hall; so did he in the year 1241, where he placed the legate in the most honourable place of the table, to wit, in the midst, which the noblemen took in evil part: the king sat on the right hand, and the archbishop on the left, and then all the prelates and nobles according to their estates; for the king himself set the guests. The year 1242 he likewise kept his Christmas in the hall, &c. Also, in the year 1243, Richard, earl of Cornwall, the king's brother, married Cincia, daughter to Beatrice, countess of Province, and kept his marriage-feast in the great hall at Westminster, with great royalty and company of noblemen: insomuch that there were told (*triginta milia*) thirty thousand dishes of meats at that dinner.

In the year 1256, King Henry sate in the exchequer of this hall, and there set down order for the appearance of sheriffs, and bringing in of their accounts: there were five marks set on every sheriff's head for a fine, because they had not distrained every person that might dispend fifteen pounds land by the year to receive the order of knighthood, as the same sheriffs were commanded. Also, the mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs of London, being accused of oppression and wrongs done by them, and submitting themselves in this place before the king sitting in judgment upon that matter, they were condemned to pay their fines for their offences committed, and further, every one of them discharged of assise and ward.

In the years 1268 and 1269, the same king kept his Christmas feasts at Westminster as before; and also in the same 1269 he translated with great solemnity the body of King Edward the Confessor into a new chapel, at the back of the high altar: which chapel he had prepared of a marvellous workmanship, bestowing a new tomb or shrine of gold; and on the day of his translation he kept a royal feast in the great hall of the palace. Thus much for the feasts of old time in this hall.

We read also, that in the year 1236, the river of Thames overflowing the banks, caused the marshes about Woolwich to be all on a sea, wherein boats and other vessels were carried with the stream; so that besides cattle, the greatest number of men, women, and children, inhabitants there, were drowned: and in the great palace of Westminster men did row with wherries in the midst of the hall, being forced to ride to their chambers.

Moreover, in the year 1242, the Thames overflowing the banks about Lambhithe, drowned houses and fields by the space of six miles, so that in the great hall at Westminster men took their horses, because the water ran over all. This palace was (in the year 1299, the 27th of Edward I.) burnt by a vehement fire, kindled in the lesser hall of the king's house: the same, with many other houses adjoining, and with the queen's chamber, were consumed, but after that repaired.

* In the first edition, the passage relative to Henry II.'s command to Hugh Gifford and William Browne, to distribute alms "according to the weight and measure of the king's children" (see ante, pages 34 and 35), is inserted in this place.

In the year 1313, the 31st of Edward I., the king's treasury at Westminster was robbed; for the which, Walter, abbot of Westminster, with forty-nine of his brethren and thirty-two other, were thrown into the Tower of London, and indicted of the robbery of a hundred thousand pounds; but they affirming themselves to be clear of the fact, and desiring the king of speedy justice, a commission was directed for inquiry of the truth, and they were freed.

In the year 1316, Edward II. did solemnize his feast of Pentecost at Westminster, in the great hall; where sitting royally at the table, with his peers about him, there entered a woman adorned like a minstrel, sitting on a great horse, trapped as minstrels then used, who rode round about the tables, showing pastime, and at length came up to the king's table, and laid before him a letter, and forthwith turning her horse, saluted every one, and departed. The letter being opened, had these contents:—"Our sovereign lord the king, hath nothing curiously respected his knights, that in his father's time, and also in his owne, have put forth their persons to divers perils, and have utterly lost, or greatly diminished their substance, for honor of the said king, and he hath enriched abundantly such as have not borne the waight as yet of the busines, &c."

This great hall was begun to be repaired in the year 1397 by Richard II., who caused the walls, windows, and roof, to be taken down, and new made, with a stately porch, and divers lodgings of a marvellous work, and with great costs; all which he levied of strangers banished or flying out of their countries, who obtained license to remain in this land by the king's charters, which they had purchased with great sums of money; John Boterell being then clerk of the works.

This hall being finished in the year 1398, the same king kept a most royal Christmas there, with daily justings and runnings at tilt; whereunto resorted such a number of people, that there was every day spent twenty-eight or twenty-six oxen, and three hundred sheep, besides fowl without number: he caused a gown for himself to be made of gold, garnished with pearl and precious stones, to the value of three thousand marks: he was guarded by Cheshire men, and had about him commonly thirteen bishops, besides barons, knights, esquires, and other more than needed; insomuch, that to the household came every day to meat ten thousand people, as appeareth by the messes told out from the kitchen to three hundred servitors.

Thus was this great hall, for the honour of the prince, oftentimes furnished with guests, not only in this king's time (a prodigal prince), but in the time of other also, both before and since, though not so usually noted. For when it is said, the king held his feast of Christmas, or such a feast at Westminster, it may well be supposed to be kept in this great hall, as most sufficient to such a purpose.

I find noted by Robert Fabian (sometime an alderman of London), that King Henry VII., in the 9th of his reign (holding his royal feast of Christmas at Westminster), on the twelfth day, feasted Ralph Austrey, then mayor of London, and his brethren the aldermen, with other commoners in great number, and after dinner dubbing the mayor knight, caused him with his brethren to stay and

behold the disguisings and other disports in the night following, showed in the great hall, which was richly hanged with arras, and staged about on both sides; which disports being ended in the morning, the king, the queen, the ambassadors, and other estates, being set at a table of stone, sixty knights and esquires served sixty dishes to the king's mess, and as many to the queen's (neither flesh nor fish), and served the mayor with twenty-four dishes to his mess, of the same manner, with sundry wines in most plenteous wise: and finally, the king and queen being conveyed with great lights into the palace, the mayor with his company in barges returned and came to London by break of the next day. Thus much for building of this great hall, and feasting therein.

It moreover appeareth that many parliaments have been kept there; for I find noted, that in the year 1397, the great hall at Westminster being out of reparations, and therefore, as it were, new built by Richard II. (as is afore showed), the same Richard, in the mean time having occasion to hold a parliament, caused for that purpose a large house to be built in the midst of the palace-court, betwixt the clock tower and the gate of the old great hall. This house was very large and long, made of timber, covered with tile, open on both the sides and at both the ends, that all men might see and hear what was both said and done.

The king's archers (in number four thousand Cheshire men) compassed the house about with their bows bent, and arrows knocked in their hands, always ready to shoot: they had bouch of court* (to wit, meat and drink), and great wages of sixpence by the day.

The old great hall being new built, parliaments were again there kept as before†: namely, one in the year 1399, for the deposing of Richard II. A great part of this palace at Westminster was once again burnt in the year 1512, the 4th of Henry VIII.; since the which time it hath not been re-edified: only the great hall, with the offices near adjoining, are kept in good reparations, and serveth as afore for feasts at coronations, arraignment of great persons charged with treasons, keeping of the courts of justice, &c. But the princes have been lodged in other places about the city, as at Baynarde's castle, at Bridewell, and White hall, sometime called York place, and sometime at St. James'.

This great hall hath been the usual place of pleadings, and ministration of justice, whereof somewhat shortly I will note. In times past the courts and benches followed the king wheresoever he went, as well since the Conquest as before; which thing at length being thought cumbersome, painful, and chargeable to the people, it was in the year 1224, the 9th of Henry III., agreed that there should be

a standing place appointed, where matters should be heard and judged, which was in the great hall at Westminster.

In this hall he ordained three judgment seats; to wit, at the entry on the right hand, the Common Pleas, where civil matters are to be pleaded, specially such as touch lands or contracts: at the upper end of the hall, on the right hand, or south-east corner, the King's Bench, where pleas of the crown have their hearing; and on the left hand, or south-west corner, sitteth the lord chancellor, accompanied with the master of the rolls, and other men, learned for the most part in the civil law, and called masters of the chancery, which have the king's fee. The times of pleading in these courts are four in the year, which are called terms: the first is Hilary term, which beginneth the 23rd of January, if it be not Sunday, and endeth the 12th of February; the second is Easter term, and beginneth seventeen days after Easter day, and endeth four days after Ascension day; the third term beginneth six or seven days after Trinity Sunday, and endeth the Wednesday fortnight after; the fourth is Michaelmas term, which beginneth the 9th of October, if it be not Sunday, and endeth the 28th of November.

And here it is to be noted, that the kings of this realm have used sometimes to sit in person in the King's Bench; namely, King Edward IV., in the year 1462, in Michaelmas term, sat in the King's Bench three days together, in the open court, to understand how his laws were ministered and executed.

Within the port, or entry into the hall, on either side are ascendings up into large chambers, without the hall adjoining thereunto, wherein certain courts be kept, namely, on the right hand, is the court of the Exchequer, a place of account for the revenues of the crown: the hearers of the account have auditors under them; but they which are the chief for accounts of the prince, are called barons of the Exchequer, whereof one is called the chief baron. The greatest officer of all is called the high treasurer*. In this court be heard those that are delators, or informers, in popular and penal actions, having thereby part of the profit by the law assigned unto them.

In this court, if any question be, it is determined after the order of the common law of England by twelve men, and all subsidies, taxes, and customs, by account; for in this office the sheriffs of the shire do attend upon the execution of the commandments of the judges, which the earl † should do, if

* "Of England."—1st edition, p. 387.

This great office, the importance of which may be judged from the fact, that it is high treason to kill the lord high treasurer in the execution of his office, is now, and has been for nearly two centuries, executed by five persons, who are called lords commissioners for executing the office of lord high treasurer, viz., one who is called first lord of the treasury, and four others, who are styled lords of the treasury. The constitution of England recognizes no such officer as the prime minister or premier, but these titles are usually given to the first lord of the treasury as head of the administration. See Thoms' *Book of the Court, or Court Directory*, p. 226 et seqq.

† See further on the original nature of this title, p. 101, et seq., of the work referred to in the preceding note, where the reader will find a large collection of materials from Selden, Blackstone, Cruise, and other writers, illustrative of the

* The reader desirous of more explicit information as to the nature of the allowance called *Bouche of Court*, is referred to the *Ordonances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household*, published by the Society of Antiquaries in 1790, p. 162, where he will find "A declaration of Bouche of Courte, of everie particular thing, to be served to everie person being of the ordinary of the kinges honourable house, everie one of them according to their degrees."

† "I find of record, the 50th of Edward III., that the chapter-house of the abbot of Westminster was then the usual house for the commons in parliament."—Stow.

he were not attending upon the princes in the wars, or otherwise about him; for the chief office of the earl was to see the king's justice to have course, and to be well executed in the shire, and the prince's revenues to be well answered and brought into the treasury.

If any fines or amerciaments be extracted out of any of the said courts upon any man, or any arranges of accounts of such things as is of customs, taxes, and subsidies, or other such like occasions, the same the sheriff of the shire doth gather, and is answerable therefore in the Exchequer: as for other ordinary rents of patrimonial lands, and most commonly of taxes, customs, and subsidies, there be particular receivers and collectors, which do answer it into the Exchequer. This court of the Exchequer hath of old time, and, as I think, since the Conquest, been kept at Westminster, notwithstanding sometimes removed thence by commandment of the king, and after restored again, as, namely, in the year 1209, King John commanded the Exchequer to be removed from Westminster to Northampton, &c.

On the left hand above the stair is the Duchy chamber, wherein is kept the court for the duchy of Lancaster by a chancellor of that duchy, and other officers under him. Then is there in another chamber the office of the receipts of the queen's revenues for the crown: then is there also the Star chamber, where in the term time, every week once at the least, which is commonly on Fridays and Wednesdays, and on the next day after the term endeth, the lord chancellor, and the lords, and other of the privy council, and the chief justices of England, from nine of the clock till it be eleven, do sit.

This place is called the Star chamber *, because the roof thereof is decked with the likeness of stars gilt: there be plaints heard of riots, routs, and other misdemeanors; which if they be found by the king's council, the party offender shall be censured by these persons, which speak one after another, and he shall be both fined and commanded to prison.

Then at the upper end of the great hall, by the King's Bench, is a going up to a great chamber, called the White hall, wherein is now kept the court of Wards and Liveries †, and adjoining there-

unto is the Court of Requests. Then is St. Stephen's chapel, of old time founded by King Stephen. King John, in the 7th of his reign, granted to Baldwinus de London, clerk of his Exchequer, the chapelship of St. Stephen's at Westminster, &c. This chapel was again since, of a far more curious workmanship, new built by King Edward III. in the year 1347, for thirty-eight persons in that church to serve God; to wit, a dean, twelve secular canons, thirteen vicars, four clerks, five choristers, two servitors, to wit, a verger and a keeper of the chapel. He built for those from the house of Receipt, along nigh to the Thames, within the same palace, there to inhabit; and since that there was also built for them, betwixt the clock-house and the wool staple, called the Wey house. He also built to the use of this chapel (though out of the palace court), some distance west, in the little sanctuary, a strong clochard of stone and timber, covered with lead, and placed therein three great bells, since usually rung at coronations, triumphs, funeral of princes, and their obits. Of those bells men fabuled that their ringing soured all the drink in the town: more, that about the biggest bell was written,—

"King Edward made me,
Thirty thousand and three;
Take me downe and wey me,
And more shall ye find me."

But these bells being taken down indeed, were found all three not to weigh twenty thousand. True it is, that in the city of Rouen, in Normandie, there is one great bell, that hath such inscription as followeth:—

"Je suis George de Ambois,
Qui trente cinq mil a pois,
Mes lui qui me pesera,
Trente six mil me trouera.

"I am George of Ambois,
Thirty-five thousand in pois;
But he that shall weigh me,
Thirty-six thousand shall find me."

The said King Edward endowed this chapel with lands to the yearly value of five hundred pounds. Doctor John Chambers, the king's physician, the last dean of this college, built thereunto a cloister of curious workmanship, to the charges of eleven thousand marks. This chapel, or college, at the suppression, was valued to dispend in lands by the year one thousand and eighty-five pounds ten shillings and five-pence, and was surrendered to Edward VI.; since the which time the same chapel hath served as a parliament house.

By this chapel of St. Stephen was sometime one other smaller chapel, called our Lady of the Pew, to the which lady great offerings were used to be made: amongst other things, I have read, that Richard II., after the overthrow of Wat Tyler and other his rebels, in the 4th of his reign, went to Westminster, and there giving thanks to God for his victory, made his offering in this chapel; but as divers have noted, namely, John Piggot, in the year 1252, on the 17th of February, by negligence of a scholar appointed by his schoolmaster to put forth the lights of this chapel, the image of our lady, richly decked with jewels, precious stones,

nature of this title of honour, respecting which a variety of conflicting opinions exist.

* The name of this court, whose powers were so greatly abused as to have led to its abolition, has been derived from many sources, which are duly recorded by Blackstone in his Commentaries (b. iv. c. 19. p. 266. ed. 1778). That learned Jurisconsult, however, with great show of probability, derives it from the *starræ*, or *starræ* (the contracts and obligations of the Jews). These *starræ*, by an ordinance of Richard I., were commanded to be enrolled and deposited in chests, under three keys, in certain places; one and the most considerable of which was in the king's Exchequer at Westminster; and no *starræ* was allowed to be valid unless it were found in some of the said repositories. This room was probably called the *starræ* chamber, and when the Jews were expelled the kingdom, was applied to the use of the king's council sitting in their judicial capacity.

† The Court of Wards and Liveries, which had been instituted by 32 Henry VIII., c. 46, was abolished at the restoration of Charles II., together with the oppressive tenures upon which it was founded.

pearls, and rings, more than any jeweller could judge the price for, so saith mine author, was, with all this apparel, ornaments, and chapel itself, burnt; but since again re-edified by Anthonie, Earl Rivers, Lord Scales, and of the Isle of Wight, uncle and governor to the Prince of Wales, that should have been King Edward V., &c.

The said palace, before the entry thereunto, hath a large court, and in the same a tower of stone, containing a clock, which striketh every hour on a great bell, to be heard into the hall in sitting time of the courts, or otherwise; for the same clock, in a calm, will be heard in o the city of London. King Henry VI. gave the keeping of this clock, with the tower called the clock-house*, and the appurtenances, unto William Walsby, dean of St. Stephen's, with the wages of six-pence the day out of his Exchequer. By this tower standeth a fountain, which at coronations and great triumphs is made to run with wine out of divers spouts.

On the east side of this court is an arched gate to the river of Thames, with a fair bridge and landing-place for all men that have occasion. On the north side is the south end of St. Stephen's alley, or Canon row, and also a way into the old wool staple; and on the west side is a very fair gate, begun by Richard III. in the year 1484, and was by him built a great height, and many fair lodgings in it, but left unfinished, and is called the high tower at Westminster. Thus much for the monastery and palace may suffice. And now will I speak of the gate-house, and of Totehill street, stretching from the west part of the close.

The gate-house is so called of two gates, the one out of the College court towards the north, on the east side whereof was the bishop of London's prison for clerks' convict; and the other gate, adjoining to the first, but towards the west, is a gaol or prison for offenders thither committed. Walter Warfield, cellarer to the monastery, caused both these gates, with the appurtenances, to be built in the reign of Edward III.

On the south side of this gate, King Henry VII. founded an alms-house for thirteen poor men; one of them to be a priest, aged forty-five years, a good grammarian, the other twelve to be aged fifty years, without wives: every Saturday the priest to receive of the abbot, or prior, four-pence by the day, and each other two-pence halfpenny by the day for ever, for their sustenance, and every year to each one a gown and a hood ready made; and to three women that dressed their meat, and kept them in their sickness, each to have every Saturday sixteen

pence, and every year a gown ready made. More, to the thirteen poor men yearly eighty quarters of coal and one thousand of good faggots to their use, in the hall and kitchen of their mansion; a discreet monk to be overseer of them, and he to have forty shillings by the year, &c.; and hereunto was every abbot and prior sworn.

Near unto this house westward was an old chapel of St. Anne; over against the which the Lady Margaret, mother to King Henry VII., erected an alms-house for poor women, which is now turned into lodgings for the singing men of the college. The place wherein this chapel and alms-house standeth was called the Eleemosinary, or Almonry, now corruptly the Ambry*, for that the alms of the abbey were there distributed to the poor. And therein Islip, abbot of Westminster, erected the first press of book printing that ever was in England, about the year of Christ 1471. William Caxton, citizen of London, mercer, brought it into England, and was the first that practised it in the said abbey; after which time, the like was practised in the abbeys of St. Augustine at Canterbury, St. Alban's, and other monasteries.

From the west gate runneth along Totehill street, wherein is a house of the Lord Gray of Wilton; and on the other side, at the entry into Totehill field, Stourton house, which Gyles, the last Lord Dacre of the south, purchased and built new, whose lady and wife Anne, sister to Thomas, the Lord Buckhurst, left money to her executors to build an hospital for twenty poor women, and so many children, to be brought up under them, for whose maintenance she assigned lands to the value of one hundred pounds by the year, which hospital her executors have new begun in the field adjoining. From the entry into Totehill field the street is called Petty France, in which, and upon St. Hermit's hill, on the south side thereof, Cornelius Van Dun (a Brabander born, yeoman of the guard to King Henry VIII., King Edward VI., Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth,) built twenty houses for poor women to dwell rent-free: and near hereunto was a chapel of Mary Magdalen, now wholly ruined.

In the year of Christ 1256, the 40th of Henry III., John Mansell, the king's councillor and priest, did invite to a stately dinner the kings and queens of England and Scotland, Edward the king's son, earls, barons, and knights, the Bishop of London, and divers citizens, whereby his guests did grow to such a number, that his house at Totehill could not receive them, but that he was forced to set up tents and pavilions to receive his guests, whereof there was such a multitude that seven hundred messes of meat did not serve for the first dinner.

The city of Westminster for civil government is divided into twelve several wards; for the which the dean of the collegiate church of Westminster, or the high-steward, do elect twelve burgesses, and as many assistants; that is, one Burgess, and one assistant, for every ward; out of the which twelve burgesses two are nominated yearly, upon Thursday in Easter week, for chief burgesses to continue for

* The origin of this building is thus related in the Collection of *Anecdotes and Traditions* published by the Camden Society:—

"Justice Ingham, in the reign of Edward I., paid eight hundred marks for a fine, for that a poor man being fined in an action of debt at thirteen shillings and fourpence, the said justice being moved with pity, caused the roll to be razed, and made it six shillings and eightpence. This case Justice Southcote remembered, when Catlyn, chief justice of the King's Bench, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, would have ordered a rasure of a roll in the like case, which Southcote utterly denied to assent unto, and said openly that he meant not to build a clock-house; 'for,' said he, 'with the fine that Ingham paid for the like matter, the clock-house at Westminster was builded and furnished with a clock, which continueth to this day.'"

* The corruption alluded to by Stow exists to the present day—the Almonry being styled by the lower classes in Westminster, the Ambry. The house said to have been Caxton's is also we believe still remaining, though in a state of great dilapidation.

one year next following, who have authority given them by the act of parliament, 27th Elizabeth, to hear, examine, determine, and punish, according to the laws of the realm, and lawful customs of the city of London, matters of incontinency, common scolds, inmates, and common annoyances; and likewise to commit such persons as shall offend against the peace, and thereof to give knowledge within four-and-twenty hours to some justice of peace, in the county of Middlesex.

GOVERNORS OF THE CITY OF LONDON; AND FIRST OF ECCLESIASTICAL BISHOPS, AND OTHER MINISTERS, THERE.

HAVING thus run through the description of these cities of London and Westminster, as well in their original foundations, as in their increases of buildings and ornaments, together with such incidents of sundry sorts as are before, both generally and particularly discoursed, it remaineth that somewhat be noted by me touching the policy and government, both ecclesiastical and civil, of London, as I have already done for Westminster, the order whereof is appointed by the late statute, even as that of London is maintained by the customs thereof, most laudably used before all the time of memory.

And first, to begin with the ecclesiastical jurisdiction: I read that the Christian faith was first preached in this island (then called Britaine) by Joseph of Arimathea*, and his brethren, disciples of Christ, in the time of Aruiragus, then governor here under the Roman emperor; after which time, Lucius, king of the Britaines, sent his ambassadors, Elnanus and Meduvanus, two men learned in the Scriptures, with letters to Eleutherius†, bishop of Rome, desiring him to send some devout and learned men, by whose instruction he and his people might be taught the faith and religion of Christ. Eleutherius baptized those messengers, making Elnanus a bishop, and Meduvius a teacher, and sent over with them into Britain two other famous clerks, Faganus and Deruvianus, by whose diligence Lucius, and his people of Britaine, were instructed in the faith of Christ, and baptized, the temples of idols were converted into cathedral churches, and bishops were placed where Flamines before had been; at London, Yorke, and Carleon upon Uske, were placed archbishops, saith some. The epistle said to be sent by Eleutherius to king Lucius, for the establishing of the faith, ye may read in my Annals, Summaries, and Chronicles, truly translated and set down as mine author hath it, for some have curtailed and corrupted it, and then fathered it upon reverend Bede, who never wrote word thereof, or otherwise to that effect, more than this as followeth‡.

* Joseph of Arimathea has been most extensively regarded as the British apostle. But the Rev. H. Soames, in his interesting *History of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, after showing that there are presumptions of some weight in favour of St. Paul himself having been the evangelist of Britain, concludes, "that a native of this island may fairly consider the great apostle of the Gentiles as not improbably the founder of his national church;" while the late Bishop of St. David's considered the facts "indisputable."

† "Eleutherius died in the year 186, when he had sitten bishop 15 yeares."—*Stow*.

‡ Beda's statement is contained in the fourth chapter of

In the year 156, Marcus Aurelius Verus, the fourteenth emperor after Augustus, governed the empire with his brother Aurelius Commodus; in whose time, Glutherius, a holy man, being pope of the church of Rome, Lucius, king of Britaines, wrote unto him, desiring that by his commandment he might be made Christian; which his request was granted him; whereby the Britaines receiving then the faith, kept it sound and undefiled in rest and peace until Dioclesian the emperor's time. Thus far Bede, which may suffice to prove the Christian faith there to be received here. And now of the London bishops as I find them.

There remaineth in the parish church of St. Peter upon Cornhill in London a table, wherein is written, that Lucius founded the same church to be an archbishop's see, and metropolitan or chief church of his kingdom, and that it so endured the space of four hundred years, until the coming of Augustine the monk, and others, from Rome, in the reign of the Saxons. The archbishops' names I find only to be set down by Joceline of Furnes, in his book of British bishops, and not elsewhere. Thean (saith he) was the first archbishop of London, in the time of Lucius, who built the said church of St. Peter, in a place called Cornhill in London, by the aid of Ciran, chief butler to King Lucius.

2. Elnanus was the second, and he built a library to the same church adjoining, and converted many of the Druids (learned men in the Pagan law) to the Christian faith.

3. Cadar was the third; then followed,

4. Obinus.

5. Conan.

6. Paludius.

7. Stephen.

8. Iltute.

9. Dedwin.

10. Thedred.

11. Hiliary.

12. Guidelium.

13. Vodiumus, slain by the Saxons.

14. Theanus, the fourteenth, fled with the Britaines into Wales, about the year of Christ 587.

Thus much out of Joceline of the archbishops; the credit whereof I leave to the judgment of the learned; for I read of a bishop of London (not before named) in the year of Christ 326*, to be

the first book of his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, vide p. 16. of the edition published by the English Historical Society, under the editorship of Mr. Stevenson, whose note upon this point is as follows:—"The date of this event is by no means clear, nor is Beda's chronology without difficulty. The reader may consult Usher's *Primord.* cap. iii. and iv., for the different statements which have been made upon the subject."

* This should be A.D. 314. See Soames' *Anglo-Saxon Church*, p. 10, where we read:—"The care universally marking primitive Christianity, to provide a bishop for every church, necessarily connects the stream of British prelacy with apostolic times. National confusions, by destroying evidence, have, indeed, prevented modern Britain from ascertaining the earliest links in the chain of her episcopal succession. But it is satisfactory to know, that her prelates presented themselves upon the first occasion likely to furnish an authentic record of their appearance. Constantine, desirous of terminating the Donatistic schism, convened a council at Arles. The signatures of three British bishops are appended to the canons there enacted." These were,

present at the second council, holden at Arles, in the time of Constantine the Great, who subscribed thereunto in these words: *Ex provincia Britanica Civitate Londiniensi Restitutus Episcopus*, a s plainly appeareth in the first tome of the councils, he writeth not himself archbishop, and therefore maketh the matter of archbishops doubtful, or rather, overthroweth that opinion.

The Saxons being pagans, having chased the Britons, with the Christian preachers, into the mountains of Wales and Cornewall; and having divided this kingdom of the Britons amongst themselves, at the length, to wit, in the year 596, Pope Gregory, moved of a godly instinct, (sayeth Bede), in the 147th year after the arrival of the Angles or Saxons in Britaine, sent Augustine, Miletus, Justus, and John, with other monks, to preach the Gospel to the said nation of the Angles: these landed in the isle of Thanet, and were first received by Ethelbert, king of Kent, whom they converted to the faith of Christ, with divers other of his people, in the 34th year of his reign, which Ethelbert gave unto Augustine the city of Canterbury.

This Augustine, in the year of Christ 604, consecrated Melitus and Justus bishops, appointing Miletus to preach unto the East Saxons, whose chief city was London; and there King Sebert, nephew to Ethelbert, by preaching of Melitus, received the Word of Life: and then Ethelbert king of Kent, built in the city of London St. Paul's church, wherein Melitus began to be bishop in the year 619, and sat five years. Ethelbert, by his charter, gave lands to this church of St. Paul, so did other kings after him. King Sebert, through the good life, and like preaching of Melitus, having received baptism, to show himself a Christian, built a church to the honour of God and St. Peter, on the west side of London, which church is called Westminster; but the successors of Sebert being pagans, expelled Melitus out of their kingdoms.

Justus, the second bishop for a time, and then Melitus again; after whose decease the seat was void for a time. At length Sigebert, son to Sigebert, brother to Sebert, ruled in Essex; he became a Christian, and took to him a holy man named Cedde, or Chadde, who won many by preaching, and good life, to the Christian religion.

Cedde, or Chad, was by Finan consecrated bishop of the East Saxons, and he ordered priests and deacons in all the parts of Essex, but especially at Ithancaster* and Tilberie.

This city of Ithancaster (saith Raph Cogshall) stood on the bank of the river Pante, that runneth by Maldun, in the hundred of Danesey, but now is drowned in Pante, so that nothing remaineth but the ruin of the city in the river Tilberie (both the west and east) standeth on the Thames side, nigh over against Gravesend.

Wina, expelled from the church of Winchester by Cenewalche the king, was adopted to be the fourth bishop of London, in the reign of Wulferus king of Mercia, and sat nine years.

Eborius, bishop of York—Restitutus, bishop of London—and Adelfius, bishop *de civitate Colonia Londiniensium*, by which Colchester is supposed to be meant.

* According to Camden, near Maldon, Essex. According to Somner, a castle sometime standing about St. Peter's in the Wall, in Dengy hundred, Essex.

Erkenwalde, born in the castle or town of Stallingborough in Lindsey, first abbot of Crotesey, was by Theodore archbishop of Canterbury appointed to be bishop of the East Saxons, in the city of London. This Erkenwalde, in the year of Christ 677, before he was made bishop, had built two monasteries, one for himself, being a monk, in the isle of Crote in Surrey, by the river of Thames, and another for his sister Edilburge, being a nun, in a certain place called Berching in Essex; he deceased at Berching in the year 697, and was then buried in Paul's church, and translated into the new church of St. Paul in the year 1148.

Waldhere was bishop of London. Sebba king of the East Saxons at his hands received the habit of monk, for at that time there were monks in Paul's church, as writeth Radulphus de Diceto, and others. To this bishop he brought a great sum of money, to be bestowed and given to the poor, reserving nothing to himself, but rather desired to remain poor in goods as in spirit, for the kingdom of heaven. When he had reigned thirty years he deceased at Paul's, and was there buried, and lieth now in a coffin of stone, on the north side of the aisle next the choir.

Ingwaldus bishop of London was at the consecration of Tatwine archbishop of Canterbury; he confirmed the foundation of Crowland in the year 716, saith Ingulfus, and deceased in the year 744, as saith Hoveden.

746. Engulfus bishop of London.

754. Wichet, or Wigerus, bishop of London.

761. Eaderightus, or Edbrithie, bishop of London.

768. Eadgain, or Eadgarus, bishop of London.

773. Kenewalthe bishop of London.

784. Eadbalus bishop of London.

795. Heatbright bishop of London, deceased 802, saith Hoveden.

813. Osmond bishop of London; he was witness to a charter made to Crowland in the year 833, saith Ingulphus.

835. Ethelmothe bishop of London.

838. Elbertus, or Celbertus, bishop of London.

841. Caulfe bishop of London.

850. Swithulfus bishop of London; he likewise was witness to a charter of Crowland 851.

860. Edstanus bishop of London; witness to a charter to Crowland 860.

870. Ulsius bishop of London.

878. Ethelwardus bishop of London.

886. Elstanus bishop of London, died in the year 900, saith Asser; and all these, saith the author of *Flores Historiarum*, were buried in the old church of St. Paul, but there remaineth now no memory of them.

900. Theodricus bishop of London; this man confirmed King Edred's charter made to Winchester in the year 947, whereby it seemeth that he was bishop of London of a later time than is here placed.

922. Welstanus bishop of London.

941. Brithelme bishop of London.

958. Dunstanus, abbot of Glastonberie, then bishop of Worcester, and then bishop of London; he was afterwards translated to Canterbury 960.

960. Ealfstanus bishop of London; the 28th in number.

981. Edgare bishop of London; he confirmed

the grants made to Winchester and to Crowland 966, and again to Crowland 970, the charter of Ethelred, concerning Ulfrunhampton, 996.

1004. Elphinius bishop of London.

1010. Alwinus bishop of London ; he was sent into Normandy in the year 1013, saith Asser.

1044. Robert, a monk of Gemerisins in Normandy, bishop of London seven years, afterwards translated from London to Canterbury.

1050. Speegasius, elected, but rejected by the king.

1051. William, a Norman chaplain to Edward the Confessor, was made bishop of London 1051, sate 17 years, and deceased 1070. He obtained of William the Conqueror the charter of liberties for the city of London, as I have set down in my Summary, and appeareth by his epitaph in Paul's church.

1070. Hugh de Orwell bishop of London ; he died of a leprosy when he had sitten fifteen years.

1085. Maurice bishop of London ; in whose time, to wit, in the year 1086, the church of St. Paul was burnt, with the most part of this city ; and therefore he laid the foundation of a new large church ; and having sat twenty-two years he deceased 1107, saith Paris.

1108. Richard Beame, or Beamor, bishop of London, did wonderfully increase the work of this church begun, purchasing the streets and lanes adjoining with his own money ; and he founded the monastery of St. Osyth in Essex. He sat bishop nineteen years, and deceased 1127.

1127. Gilbertus Universalis, a canon of Lyons, elected by Henry I. ; he deceased 1141, when he had sat fourteen years.

1142. Robert de Segillo, a monk of Reading, whom Mawde the empress made bishop of London, where he sat eleven years. Geoffrey de Magnavile took him prisoner at Fulham, and he deceased 1152.

1153. Richard Beames, archdeacon of Essex, bishop of London ten years, who deceased 1162.

1163. Gilbert Foliot, bishop of Hereford, from whence translated to London, sat twenty-three years, and deceased 1186.

1189. Richard Fitz Nele, the king's treasurer, archdeacon of Essex, elected bishop of London at Pipwel, 1189. He sate nine years, and deceased 1198. This man also took great pains about the building of Paul's church, and raised many other goodly buildings in his diocese.

1199. William S. Mary Church, a Norman, bishop of London, who was one of the three bishops that, by the pope's commandment, executed his interdiction, or curse, upon the whole realm of England ; but he was forced, with the other bishops, to flee the realm in 1208 ; and his castle at Stratford in Essex was by commandment of King John overthrown, 1210. This William, in company of the archbishop of Canterbury, and of the bishop of Elie, went to Rome, and there complained against the king, 1212, and returned, so as in the year 1215 King John, in the church of St. Paul, at the hands of this William, took upon him the cross for the Holy Land. He resigned his bishoprick of his own voluntary in the year 1221, saith Cogshall.

1221. Eustachius de Fauconbridge, treasurer of the exchequer (saith Paris), chancellor of the exchequer (saith Textor and Cogshall), bishop of

London, 1223, whilst at Chelmesforde he was giving holy orders, a great tempest of wind and rain annoyed so many as came thither, whereof it was gathered how highly God was displeased with such as came to receive orders, to the end that they might live a more easy life of the stipend appointed to the churchmen, giving themselves to banquetting ; and so with unclean and filthy bodies (but more unclean souls) presume to minister unto God, the author of purity and cleanness. Falcatus de Brent was delivered to his custody in the year 1224. This Eustachius deceased in the year 1228, and was buried in Paul's church, in the south side, without, or above, the choir.

1229. Roger Niger, archdeacon of Colchester, made bishop of London. In the year 1230 (saith Paris), upon the feast day of the Conversion of St. Paul, when he was at mass in the cathedral church of St. Paul, a great multitude of people being there present, suddenly the weather waxed dark, so as one could scanty see another, and a horrible thunder-clap lighted on the church, which so shook it, that it was like to have fallen, and therewithal out of a dark cloud proceeded a flash of lightning, that all the church seemed to be on fire, whereupon such a stench ensued, that all men thought they should have died ; thousands of men and women ran out of the church, and being astounded, fell upon the ground void of all sense and understanding ; none of all the multitude tarried in the church save the bishop and one deacon, which stood still before the high altar, awaiting the will of God. When the air was cleansed, the multitude returned into the church, and the bishop ended the service.

This Roger Niger is commended to have been a man of worthy life, excellently well-learned, a notable preacher, pleasant in talk, mild of countenance, and liberal at his table. He admonished the usurers of his time to leave such enormities as they tendered the salvation of their souls, and to do penance for that they had committed. But when he saw they laughed him to scorn, and also threatened him, the bishop generally excommunicated and accursed all such, and commanded straitly that such usurers should depart farther from the city of London, which hither towards had been ignorant of such mischief and wickedness, least his diocese should be infected therewithal. He fell sick and died at his manor of Bishops hall, in the lordship and parish of Stebunheth, in the year 1241, and was buried in Paul's church, on the north side of the presbytery, in a fair tomb, coped, of grey marble.

1241. Fulco Basset, dean of Yorke, by the death of Gilbert Basset, possessed his lands, and was then made bishop of London, deceased on the 21st of May, in the year 1259, as saith John Textor, and was buried in Paul's church.

1259. Henry Wingham, chancellor of England, made bishop of London, deceased in the year 1262, saith Textor, and was buried in Paul's church, on the south side, without or above the choir, in a marble monument, close at the head of Fauconbridge.

1262. Richard Talbot, bishop of London, straightways after his consecration deceased, saith Eversden.

1262. Henry Sandwich, bishop of London, de-

ceased in the year 1273, as the same author affirmeth.

1273. John Cheshul, dean of Paul's, treasurer of the Exchequer, and keeper of the great seal, was bishop of London, and deceased in the year 1279, saith Eversden.

1280. Fulco Lovel, archdeacon of Colchester, elected bishop of London, but refused that place.

1280. Richard Gravesend, archdeacon of Northampton, bishop of London. It appeareth by the charter-warren granted to this bishop, that in his time there were two woods in the parish of Stebunhith pertaining to the said bishop. I have since I kept house for myself known the one of them by Bishops hall; but now they are both made plain of wood, and not to be discerned from other grounds. Some have fabuled that this Richard Gravesend, bishop of London, in the year 1392, the 16th of Richard II., purchased the charter of liberties to this city; which thing hath no possibility of truth, as I have proved, for he deceased in the year 1303, almost ninety years before that time.

1307. Raph Baldocke, dean of Paul's, bishop of London, consecrated at Lyons by Peter, bishop of Alba, in the year 1307; he was a great furtherer of the new work of Paul's; to wit, the east end, called our Lady chapel, and other adjoining. This Raph deceased in the year 1313, and was buried in the said Lady chapel, under a flat stone.

1313. Gilbert Segrave was consecrated bishop of London, and sat three years.

1317. Richard Newport, bishop of London, sat two years, and was buried in Paul's church.

1318. Stephen Gravesend, bishop of London, sat twenty years.

1338. Richard Wentworth, bishop of London, and chancellor of England, and deceased the year 1339.

1339. Raph Stratford, bishop of London; he purchased the piece of ground called No Man's land, beside Smithfield, and dedicated it to the use of burial, as before hath appeared. He was born at Stratford upon Avon, and therefore built a chapel to St. Thomas there: he sat fourteen years, deceased at Stebunhith.

1354. Michael Norbroke, bishop of London, deceased in the year 1361, saith Mirimouth, sat seven years.

1362. Simon Sudbery, bishop of London, sat thirteen years, translated to be archbishop of Canterbury in the year 1375.

1375. William Courtney, translated from Hereford to the bishoprick of London, and after translated from thence to the archbishoprick of Canterbury in the year 1381.

1381. Robert Breybrook, canon of Lichfield, bishop of London, made chancellor in the 6th of Richard II., sat bishop twenty years, and deceased in the year 1404: he was buried in the said Lady chapel at Paul's.

1405. Roger Walden, treasurer of the exchequer, archbishop of Canterbury, was deposed, and after made bishop of London; he deceased in the year 1406, and was buried * in Paul's church, All-hallows altar.

1406. Richard Bubwith, bishop of London, treasurer of the exchequer, translated to Salisbury, and from thence to Bathe, and lieth buried at Wels.

1407. Richard Clifford, removed from Worcester to London, deceased 1422, as saith Thomas Walsingham, and was buried in Paul's.

1422. John Kempe, fellow of Martin college in Oxford, was made bishop of Rochester, from whence removed to Chichester, and thence to London; he was made the king's chancellor in the year 1425, the 4th of Henry VI., and was removed from London to York in the year 1426: he sat archbishop there twenty-five years, and was translated to Canterbury; he was afterwards made cardinal in the year 1452. In the bishop of London's house at Fulham he received the cross, and the next day the pall, at the hands of Thomas Kempe, bishop of London. He deceased in the year 1454.

1426. William Gray, dean of York, consecrated bishop of London, who founded a college at Thele in Hartfordshire, for a master and four canons, and made it a cell to Elsing spittle in London; it had of old time been a college, decayed, and therefore newly-founded. He was translated to Lincoln 1431.

1431. Robert Fitzhugh, archdeacon of Northampton, consecrated bishop of London, sat five years, deceased 1435, and was buried on the south side of the choir of Paul's.

1435. Robert Gilbert, doctor of divinity, dean of York, consecrated bishop of London, sat twelve years, deceased 1448.

1449. Thomas Kempe, archdeacon of Richmond, consecrated bishop of London at York house (now Whitehall), by the hands of his uncle John Kemp, archbishop of York, the 8th of February, 1449; he founded a chapel of the Trinity in the body of St. Paul's church, on the north side; he sat bishop of London thirty-nine years and forty-eight days, and then deceased in the year 1489, was there buried.

1489. John Marshal, bishop of London, deceased in the year 1493.

1493. Richard Hall, bishop of London, deceased 1495, and was buried in the body of St. Paul's church.

1496. Thomas Savage, first bishop of Rochester, then bishop of London five years, was translated to York 1501, where he sat archbishop seven years, and was there buried in the year 1507.

1502. William Warrham, bishop of London, made keeper of the great seal, sat two years, was translated to Canterbury.

1504. William Barons, bishop of London, sat ten months and eleven days, deceased in the year 1505.

1505. Richard Fitz James, fellow of Merton college in Oxford, in the reign of Henry VI., was made bishop of Rochester, after bishop of Chichester, then bishop of London; he deceased 1521, and lieth buried hard beneath the north-west pillar of the steeple in St. Paul's, under a fair tomb of marble, over the which was built a fair chapel of timber, with stairs mounting thereunto: this chapel was burned with fire from the steeple 1561, and the tomb was taken down.

1521. Cuthbert Tunstal, doctor of law, master of the rolls, lord privy seal, and bishop of London, was thence translated to the bishopric of Durham in the year 1529.

* "At Bartholomew's priory in Smithfield."—1st edition, p. 304.

1529. John Stokeley, bishop of London, sat thirteen years, deceased in the year 1539, and was buried in the Lady chapel in Paul's.

1539. Edmond Boner, doctor of the civil law, archdeacon of Leycester, then bishop of Hereford, was elected to London in the year 1539, whilst he was beyond the seas, ambassador to King Henry VIII. On the 1st of September, 1549, he preached at Paul's cross; for the which sermon he was charged before the council of King Edward VI., by William Latimer, parson of St. Lawrence Poltney, and John Hooper, sometime a white monk, and being convented before certain commissioners at Lambeth, was for his disobedience to the king's order, on the 20th day of the same month sent to the Marshalsey, and deprived from his bishopric.

1550. Nicholas Ridley, bishop of Rochester, elected bishop of London, was installed in Paul's church on the 12th of April. This man by his deed, dated the twelfth day after Christmas, in the 4th year of Edward VI., gave to the king the manors of Branketrie and Southminster, and the patronage of the church of Cogshall in Essex, the manors of Stebunheth and Hackney, in the county of Middlesex, and the marsh of Stebunheth, with all and singular messuages, lands, and tenements, to the said manors belonging, and also the advowson of the vicarage of the parish-church of Cogshall in Essex aforesaid; which grant was confirmed by the dean and chapter of Paul's, the same day and year, with exception of such lands in Southminster, Stebunheth, and Hackney, as only pertained to them. The said King Edward, by his letters patents, dated the 16th of April, in the said 4th year of his reign, granted to Sir Thomas Wentworth, Lord Wentworth, lord chamberlain of the king's household, for, and in consideration of his good and faithful service before done, a part of the late received gift, to wit, the lordships of Stebunheth and Hackney, with all the members and appurtenances thereunto belonging, in Stebunheth, Hackney way, Shorditch, Holiwell street, Whitechappell, Stratford at Bow, Poplar, North street, Limehouse, Radcliffe, Cleve street, Brock street, Mile end, Bleten hall green, Oldford, Westeth, Kingsland, Shakelwell, Newinton street *alias* Hackney street, Clopton, Church street, Wel street, Humbarton, Grove street, Gunston street, *alias* More street, in the county of Middlesex, together with the marsh of Stebunhith, &c. The manor of Hackney was valued at sixty-one pounds nine shillings and fourpence, and the manor Stebunhith at one hundred and forty pounds eight shillings and eleven pence, by year, to be holden in chief, by the service of the twentieth part of a knight's fee. This bishop, Nicholas Ridley, for preaching a sermon at Paul's cross, on the 16th of July, in the year 1553, was committed to the Tower of London, where he remained prisoner till the 10th of April, 1554, and was thence sent to Oxford, there to dispute with the divines and learned men of the contrary opinion; and on the 16th of October, 1555, he was burned at Oxford for opinions against the Romish order of sacraments, &c.

1553. Edmond Boner aforesaid, being released out of the Marshalsey, was restored to the bishoprick of London, by Queen Mary, on the 5th of August, in the year 1553, and again deposed by Queen Elizabeth, in the month of July 1559, and

was eftsoones committed to the Marshalsey, where he died on the 5th of September, 1569, and was at midnight buried amongst other prisoners in St. George's churchyard.

1559. Edmond Grindal, bishop of London, being consecrated the 21st of December, 1559, was translated to York in the year 1570, and from thence removed to Canterbury in the year 1575. He died blind 1583 on the 6th of July, and was buried at Croydowne in Surrey.

1570. Edwin Stande, being translated from Worcester to the bishoprick of London, in the year 1570, was thence translated to Yorke in the year 1576, and died in the year 1588.

1576. John Elmere, bishop of London, deceased in the year 1594, on the 3d of June at Fulham, and was buried in Paul's church, before St. Thomas chapel.

1594. Richard Fletcher, bishop of Worcester, was on the 30th of December in Paul's church elected bishop of London, and deceased on the 15th of June, 1596; he was buried in Paul's church without any solenn funeral.

1597. Richard Bancroft, doctor of divinity, consecrated at Lambeth on Sunday, the 8th of May, now sitteth bishop of London, in the year 1598 being installed there.

This much for the succession of the bishops of London, whose diocese containeth the city of London, the whole shires of Middlesex and Essex and part of Hartfordshire. These bishops have for assistants in the cathedral church of St. Paul, a dean, a chaunter, a chancellor, a treasurer, five archdeacons—to wit, London, Middlesex, Essex, Colchester, and St. Alban's, and thirty prebendaries; there appertaineth also to the said churches for furniture of the choir in Divine service, and ministration of the sacraments, a college of twelve petty canons, six vicars choral, and choristers, &c.

This diocese is divided into parishes, every parish having its parson, or vicar at the least, learned men for the most part, and sufficient preachers, to instruct the people. There were in this city, and within the suburbs thereof, in the reign of Henry II. (as writeth Fitz Stephens), thirteen great conventual churches, besides the lesser sort called parish churches, to the number of one hundred and twenty-six, all which conventual churches, and some others since that time founded, are now suppressed and gone, except the cathedral church of St. Paul in London, and the college of St. Peter at Westminster; of all which parish churches, though I have spoken, yet for more ease to the reader I will here again set them down in manner of a table, not by order of alphabet, but as they be placed in the wards and suburbs.

PARISH CHURCHES.

In Portsoken ward. parish churches, three.

The hospital of St. Katherine serveth for that liberty.

Trinity, in the Minories, for precinct thereof.

St. Bottolph, by Aldegate, the only parish-church for that ward.

2. In Tower street ward, four.

In the Tower, St. Peter, for the inhabitants there. Alhallowes Barking, by the Tower.

St. Olave, in Hart street.

St. Dunstone in the East.

3. In Aldgate ward, three.

St. Katheren Christ's church.

St. Andrewes Undershafte.

St. Katheren Colman church.

4. In Lime street ward none. There was St. Mary at the Axe, and St. Augustine in the Wall, both suppressed and united, the one to Alhallowes in the Wall in Brode street ward, the other to St. Andrewe Undershaft in Lime street ward.

5. In Bishopsgate ward, three.

St. Bottolphes, without Bishopsgate.

St. Ethelburge, within the gate.

St. Helens', adjoining the nuns' priory.

6. In Brode street ward, six.

Alhallowes by the Wall.

St. Peter's the Poor.

St. Martin's Oteswitche.

St. Benet Fynke.

St. Bartilmew, by the Exchange.

St. Christopher, by the Stocks' market.

7. In Cornhill ward, two.

St. Peter, upon Cornhill.

St. Michael, upon Cornhill.

8. In Langborne ward, seven.

St. Gabriel Fenchurch.

St. Dyones Backehurch.

Alhallowes, in Lombard street.

St. Edmond, in Lombard street.

Alhallowes Staning, at Mart lane end.

St. Nicholas Acon, in Lombard street.

St. Mary Wolnoth, in Lombard street.

9. In Billingsgate ward, five.

St. Buttolph, by Billingsgate.

St. Mary, on the hill.

St. Margaret Pattens.

St. Andrew Hubert, in Eastcheape.

St. George, in Buttolph lane.

10. In Bridge ward within, four.

St. Magnus, at the bridge foot.

St. Margaret, Bridge street.

St. Leonard Milkchurch, Fish street hill.

St. Benet Grasse church.

11. In Candlewike street ward, five.

St. Clement's, Eastcheape.

St. Mary Abchurch.

St. Michael, in Crooked lane, sometime a college.

St. Martin's Orgars.

St. Laurence Pountney, sometime a college.

12. In Walbrooke ward, five.

St. Swithen, by London stone.

St. Mary Woolchurch.

St. Stephen, by Walbrooke.

St. John, upon Walbrooke.

St. Mary Bothaw.

13. In Downegate ward, two.

Alhallowes, Hay wharf, in the Roperie.

Alhallowes the Less, in the Roperie.

14. In the Vintry ward, four.

St. Michael Paternoster, in the Royall, sometime a college.

St. Thomas Apostles.

St. Martin, in the Vintrie.

St. James, in Garlicke lith.

15. In Cordwainer street ward, three.

St. Anthonies, in Budge row.

Alde Mary church, new Mary church, or Mary le Bow.

16. In Cheap ward, seven, and a chapel.

St. Benet Sorhoge, or Syth.

St. Pancrate, by Sopar's lane.

St. Mildred, in the Poultry.

St. Mary Colchurh.

St. Martin's Pomerie, in Ironmonger lane.

Alhallowes, Honie lane.

St. Laurence, in the Jury.

The Chapel in Guildhall, sometime a college.

17. In Coleman street ward, three.

St. Olave Upwell, in the Old Jurie.

St. Margaret, in Lothburie.

St. Stephen, in Coleman street.

18. In Bassings hall ward, one.

St. Michael, at Bassings hall.

19. In Cripplegate ward, six.

St. Mary Aldermanburie.

St. Alphage, sometime an hospital of Elsing.

St. Mary Magdalen, in Milk street.

St. Albon's, in Wood street.

St. Michael, in Hugen lane.

St. Giles, without Cripplegate.

20. In Aldersgate ward, six.

St. John Zachary.

St. Mary Staning.

St. Olave, in Silver street.

St. Leonard, in Foster lane.

St. Anne, by Aldersgate.

St. Buttolph, without Aldgate.

21. In Faringdon ward within, the cathedral church of St. Paule, and parish churches nine.

St. Peter's, at the Cross in Cheape.

St. Fauster, in Fauster lane.

Christ church, made a parish church of the Gray Friers church, and of two parish churches, St. Nicholas and St. Ewin, and also an hospital for poor children.

St. Mathew, in Fryday street.

St. Augustine, by Paules gate.

St. Faith, under Paules church.

St. Martin's, at Ludgate.

St. Anne, at the Blacke Friers.

St. Michael at Corne, by Paules.

Chapel of St. James, by Cripplesgate.

22. In Bread street ward, four.

Alhallowes, in Bread street.

St. Mildred's, in Bread street.

St. John Evangelist, in Fryday street.

St. Margaret Moses, in Fryday street.

23. In Queene hithe ward, seven.

St. Trinitie, in Trinity lane.
St. Nicholas, Cold abbey.
St. Nicholas, Olave.
St. Mary Mounthaunt.
St. Michael, at Queene hithe.
St. Mary, at Sommers hithe.
St. Peter's, at Paules wharf.

In Castle Baynard's ward, four.

St. Benet Hude, or hith, by Paules wharf.
St. Andrewe, by the Wardrobe.
St. Mary Magdalen, in Old Fish street.
St. Gregorie, by Paules church.

25. In Faringdon ward without, seven.

St. Sepulcher's, without Newgate.
St. Andrew, in Oldburne.
St. Dunstone in the West.
St. Bartlemew, by the priory.
St. Bartlemew, the hospital.
St. Briget, or Brides, in Fleet street.
St. Parnell, in the Temple, for the students there.

26. In the borough of Southwarke, and Bridge
ward without, four.

St. Saviour's in Southwarke, made of twain, viz., St. Mary Magdalen, and St. Margaret.	} Diocese of Winchester.
St. George the Martyr.	
St. Thomas, the hospital.	
St. Olave, in Southwarke.	

Thus have ye in the twenty-six wards of London
and borough of Southwarke parish churches to the
number of one hundred and fourteen.

And in the suburbs adjoining, parish churches
nine, as followeth :—

St. Mary Magdalen, at Bermondsey, in the bo-
rough of Southwarke, diocese of Winton.
St. Mary Matfellow, Whitechapel.
St. Leonard, Shorditch.
St. John Baptist, Clerken well.
St. Giles in the Field, sometime an hospital.

In the duchy of Lancaster :

St. Clement Danes, without Temple bar.
St. John Baptist, Savoy, an hospital.

In the city of Westminster, that liberty, as
followeth :

The college of St. Peter, called Westminster.

Parish churches twain :

St. Margaret, a parish church, by Westminster.
St. Martin in the Field, by Charing cross.

Thus have ye in the wards of London, and in the
suburbs of the same city, the borough of South-
warke, and the city of Westminster, a cathedral
church of St. Paule, a collegiate church of St. Peter
in Westminster, and parish churches one hundred
and twenty-three.

HOSPITALS IN THIS CITY, AND SUBURBS THEREOF,
THAT HAVE BEEN OF OLD TIME, AND NOW PRE-
SENTLY ARE, I READ OF THESE AS FOLLOWETH :

HOSPITAL of St. Mary, in the parish of Barking
church, that was provided for poor priests and
others, men and women in the city of London, that
were fallen into frenzy or loss of their memory,

until such time as they should recover, was since
suppressed and given to the hospital of St. Kathe-
rine, by the Tower.

St. Antonies, an hospital of thirteen poor men,
and college, with a free school for poor men's chil-
dren, founded by citizens of London, lately by John
Tate, first a brewer and then a mercer, in the ward
of Broad street, suppressed in the reign of Edward
VI., the school in some sort remaining, but sore
decayed.

St. Bartlemew, in Smithfield, an hospital of great
receipt and relief for the poor, was suppressed by
Henry VIII., and again by him given to the city,
and is endowed by the citizens' benevolence.

St. Giles in the Fields was an hospital for leprous
people out of the city of London and shire of Mid-
dlesex, founded by Matilde the queen, wife to
Henry I., and suppressed by King Henry VIII.

St. John of Jerusalem, by West Smithfield, an
hospital of the Knights of the Rhodes, for main-
tenance of soldiers against the Turks and infidels,
was suppressed by King Henry VIII.

St. James in the Field was an hospital for lep-
rous virgins of the city of London, founded by citi-
zens for that purpose, and suppressed by King
Henry VIII.

St. John, at Savoy, an hospital for relief of one
hundred poor people, founded by Henry VII., sup-
pressed by Edward VI. : again new founded, en-
dowed, and furnished by Queen Mary, and so re-
maineth.

St. Katherine, by the Tower of London, an hos-
pital, with a master, brethren, and sisters, and
alms women, founded by Matilde, wife to King
Stephen ; not suppressed, but in force as before.

St. Mary within Criplesgate, an hospital founded
by William Elsing, for a hundred blind people of
the city, was suppressed by King Henry VIII.

St. Mary Behelem, without Bishopsgate, was an
hospital, founded by Simon Fitzmary, a citizen of
London, to have been a priory, and remaineth for
lunatic people, being suppressed and given to
Christ's hospital.

St. Mary, without Bishopsgate, was an hospital
and priory, called St. Mary Spittle, founded by a
citizen of London for relief of the poor, with pro-
vision of one hundred and eighty beds there for
the poor : it was suppressed in the reign of King
Henry VIII.

St. Mary Rouncevall, by Charing cross, was an
hospital suppressed with the priories aliens in the
reign of King Henry V. ; then was it made a bro-
therhood in the 15th of Edward IV., and again
suppressed by King Edward VI.

St. Thomas of Acres, in Cheape, was an hospital
for a master and brethren (in the record called
Militia) ; it was surrendered and sold to the mer-
cers.

St. Thomas, in Southwarke, being an hospital of
great receipt for the poor, was suppressed, but
again newly founded and endowed by the benevo-
lence and charity of the citizens of London.

An hospital there was without Aldersgate, a cell
to the house of Cluny, of the French order, sup-
pressed by King Henry V.

An hospital without Criplesgate, also a like cell
to the said house of Cluny, suppressed by King
Henry V.

A third hospital in Oldborne, being also a cell to

the said house of Cluny, suppressed by King Henry V.

The hospital, or alms-house, called God's house, for thirteen poor men, with a college, called Whittington college, founded by Richard Whittington, mercer, and suppressed; but the poor remain, and are paid their allowance by the mercers.

Christ's hospital, in Newgate market, of a new foundation in the Grey Friars church by King Henry VIII.: poor fatherless children be there brought up and nourished at the charges of the citizens.

Bridewell, now an hospital (or house of correction), founded by King Edward VI., to be a work-house for the poor and idle persons of the city, wherein a great number of vagrant persons be now set a-work, and relieved at the charges of the citizens. Of all these hospitals, being twenty in number, you may read before in their several places, as also of good and charitable provisions made for the poor by sundry well-disposed citizens.

NOW OF LEPROSE PEOPLE, AND LAZAR HOUSES.

It is to be observed that leprous persons were always, for avoiding the danger of infection, to be separated from the sound, &c.; God himself commanding to put out of the host every leper*. Whereupon I read, that in a provincial synod holden at Westminster by Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, in the year of Christ 1200, the 2nd of King John, it was decreed, according to the institution of the Lateran council, that when so many leprous people† were assembled, that might be able to build a church, with a churchyard, for themselves, and to have one especial priest of their own, that they should be permitted to have the same without contradiction, so they be not injurious to the old churches, by that which was granted to them for pity's sake. And further, it was decreed that they be not compelled to give any tithes of their gardens or increase of cattle.

I have moreover heard, that there is a writ in our law, *de leproso amovendo*; and I have read that King Edward III., in the 20th year of his reign, gave commandment to the mayor and sheriffs of London, to make proclamation in every ward of the city and suburbs, that all leprous persons inhabiting there should avoid within fifteen days next, and that no man suffer any such leprous person to abide within his house, upon pain to forfeit

* "Leviticus 13. Numbers 5. Leprose persons to be separated from the sound."—*Stow*.

† Though the term leprosy was used indiscriminately by the older writers for all sorts of cutaneous disorders, it is more properly applied to a distressing and peculiar disease, which, according to some writers, was introduced into Europe at the time of the crusades, but disappeared at the end of the fifteenth century. From the period mentioned it attracted the attention of law-givers, and stimulated the charity of the benevolent; but such was the loathsomeness and disgust which it excited, that many of the ordinances enacted for the government of its victims are cruel in the extreme. In Marchangy's *Tristram le Voyageur*, tome i. pp. 94 and 350, are some curious illustrations of the nature of these enactments, while the subject is considered both in a medical and historical point of view in a work which we have unfortunately not been enabled to procure a sight of—Hensler's *Vom Abendlandischen Aussatze in Mittelalter*; Hamburg, 1790.

his said house, and to incur the king's further displeasure; and that they should cause the said lepers to be removed into some out places of the fields, from the haunt or company of sound people: whereupon certain lazar-houses, as may be supposed, were then built without the city some good distance; to wit, the Locke without Southwarke in Kent street; one other betwixt the Miles end and Stratford, Bow; one other at Kingsland, betwixt Shoreditch and Stoke Newington; and another at Knights bridge, west from Charing cross. These four I have noted to be erected for the receipt of leprous people sent out of the city. At that time, also, the citizens required of the guardian of St. Giles' hospital to take from them, and to keep continually, the number of fourteen persons leprous, according to the foundation of Matilde the queen, which was for leprous persons of the city of London and the shire of Middlesex, which was granted. More, the wardens, or keepers of the ports, gates, or posterns of this city, were sworn in the mayor's court before the recorder, &c., that they should well and faithfully keep the same ports and posterns, and not to suffer any leprous person to enter the said city.

John Gardener, porter of the postern by the Tower, his oath before the mayor and recorder of London, on Monday, after the feast of St. Bartlemew, the 49th of Edward III.: That the gates and postern be well and faithfully kept in his office and baylywicke, and that he should not suffer any lepers or leper to enter the city, or to remain in the suburbs; and if any leper or lepers force themselves to enter by his gates or postern, he to bind them fast to horses, and send them to be examined of the superiors, &c.

Finally, I read that one William Pole, yeoman of the crown to King Edward IV., being stricken with a leprosy, was also desirous to build an hospital, with a chapel, to the honour of God and St. Anthony, for the relief and harbouring of such leprous persons as were destitute in the kingdom, to the end they should not be offensive to other in their passing to and fro: for the which cause Edward IV. did by his charter, dated the 12th of his reign, give unto the said William for ever a certain parcel of his land lying in his highway of Highgate and Haloway, within the county of Middlesex, containing sixty feet in length and thirty-four in breadth.

THE TEMPORAL GOVERNMENT OF THIS CITY, SOMEWHAT IN BRIEF MANNER.

This city of London, being under the government of the Britons, Romans, and Saxons, the most ancient and famous city of the whole realm, was at length destroyed by the Danes, and left desolate, as may appear by our histories. But Aelfred, king of the West Saxons, having brought this whole realm (from many parts) into one monarchy, honourably repaired this city, and made it again habitable, and then committed the custody thereof to his son-in-law Adhered, earl of Mercia; after whose decease the city, with all other possessions pertaining to the said earl, returned to King Edward, surnamed the Elder, &c.: and so remained in the king's hands, being governed under him by portgraves (or portreves), which name is com-

pounded of the two Saxon words, *porte* and *gerefe*, or *reeve*. *Porte* * betokeneth a town, and *gerefe* signifieth a guardian, ruler, or keeper of the town.

These governors of old time (saith Robert Fabian), with the laws and customs then used within this city, were registered in a book called the *Dooms' day*, written in the Saxon tongue; but of later days, when the said laws and customs were changed, and for that also the said book was of a small hand, sore defaced, and hard to be read or understood, it was less set by, so that it was embuzzled and lost. Thus far Fabian.

Notwithstanding, I have found, by search of divers old registers and other records abroad, namely, in a book sometime appertaining to the monastery of St. Alban's, of the portgraves, and other governors of this city, as followeth:

First, that in the reign of King Edward, the last before the Conquest, *Wolfgare* was portgrave, as may appear by the charter of the same king, in these words: "Edward, king, greeteth Alfwald, bishop, and Wolfgare, my portgrave, and all the burgesses in London." And afterward that, in another charter, "King Edward greeteth William, bishop, and Sweetman, my portgrave." And after, that in another charter to the abbey of Chertsey, to William, bishop, and Leofstane and Als, portgraves. In the reign of William the Conqueror, William, bishop of London, procured of the said Conqueror his charter of liberties, to the same William, bishop, and Godfrey, portgrave, in Saxon tongue, and corrected in English thus:

"William, king, greet William, bishop, and Godfrey, portgrave, and all the burgesses within London, French and English. And I graunt that they be all their law worth, that they were in Edward's dayes the king. And I will that each child bee his father's heire. And I will not suffer that any man do you wrong, and God you keepe." And then in the reign of the said Conqueror and of William Rufus, Godfrey de Magnavile was portgrave (or sheriff), as may appear by their charters, and Richard de l'Ar was provost.

In the reign of King Henry I., Hugh Buche was

* *Port*, is translated *city* in Bosworth's *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, on the authority of *Ælfric's Grammar*. But the best illustration of this passage in Stow will be found in the Glossary which Mr. Thorpe has appended to the second volume of his valuable edition of the *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, where, under the word *Gerêfa*, *reeve*, we read as follows:—"Of reeves, mention of the following classes occurs in these laws:

1. The *Gerêfa*, by which simple denomination the same official seems to be meant who is elsewhere called the '*scir-gerêfa*,' or *sheriff*. He was the fiscal officer of the shire, or county, or city, under the *ealdorman*, or comes. His duties were many, as a reference to the places where his name occurs, will abundantly testify. The king's '*gerêfa*' was probably identical with the '*scir-gerêfa*.' The court of the reeve was held monthly.

"2. The *Tungrevius*, (Tun-*gerêfa*),

"3. The *Port gerêfa*, (Port-reeve.)

"4. The *Wic gerêfa*, (Wick reeve.)

Inferior classes of fiscal officers, employed, as their names imply, in the towns, ports, and wicks (hamlets) of the kingdom.

Besides the above-mentioned, it appears that each bishop had his reeve, who could make oath for him, and was a kind of steward or bailiff, like the modern Scotch *grieve*.

portgrave, and Leofstanus, goldsmith, provost, buried at Bermondsey.

After them Aubrey de Vere was portgrave, and Robert Bar Querel provost. This Aubrey de Vere was slain in the reign of King Stephen. It is to be noted, also, that King Henry I. granted to the citizens of London the shrivewick thereof, and of Middlesex, as in another place is showed.

In the reign of King Stephen, Gilbert Becket was portgrave, and Andrew Buchevet provost.

After him, Godfrey Magnavile, the son of William, the son of Godfrey Magnavile, by the gift of Maude, the empress, was portgrave, or sheriff of London and Middlesex, for the yearly farm of three hundred pounds, as appeareth by the charter.

In the time of King Henry II., Peter Fitzwalter was portgrave; after him John Fitznigel was portgrave; after him Ernulfus Buchel became portgrave; and after him William Fitz Isabel. These portgraves are also in divers records called vice-counties, vicounties, or sheriffs*, as being under an earl; for that they then, as since, used that office as the sheriffs of London do till this day. Some authors do call them domesmen, aldermen, or judges of the king's court.

William Fitz Stephen, noting the estate of this city, and government thereof in his time, under the reign of King Stephen and of Henry II., hath these words:

"This city (saith he), even as Rome, is divided into wards; it hath yearly sheriffs instead of consuls; it hath the dignity of senators and aldermen; it hath under officers, and, according to the quality of laws, it hath several courts and general assemblies upon appointed days." Thus much for the antiquity of sheriffs, and also of aldermen, in several wards of this city, may suffice. And now for the name of bailiffs, and after that of mayors, as followeth:

In the first year of King Richard I., the citizens of London obtained to be governed by two bailiffs, which bailiffs are in divers ancient deeds called sheriffs, according to the speech of the law, which called the shire Balliva, for that they, like as the portgraves, used the same office of shrivewicke, for the which the city paid to fee farm three hundred pounds yearly as before, since the reign of Henry I., which also is yet paid by the city into the Exchequer until this day.

They also obtained to have a mayor, to be their principal governor and lieutenant of the city, as of the king's chamber.

1180. The names of the first bailiffs, or officers, entering into their office at the feast of St. Michael the Archangel, in the year of Christ 1189, were named Henry Cornhill and Richard Reynere, bailiffs or sheriffs.

Their first mayor was Henry Fitz Alwin Fitz Liefstane, goldsmith, appointed by the said king, and continued mayor from the 1st of Richard I. until the 15th of King John, which was twenty-four years and more.

1190. The 2nd of Richard I., sheriffs, John Herlion, Roger Duke; mayor, Henry Fitz Alwin.

* "Since called shiriffes, and judges of the King's court, and have therefore under-shiriffes, men learned in the law, to sit in their courts. Domesmen, or judges of the King's court."—*Stow*.

1191. The 3rd, sheriffs, William Haverill, John Bucknote ; mayor, Henry Fitz Alwin.

1192. The 4th, Nicholas Duke, Peter Newlay ; mayor, Henry Fitz Alwin.

1193. The 5th, Roger Duke, Richard Fitz Alwin ; mayor, Henry Fitz Alwin.

1194. The 6th, William Fitz Isabel, William Fitz Arnold ; mayor, Henry Fitz Alwin.

1195. The 7th, Robert Besaunt, John de Josue ; mayor, Henry Fitz Alwin.

1196. The 8th, Gerard de Anteloche, Robert Durant ; mayor, Henry Fitz Alwin.

1197. The 9th, Roger Blunt, Nicholas Ducket ; mayor, Henry Fitz Alwin.

1198. The 10th, Constantine Fitz Arnold, Richard de Beaco ; mayor, Henry Fitz Alwin.

King John began his reign the 6th of April, 1199.

1199. The 1st of King John, sheriffs, Arnold Fitz Arnold, Richard Fitz Bartilmew ; mayor, Henry Fitz Alwin.

King John granted the sheriffwicke of London and Middlesex to the citizens thereof, as King Henry I. before had done, for the sum of three hundred pounds yearly. Also he gave them authority to choose and deprive their sheriffs at their pleasure.

1200. The 2nd, sheriffs, Roger Dorsit, James Bartilmew ; mayor, Henry Fitz Alwin.

1201. The 3rd, Walter Fitz Alis, Simon de Aldermanbury ; mayor, Henry Fitz Alwin.

1202. The 4th, Norman Blundel, John de Glie ; mayor, Henry Fitz Alwin.

1203. The 5th, Walter Browne, William Chamberlain ; mayor, Henry Fitz Alwin.

Walter Brune, and Rose his wife, founded the hospital of St. Mary without Bishopsgate, commonly called St. Mary Spittle.

1204. The 6th, Thomas Haverill, Hamond Brond ; mayor, Henry Fitz Alwin.

1205. The 7th, John Walgrave, Richard Winchester ; mayor, Henry Fitz Alwin.

1206. The 8th, John Holland, Edmond Fitz Gerard ; mayor, Henry Fitz Alwin.

1207. The 9th, Roger Winchester, Edmond Hardle ; mayor, Henry Fitz Alwin.

1208. The 10th, Peter Duke, Thomas Nele ; mayor, Henry Fitz Alwin.

The king, by his letters patents, granted to the citizens of London liberty and authority yearly to choose to themselves a mayor.

1209. The 11th, Peter le Josue, William Blund ; mayor, Henry Fitz Alwin.

1210. The 12th, Adam Whitley, Stephen le Grace ; mayor, Henry Fitz Alwin.

1211. The 13th, John Fitz Peter, John Garland ; mayor, Henry Fitz Alwin.

1212. The 14th, Randolph Giland, Constantine Josue ; mayor, Henry Fitz Alwin.

This Henry Fitz Alwin deceased, and was buried in the priory of the Holy Trinity, near unto Aldgate.

1213. The 15th, Martin Fitz Alis, Peter Bate ; mayor, Roger Fitz Alwin.

This year the ditch about London was begun to be made, of two hundred and four feet broad, by the Londoners.

1214. The 16th, Salomon Basing, Hugh Basing ; mayor, Serle Mercer.

1215. The 17th, John Travars, Andrew Newland ; mayor, William Hardel.

King Henry III. began his reign the 19th of October, 1216.

1216. The 1st, sheriffs, Benet Senturer, William Bluntinars ; mayor, James Alderman for part, and Salomon Basing for part.

1217. The 2nd, Thomas Bokerel, Ralph Eiland ; mayor, Serle Mercer.

1218. The 3rd, John Viel, John le Spicer ; mayor, Serle Mercer.

The forest of Middlesex and the warren of Staines were this year disafforested.

1219. The 4th, Richard Wimbledon, John Viel ; mayor, Serle Mercer.

1220. The 5th, Richard Renger, John Viel ; mayor, Serle Mercer.

1221. The 6th, Richard Renger, Thomas Lambart ; mayor, Serle Mercer.

1222. The 7th, Richard Renger, Thomas Lambart ; mayor, Serle Mercer.

Constantine Fitz Aluf raised great troubles in this city, and was hanged with his nephew and other.

1223. The 8th, John Travars, Andrew Bokerel ; mayor, Richard Renger.

1224. The 9th, John Travars, Andrew Bokerel ; mayor, Richard Renger.

The king granted to the commonalty of London to have a common seal.

1225. The 10th, Roger Duke, Martin Fitz William ; mayor, Richard Renger.

1226. The 11th, Roger Duke, Martin Fitz William ; mayor, Richard Renger.

This year the king confirmed to the citizens of London free warren or liberty to hunt a certain circuit about the city, in the warren of Staines, &c. And, also, that the citizens of London should pass toll-free throughout all England, and that the keddes, or wears, in the river of Thames and Medway should be plucked up and destroyed for ever, &c. Patent, 16th Henry III.

1227. The 12th, Stephen Bokerel, Henry Cocham ; mayor, Roger Duke.

The liberties and franchises of London were ratified ; and the king granted that either sheriff should have two clerks and two sergeants, also that the citizens should have a common seal.

1228. The 13th, Stephen Bokerell, Henry Cocham ; mayor, Roger Duke.

1229. The 14th, William Winchester, Robert Fitz John ; mayor, Roger Duke.

1230. The 15th, Richard Walter, John de Woborne ; mayor, Roger Duke.

1231. The 16th, Michael S. Helan, Walter de Bussell ; mayor, Andrew Bokerel, pepperer.

1232. The 17th, Henry de Edmonton, Gerard Bat ; mayor, Andrew Bokerel, pepperer.

1233. The 18th, Simon Fitzmary, Roger Blunt ; mayor, Andrew Bokerel, pepperer.

1234. The 19th, Raph Ashwey, John Norman ; mayor, Andrew Bokerel, pepperer.

1235. The 20th, Gerard Bat, Richard Hardle ; mayor, Andrew Bokerel, pepperer.

1236. The 21st, Henry Cocham, Jordan of Coventrie ; mayor, Andrew Bokerel, pepperer.

1237. The 22nd, John Toloson, Gervais the cordwainer ; mayor, Andrew Bokerel, pepperer.

1238. The 23rd, John Codras, John Withal ; mayor, Richard Renger.

1239. The 24th, Roger Bongey, Raph Ashwey ; mayor, William Joyner.

This William Joyner, builded the choir of the Grey Friars church in London, and became a lay brother of that house.

1240. The 25th, John Gisors, Michael Tony ; mayor, Gerard Bat.

This year aldermen of London were chosen, and changed yearly, but that order lasted not long. Gerard Bat was again elected mayor for that year to come, but the king would not admit him, being charged with taking money of the victuallers in the precedent year.

1241. The 26th, Thomas Duresme, John Viel ; mayor, Reginald Bongey.

1242. The 27th, John Fitzjohn, Raph Ashwey ; mayor, Reginald Bongey.

1243. The 28th, Hugh Blunt, Adam Basing ; mayor, Raph Ashwey.

1244. The 29th, Raph Foster, Nicholas Bat ; mayor, Michael Tony.

1245. The 30th, Robert of Cornehil, Adam of Bentley ; mayor, John Gisors, pepperer.

1246. The 31st, Simon Fitz Mary, Laurence Frowicke ; mayor, John Gisors, pepperer.

Simon Fitz Mary founded the hospital of Mary, called Bethlem without Bishopsgate. Queene hith let to farm to the citizens of London.

1247. The 32nd, John Viel, Nicholas Bat ; mayor, Peter Fitz Alwin.

1248. The 33rd, Nicholas Fitz Josey, Geoffrey Winchester ; mayor, Michael Tony.

1249. The 34th, Richard Hardell, John Tholason ; mayor, Roger Fitz Roger.

1250. The 35th, Humfrey Bat, William Fitz Richard ; mayor, John Norman.

The king granted that the mayor should be presented to the barons of the exchequer, and they should admit him.

1251. The 36th, Laurence Frowike, Nicholas Bat ; mayor, Adam Basing.

1252. The 37th, William Durlham, Thomas Wimborne ; mayor, John Tolason, draper.

The liberties of this city were seized, the mayor charged that he looked not to the assise of bread.

1253. The 38th, John Northampton, Richard Pickard ; mayor, Richard Hardell, draper.

1254. The 39th, Raph Ashwie, Robert of Limon ; mayor, Richard Hardell, draper.

1255. The 40th, Stephen Doo, Henry Walmond ; mayor, Richard Handle, draper.

The mayor, divers aldermen, and the sheriffs of London, were deprived, and others placed in their rooms.

1256. The 41st, Michael Bockeril, John the Minor ; mayor, Richard Hardle, draper.

1257. The 42nd, Richard Owel, William Ashwie ; mayor, Richard Hardle, draper.

The king caused the walls of this city to be repaired and made with bulwarks.

1258. The 43rd, Robert Cornhill, John Adrian ; mayor, Richard Hardle, draper.

1259. The 44th, John Adrian, Robert Cornhill ; John Gisors, pepperer.

1260. The 45th, Adam Browning, Henry Coventry ; mayor, William Fitz Richard.

1261. The 46th, John Northampton, Richard Picard ; mayor, William Fitz Richard.

1262. The 47th, John Tailor, Richard Walbrooke ; mayor, Thomas Fitz Richard.

1263. The 48th, Robert de Mountpilier, Osbert de Suffolke ; mayor, Thomas Fitz Thomas Fitz Richard.

The citizens of London fortified the city with iron chains drawn thwart their streets.

1564. The 49th, Gregory Rokesly, Thomas de Deford ; mayor, Thomas Fitz Thomas Fitz Richard.

1265. The 50th, Edward Blund, Peter Angar ; mayor, Thomas Fitz Thomas Fitz Richard.

The chains and posts in London were plucked up, the mayor and principal citizens committed to ward, and Othou, constable of the tower, was made custos of the city, &c.

1266. The 51st, John Hind, John Walraven ; mayor, William Richards.

The earl of Gloucester entered the city with an army, and therein builded bulwarks, cast trenches, &c.

1267. The 52nd, John Adrian, Lucas de Batencourt ; mayor, Alen de la Souch. This Alen de la Souch, being a baron of this realm, and also chief justice, was in the year 1270 slain in Westminster hall by John Warren earl of Surrey.

Thomas Fitz Theobald and Agnes his wife, founded the hospital of St. Thomas of Acon in Westcheap.

1268. The 53rd, Walter Harvy, William Duresm, Thomas Wimbourn ; mayor, Sir Stephen Edward.

A variance fell in London between the goldsmiths and the tailors, wherethrough many men were slain.

1269. The 54th, Thomas Basing, Robert Cornhill ; custos, Hugh Fitz Ottonis, custos of London, and constable of the tower *.

1270. The 55th, Walter Potter, Philip Tailor ; mayor, John Adrian, vintner.

1271. The 56th, Gregory Rocksley, Henry Waleys ; mayor, John Adrian, vintner.

The steeple of Bow church in Cheap fell down, and slew many people.

1272. The 57th, Richard Paris, John de Wodeley ; mayor, Sir Walter Harvy ; custos, Henry Frowike, pepperer, for part of that year.

Edward I. began his reign the 16th of November, 1272.

1273. The first sheriffs, John Horne, Walter Potter ; mayor, Sir Walter Harvy, knight.

1274. The 2nd, Nicholas Winchester, Henry Coventry ; mayor, Henry Wallis.

1275. The 3rd, Lucas Batecorte, Henry Frowike ; mayor, Gregory Rocksley : chief say-master of all the king's mints throughout England, and keeper of the king's exchange at London.

1276. The 4th, John Horn, Raph Blunt ; mayor, Gregory Rocksley.

1277. The 5th, Robert de Arar, Raph L. Fewre ; mayor, Gregory Rocksley.

* The first edition has " mayor Hugh Fitz Thomas," and does not make mention of " Fitz Ottonis."

1278. The 6th, John Adrian, Walter Langley ; mayor, Gregory Rocksley.

1279. The 7th, Robert Basing, William Maraliver ; mayor, Gregory Rocksley.

1280. The 8th, Thomas Fox, Raph Delamere ; mayor, Gregory Rocksley.

1281. The 9th, William Farindon, Nicholas Winchester ; mayor, Gregory Rocksley.

This William Farindon, goldsmith, one of the sheriffs, was father to Nicholas Farindon : of these two, Farindon ward took that name.

1282. The 10th, William Maraliver, Richard Chigwel ; mayor, Henry Walleis.

This Henry Walleis builded the tun upon Cornhill to be a prison, and the stocks to be a market house.

1283. The 11th, Raph Blund, Anketrin de Betanil ; mayor, Henry Walleis.

1284. The 12th, Jordain Goodcheape, Martin Box ; mayor, Henry Walleis.

Laurence Ducket, goldsmith, murdered in Bow church, and the murderers hanged.

1285. The 13th, Stephen Cornhill, Robert Rocksley ; mayor, Gregory Rocksley ; custos, Raph Sandwich, and John Briton.

It was ordained, that millers should have but one halfpenny for a quarter of wheat grinding, and the great water conduit in Cheap was begun to be made.

1286. The 14th, Walter Blunt, John Wade, custos, Raph Sandwich.

Wheat was sold at London for sixteen-pence, and for twelve-pence the quarter.

1287. The 15th, Thomas Cros, Walter Hawtoun ; custos, Raph Sandwich.

1288. The 16th, William Hereford, Thomas Stanes ; custos, Raph Sandwich.

1289. The 17th, William Betain, John Canterbury ; custos, Raph Sandwich, Raph Barnauars, and Sir John Britaine.

This year a subsidy was granted, for the reparations of London bridge.

1290. The 18th, Falke S. Edmond, Salamon Le Sotel ; custos, Sir John Briton, knight.

1291. The 19th, Thomas Romain, William de Lier ; custos, Sir John Briton, knight, Raph Sandwich.

1292. The 20th, Raph Blunt, Hamo. Box ; custos, Raph Sandwich.

1293. The 21st, Henry Bole, Elias Russel ; custos, Raph Sandwich.

Three men had their right hands cut off at the Standard in Cheape, for rescuing of a prisoner, arrested by a sergeant of London.

1294. The 22nd, Robert Rokesley the younger, Martin Amersbery ; custos, Sir Raph Sandwich.

1295. The 23rd, Henry Box, Richard Gloucester ; custos, Sir Raph Sandwich.

1296. The 24th, John Dunstable, Adam de Halingbery ; custos, Sir John Briton.

This year all the liberties of the city were restored, the mayoralty excepted.

1297. The 25th, Thomas of Suffolke, Adam of Fulham ; custos, Sir John Briton.

1298. The 26th, Richard Resham, Thomas Sely ; mayor, Henry Walleis.

Certain citizens of London brake up the tun upon Cornhill, and took out prisoners, for the which they were grievously punished.

1299. The 27th, John Amenter, Henry Fiugene ; mayor, Elias Russel.

1300. The 28th, Lucas de Havering, Richard Champs ; mayor, Elias Russel.

1301. The 29th, Robert Callor, Peter de Bosenho ; mayor, Sir John Blunt, knight.

1302. The 30th, Hugh Pourt, Simon Paris ; mayor, Sir John Blunt.

1303. The 31st, William Combmartin, John Buckford ; custos, Sir John Blunt.

1304. The 32nd, Roger Paris, John de Lincolne ; custos, Sir John Blunt.

Geoffrey Hertilepole Alderman was elected to be recorder of London, and took his oath, and was appointed to wear his apparel as an alderman.

1305. The 33rd, William Cosine, Reginald Thunderley ; custos, Sir John Blunt.

1306. The 34th, Geoffrey Cundute, Simon Bilet ; custos, Sir John Blunt.

Seacoal was forbid to be burned in London, Southwark, &c.

Edward II. began his reign 7th of July, the year of Christ, 1307.

1307. The 1st, sheriffs, Nicholas Pigot, Nigellus Drury ; mayor, Sir John Blunt.

1308. The 2nd, William Basing, James Botenar ; mayor, Nicholas Farrington, goldsmith.

1309. The 3rd, Roger le Faumer, James of St. Edmond ; mayor, Thomas Romaine.

1310. The 4th, Simon de Corpe, Peter Blakney ; mayor, Richard Reffam, mercer.

The king commanded the mayor and commonality, to make the wall of London from Ludgate to Fleetbridge, and from thence to the Thames.

1311. The 5th, Simon Merwood, Richard Wilford ; mayor, Sir John Gisors, pepperer.

Order was taken, that merchant strangers should sell their wares within forty days after their arrival, or else the same to be forfeited.

1312. The 6th, John Lambin, Adam Lutkin ; mayor, Sir John Gisors, pepperer.

1313. The 7th, Robert Gurdin, Hugh Garton ; mayor, Nicholas Farrindon, goldsmith.

Prices set on victuals :—a fat stalled ox, twenty-four shillings ; a fat mutton, twenty-pence ; a fat goose, two-pence halfpenny ; a fat capon, two-pence ; a fat hen, one-penny ; two chickens, one-penny ; three pigeons, one-penny ; twenty-four eggs, one-penny, &c.

1314. The 8th, Stephen Abingdon, Hamond Chigwel ; mayor, Sir John Gisors, pepperer.

Famine and mortality of the people, so that the quick might unneath bury the dead ; horse-flesh, and dogs-flesh, was good meat.

1315. The 9th, Hamond Goodcheape, William Bodelay ; mayor, Stephen Abendon.

1316. The 10th, William Canston, Raph Belancer ; mayor, John Wingrave.

An early harvest, a bushel of wheat that had been sold for ten shillings, was now sold for ten-pence, &c.

1317. The 11th, John Prior, William Furneis ; mayor, John Wingrave.

Such a murrain of kine, that dogs and ravens that fed on them were poisoned.

1318. The 12th, John Pontel, John Dalling ; mayor, John Wingrave.

1319. The 13th, Simon Abindon, John Preston ; mayor, Hamond Chickwel, pepperer.

John Gisors late mayor of London, and many other citizens, fled the city for things laid to their charge.

1320. The 14th, Renauld at Conduit, William Produn ; mayor, Nicholas Farindon, goldsmith.

1321. The 15th, Richard Constantine, Richard Hackney ; mayor, Hamond Chickwell, pepperer.

1322. The 16th, John Grantham, Richard Elie ; mayor, Hamond Chickwell, pepperer.

Fish and flesh market established at the Stocks in the midst of the city.

1323. The 17th, Adam of Salisburi, John of Oxford ; mayor, Nicholas Farindon, goldsmith.

Of this Nicholas Farindon, and of William Farindon, and of William Farindon his father, read more in Farindon ward.

1324. The 18th, Benet of Fulham, John Cawson ; mayor, Hamond Chickwell, pepperer.

1325. The 19th, Gilbert Mordon, John Cotton ; mayor, Hamond Chickwell, pepperer.

The citizens of London took the bishop of Exeter, and cut off his head at the Standard in Cheape.

1326. The 20th, Richard Rothing, Roger Chann-teclere ; mayor, Richard Britaine, goldsmith.

This Richard Rothing is said to new build the parish church of St. James at Garlickie hith.

Edward III. began his reign the 25th of January, the year 1326.

This King Edward granted, that the mayor should be justice for the gaol delivery at Newgate, that the citizens of London should not be constrained to go out of the city of London to any war. More he granted, that the liberties and the franchises of the city should not after this time for any cause be taken into the king's hands, &c. More, he granted by his letters patents, dated the 6th of Mareh, that no Escheater should be in the city, but the mayor for his time.

1327. The 1st sheriffs, Henry Darcie, John Hlanton ; mayor, Hamond Chickwell, pepperer.

This year the walls of London were repaired.

1328. The 2nd, Simon Francis, Henry Comb-martin ; mayor, John Grantham.

1329. The 3rd, Richard Lazar, William Gisors ; mayor, Richard Swandland.

This year, the king kept a great justing in Cheape, betwixt Sopars lane and the great Crosse.

1330. The 4th, Robert of Elie, Thomas Whorwode ; mayor, Sir John Pultney, draper.

1331. The 5th, John Mocking, Andrew Auberie ; mayor, Sir John Pultney, draper.

1332. The 6th, Nicholas Pike, John Husbond ; mayor, John Preston, draper.

This year was founded Elsinges' spittle, by W. Elsing, mercer, that became first prior of that hospital.

1333. The 7th, John Hamond, William Hansard ; mayor, Sir John Pultney, draper.

1334. The 8th, John Hingstone, Walter Turke ; mayor, Reginald at Conduit, vintner.

1335. The 9th, Walter Motdon, Richard Upton ; mayor, Nicholas Woton.

1336. The 10th, John Clark, William Curtis ; mayor, Sir John Pultney, draper.

This Sir John Pultney founded a college in the parish church of St. Laurence, by Candlewicke street.

1337. The 11th, Walter Nele, Nicholas Crane ; mayor, Henry Darey.

Walter Nele, bladesmith, gave lands to the repairing of the high ways about London.

1338. The 12th, William Pomfret, Hugh Mar-beler ; mayor, Henry Darey.

The king granted that the sergeants of the mayor, and sheriffs of London, should bear maces of silver and gilt with the king's arms.

1339. The 13th, William Thorney, Roger Fros-ham ; mayor, Andrew Aubery, grocer.

1340. The 14th, Adam Lucas, Bartemew Maris ; mayor, Andrew Aubery, grocer.

1341. The 15th, Richard de Barking, John de Rokesley ; mayor, John of Oxenford, vintner.

1342. The 16th, John Louekin, Richard Killing-bury ; mayor, Simon Francis, mercer.

The price of Gascoyn wines at London, four-pence, and Rheinish wine, six-pence the gallon.

1343. The 17th, John Steward, John Aylesham ; mayor, John Hamond.

1344. The 18th, Geoffrey Wichingham, Thomas Leg ; mayor, John Hamond.

1345. The 19th, Edmond Hemenhall, John of Gloucester ; mayor, Richard Leget.

1346. The 20th, John Croyden, William Clop-tun ; mayor, Geoffrey Winchingham.

1347. The 21st, Adam Brapsen, Richard Bas ; mayor, Thomas Leggy, skinner.

King Edward won Calais from the French.

1348. The 22nd, Henry Picard, Simon Dolsby ; mayor, John Louekin, fishmonger.

A great pest. Sir Walter Mannie, knight, founded the Charterhouse by Smithfield, to be a burial for the dead.

1349. The 23rd, Adam of Bury, Raph of Lym ; mayor, Walter Turk, fishmonger.

1350. The 24th, John Notte, W. Worcester ; mayor, Richard Killingbury.

1351. The 25th, John Wroth, Gilbert of Sten-ineshorpe ; mayor, Andrew Aubery, grocer.

1352. The 26th, John Peeh, John Stotley ; mayor, Adam Francis, mercer.

This mayor procured an act of parliament, that no known whore should wear any hood or attire on her head, except red or striped cloth of divers colours, &c.

1353. The 27th, William Wilde, John Little ; mayor, Adam Francis, mercer.

This Adam Francis was one of the founders of the college in Guildhall chapel, &c., Henry Fowke was the other.

1354. The 28th, William Tottingham, Richard Smelt ; mayor, Thomas Leggy, skinner.

Aldermen of London were used to be changed yearly, but now it was ordained that they should not be removed without some special cause.

1355. The 29th, Walter Foster, Thomas Bran-don ; mayor, Simon Francis, mercer.

1356. The 30th, Richard Nottingham, Thomas Dossel ; mayor, Henry Picard, vintner.

This Henry Picard feasted the kings of England, of France, Cyprus, and Scots, with other great estates, all in one day.

1357. The 31st, Stephen Candish, Bartilmew Frosting ; mayor, Sir John Stody, vintner.

This John Stody gave tenements to the vintners in London, for relief of the poor of that com-pany.

1358. The 32nd, John Barnes, John Buris ; mayor, John Louekin, stock-fishmonger.

1359. The 33rd, Simon of Benington, John of Chichester ; mayor, Simon Delseby, grocer.

1360. The 34th, John Denis, Walter Berny ; mayor, John Wroth, fishmonger.

1361. The 35th, William Holbech, James Tame ; mayor, John Peche, fishmonger.

1362. The 36th, John of St. Albans, James Andrew ; mayor, Stephen Gondish, draper.

1363. The 37th, Richard Croyden, John Litoft ; mayor, John Not, pepperer.

1364. The 38th, John de Mitford, Simon de Mordon ; mayor, Adam of Bury, skinner.

1365. The 39th, John Bukulsworth, Thomas Ireland ; mayor, John Louekin, fishmonger, and Adam of Bury, skinner.

1366. The 40th, John Warde, Thomas of Lee ; mayor, John Lofkin, fishmonger.

This John Lofkin builded the parish church of St. Michael in Crooked lane.

1367. The 41st, John Turngold, William Dike-man ; mayor, James Andrew, draper.

1368. The 42nd, Robert Cordeler, Adam Wi-mondham ; mayor, Simon Mordon, stock-fish-monger.

This year wheat was sold for two shillings and six-pence the bushel.

1369. The 43rd, John Piel, Hugh Holdich ; mayor, John Chichester, goldsmith.

1370. The 44th, William Walworth, Robert Geyton ; mayor, John Barnes, mercer.

1371. The 45th, Adam Staple, Robert Hatfield ; mayor, John Barnes, mercer.

This John Barnes gave a chest with three locks, and one thousand marks to be lent to poor young men.

1372. The 46th, John Philpot, Nicholas Brem-bar ; mayor, John Piel, mercer.

1373. The 47th, John Aubery, John Fished ; mayor, Adam of Bury, skinner.

1374. The 48th, Richard Lions, William Wood-house ; mayor, William Walworth, fishmonger.

1375. The 49th, John Hadley, William New-port ; mayor, John Ward, grocer.

1376. The 50th, John Northampton, Robert Laund ; mayor, Adam Staple, mercer.

The Londoners meant to have slain John duke of Lancaster : Adam Staple, mayor, put down, and Nicholas Brembar elected. Also the aldermen were deposed, and others set in their places.

Richard II. began his reign the 21st of June, in the year 1377.

1377. The 1st sheriffs, Nicholas Twiford, Andrew Pikeman ; mayor, Sir Nicholas Brembar, grocer.

John Philpot, a citizen of London, sent ships to the sea, and scoured it of pirates, taking many of them prisoners.

1378. The 2nd, John Boseham, Thomas Corn-walis ; mayor, Sir John Philpot, grocer.

This Sir John Philpot gave to the city, lands for the finding of thirteen poor people for ever.

1379. The 3rd, John Helisdon, William Barat ; mayor, John Hadley, grocer.

1380. The 4th, Walter Doget, William Knight-coate ; mayor, William Walworth, fishmonger.

This William Walworth arrested Wat Tyler the rebel, and was knighted. He increased the parish church of St. Michael in Crooked lane, and founded there a college. Other aldermen were also knighted for their service in the field.

1381. The 5th, John Rote, John Hend ; mayor, John Northampton, draper.

1382. The 6th, Adam Bamme, John Sely ; mayor, John Northampton, draper, or skinner, as I find in record.

1383. The 7th, Simon Wincheombe, John More ; mayor, Sir Nicholas Brembar, grocer.

John Northampton, late mayor of London, was committed to perpetual prison, and his goods confiscated.

1384. The 8th, Nicholas Exton, John French ; mayor, Sir Nicholas Brembar, grocer, knighted with William Walworth.

1385. The 9th, John Organ, John Churchman ; mayor, Sir Nicholas Brembar, grocer.

The foresaid John Churchman new-built the custom-house, near to the Tower of London, and did many other works for the commodity of this city.

1386. The 10th, W. Standone, W. More ; mayor, Nicholas Exton, fishmonger.

This year the citizens of London, fearing the French, pulled down houses near about their city, repaired their walls, and cleansed their ditches, &c.

1387. The 11th, William Venor, Hugh For-stalfe ; mayor, Nicholas Exton, fishmonger.

Sir Nicholas Brembar, late mayor of London, was this year beheaded.

1388. The 12th, Thomas Austin, Adam Carlhul ; mayor, Nicholas Tuiford, goldsmith, knighted with W. Walworth.

1389. The 13th, John Walcot, John Lovenay ; mayor, William Venor, grocer.

1390. The 14th, John Francis, Thomas Vivent ; mayor, Adam Bamme, goldsmith.

This Adam Bamme provided from beyond the seas corn in great abundance, so that the city was able to serve the country.

1391. The 15th, John Shadworth, Henry Vamer ; mayor, John Hend, draper.

This mayor was for displeasure taken, sent to Windsor castle, and the king made wardens of the city, &c.

1392. The 16th, Gilbert Maghfield, Thomas Newington ; mayor, William Stondon, grocer.

1393. The 17th, Drew Barintin, Richard Whittington ; mayor, John Hadley, grocer.

Faringdon ward was by parliament appointed to be divided into two wards, to wit, infra and extra.

1394. The 18th, William Branston, Thomas Knoles ; mayor, John Froshe, mercer.

1395. The 19th, Roger Elles, William Sevenoke ; mayor, William More, vintner.

1396. The 20th, Thomas Wilford, William Parker ; mayor, Adam Bamme, goldsmith.

1397. The 21st, John Wodcoke, William Askam ; mayor, Richard Whittington, mercer.

1398. The 22d, John Wade, John Warnar ; mayor, Drew Barentin, goldsmith.

Henry IV. began his reign the 29th of September, the year 1399.

1399. The 1st sheriffs, William Waldern, William Heude ; mayor, Thomas Knoles, grocer.

1400. The 2nd, John Wakel, William Ebot ; mayor, John Francis, goldsmith.

1401. The 3rd, William Venor, John Fremingham ; mayor, John Shadworth, mercer.

The conduit upon Cornhill was this year made of an old prison house called the Tun.

1402. The 4th, Richard Marlow, Robert Chicheley ; mayor, I. Walcote, draper.

1403. The 5th, Thomas Falconer, Thomas Poole ; mayor, W. Ascham, fishmonger.

1404. The 6th, William Bouth, Stephen Spilman ; mayor, John Hend, draper.

This John Hend was a new builder of the parish church of St. Swithen, by London stone.

1405. The 7th, Henry Barton, William Grome ; mayor, John Wodecotte, mercer.

This mayor caused all the weirs in the river of Thames, from Stanes to the river of Medway, to be destroyed, and the trinkets to be burned, &c.

1406. The 8th, Nicholas Wooton, Gefferey Brooke ; mayor, Richard Whittington, mercer.

This year a great pestilence in London took away more than thirty thousand people.

1407. The 9th, Henry Ponfrackt, Henry Halton, mercer ; mayor, William Sandon, grocer.

1408. The 10th, Thomas Duke, William Norton ; mayor, Drew Barentine, goldsmith.

This Drew Barentine built a part of the Goldsmiths' hall, and gave them lands.

1409. The 11th, John Law, William Chichley ; mayor, Richard Marlow, ironmonger.

A great play at Skinners' well, which lasted eight days, and was of matter from the Creation of the world ; the most part of all the great estates of England were there to behold it.

1410. The 12th, John Penne, Thomas Pike ; mayor, Thomas Knoles, grocer.

This Thomas Knoles began anew to build the Guildhall in London, &c.

1411. The 13th, John Rainwel, William Cotton ; mayor, Robert Chichley, grocer.

1412. The 14th, Raph Lovinhinde, William Sevenoake ; mayor, William Waldren, mercer.

Henry V. began his reign, the 20th of March, the year 1412.

1413. The 1st sheriffs, John Sutton, John Michell ; mayor, William Cromar, draper.

Sir John Oldcastle assembled a great power in Ficketts field, by London, which power was overcome and taken by the king and his power.

1414. The 2nd, John Michell, Thomas Allen ; mayor, Th. Falconer, mercer.

This mayor caused the postern called Moregate to be built, and he lent to the king ten thousand marks upon jewels, &c.

1415. The 3rd, William Cambridge, Alen Evard ; mayor, Nicholas Wotton, draper.

1416. The 4th, Robert Whittington, John Coventrie ; mayor, Henry Barton, skinner.

This Henry Barton ordained lanthorns with lights to be hanged out on the winter evening betwixt Hallontide* and Candlemasse.

* Hallontide,—or, as it was more generally designated, All Hallontide,—is the older designation of All Saints' day, the 1st of November.

1417. The 5th, H. Read, John Gidney ; mayor, Richard Marlow, ironmonger.

1418. The 6th, John Brian, Raph Barton, John Parnesse ; mayor, William Sevenoake.

This William Sevenoake, son to William Rumshed of Sevenoake in Kent, was by his father bound an apprentice with Hugh de Bois, citizen and ferrer* of London, for a term of years, which being expired in the year 1394, the 18th of Richard II., John Hadley being mayor of London, and Stephen Spilman, chamberlain of the Guildhall, he alleged that his master had used the trade or mystery of a grocer, and not of a ferrer, and therefore required to be made free of the grocers' company, which was granted. This William Sevenoake founded in the town of Sevenoake a free school, and alms houses for the poor.

1419. The 7th, Robert Whittington, John Butler ; mayor, Richard Whittington, mercer.

This mayor founded Whittington college.

1420. The 8th, John Butler, John Wels ; mayor, William Cambridge, grocer.

1421. The 9th, Richard Gosseline, William Weston ; mayor, Robert Chichley, grocer.

This mayor gave one plot of ground, thereupon to build the parish church of St. Stephen upon Walbrooke.

Henry VI. began his reign the 31st of August, the year 1422.

1422. The 1st sheriffs, William Eastfield, Robert Tatarsal ; mayor, William Waldern, mercer.

This year the west gate of London was begun to be built by the executors of Richard Whittington.

1423. The 2nd, Nicholas James, Thomas Windford ; mayor, William Cromer, draper.

1424. The 3rd, Simon Seman, John Bywater ; mayor, John Michel, fishmonger.

1425. The 4th, William Melreth, John Brokell ; mayor, John Coventrie, mercer.

1426. The 5th, John Arnold, John Higham ; mayor, John Reinwell, fishmonger.

This mayor gave tenements to the city for the discharge of three wards in London for fifteens, &c.

1427. The 6th, Henry Frowicke, Robert Oteley ; mayor, John Gidney, draper.

1428. The 7th, Thomas Duffehouse, John Abbot ; mayor, Henry Barton, skinner.

1429. The 8th, William Russe, Raph Holland ; mayor, William Eastfield, mercer.

Raph Holland gave to impotent poor, one hundred and twenty pounds, to prisoners eighty pounds, to hospitals forty pounds, &c.

1430. The 9th, Walter Chartessey, Robert Large ; mayor, Nicholas Wooton, draper.

Waltar Chartessey, draper, gave to the poor one hundred pounds, besides twenty pounds to the hospitals, &c.

1431. The 10th, John Aderley, Stephen Browne ; mayor, John Wels, grocer.

* Ferrer, or Farrier, from the Latin *Ferrarius*. Strype, in his edition of Stow (ii. bk. v. p. 226.), speaking of the Farriers' company, says, *Henry de Ferrariis or Ferrers*, a Norman monk, came over with William the Conqueror, who gave unto the said Henry de Ferrariis (as being his farrier or master of his horse) the honour of Tutbury, in the county of Stafford. Which was the first honour given to the Farriers in England.

This John Wels, a great benefactor to the new building of the chapel by the Guildhall, and of his goods the standard in West Cheape was made.

1432. The 11th, John Olney, John Paddesley ; mayor, John Patneis, fishmonger.

1433. The 12th, Thomas Chalton, John Ling ; mayor, John Brokle, draper.

1434. The 13th, Thomas Barnewell, Simon Eyre ; mayor, Roger Oteley, grocer.

1435. The 14th, Thomas Catworth, Robert Clopton ; mayor, Henry Frowicke, mercer.

1436. The 15th, Thomas Morsted, William Gregorie ; mayor, John Michel, fishmonger.

1437. The 16th, William Hales, William Chapman ; mayor, Sir William Eastfield, mercer.

This Sir William Eastfield, knight of the Bath, a great benefactor to the water-conduits.

1438. The 17th, Hugh Diker, Nicholas Yoo ; mayor, Stephen Brown, grocer.

Wheat sold for three shillings the bushel ; but this man sent into Prussia, and caused to be brought from thence certain ships laden with rye, which did great relief.

1439. The 18th, Philip Malpas, Robert Marshal ; mayor, Robert Large, mercer.

Philip Malpas at his decease gave one hundred and twenty pounds to poor prisoners, and every year for five years four hundred and three shirts and smocks, forty pairs of sheets, and one hundred and fifty gowns of frieze to the poor, to poor maids' marriages one hundred marks, to highways one hundred marks, and to five hundred poor people in London every one six shillings and eight pence, &c.

1440. The 19th, John Sutton, William Wetin-hall ; mayor, John Paddesley, goldsmith, master of the works of money in the Tower of London.

1441. The 20th, William Combis, Richard Rich ; mayor, Robert Clopton, draper.

1442. The 21st, Thomas Beamont, Richard Morden ; mayor, John Hatherley, ironmonger.

1443. The 22nd, Nicholas Wilford, John Norman ; mayor, Thomas Catworth, grocer.

1444. The 23rd, Stephen Forstar, Hugh Witch ; mayor, Henry Frowicke, mercer.

This year Paul's steeple was fired with lightning, and hardly quenched.

1445. 24th, John Darby, Godfrey Fielding ; mayor, Simon Eyre, draper.

This Simon Eyre built the Leaden hall in London, to be a common garner for the city, &c.

1446. The 25th, Robert Horne, Godfrey Bolaine ; mayor, John Olney, mercer.

1447. The 26th, William Abraham, Thomas Scot ; mayor, John Sidney, draper.

1448. The 27th, William Catlow, William Marrow ; mayor, Stephen Browne, grocer.

1449. The 28th, William Hulin, Thomas Caninges ; mayor, Thomas Chalton, mercer.

This year Jack Cade, a rebel of Kent, came to London, entered the city, &c.

1450. The 29th, I. Middleton, William Deere ; mayor, Nicholas Wilforde, grocer.

Soldiers made a fray against the mayor the same day he took his charge at Westminster.

1451. The 30th, Matthew Philip, Christopher Warton ; mayor, William Gregory, skinner.

1452. The 31st, Richard Lee, Richard Alley ; mayor, Godfrey Fielding, mercer, of council to Henry VI. and Edward IV.

This year was a great fray at the wrestling.

1453. The 32nd, John Waldron, Thomas Cooke ; mayor, John Norman, draper.

This John Norman was the first mayor that was rowed to Westminster by water, for before that time they rode on horseback *.

1454. The 33rd, John Field, W. Taylor ; mayor, Stephen Forstar, fishmonger.

This Stephen Forstar enlarged Ludgate, for the ease of prisoners there, &c.

1455. The 34th, John Yong, Thomas Olgrave ; mayor, William Marrow, grocer.

The mercers' servants made a riot upon the Lombards and other strangers.

1456. The 35th, John Steward, Raph Verney ; mayor, Thomas Caning, grocer.

1457. The 36th, William Edwards, Thomas Reimer ; mayor, Godfrey Bolaine, mercer.

This Godfrey Bolaine gave one thousand pounds to poor householders in London, &c.

1458. The 37th, Ralph Joceline, Richard Medham ; mayor, Thomas Scot, draper.

1459. The 38th, John Plommar, John Stockar ; mayor, William Hulin, fishmonger.

1460. 39th, Richard Fleming, John Lambard ; mayor, Richard Lee, grocer.

Edward IV. began his reign the 4th of March, in the year 1460, after the account of the Church of England.

1461. The 1st sheriffs, George Ireland, John Locke ; mayor, Hugh Witch, mercer.

1462. The 2nd, William Hampton, Bartholomew James ; mayor, Thomas Cooke, draper, made knight of the Bath in the 5th of Edward IV. and had great troubles after.

1463. The 3rd, Robert Baslet, Thomas Muschampe ; mayor, Matthew Philip, goldsmith, made knight of the Bath the 5th of Edward IV., and after in the field, the 10th of Edward IV.

1464. The 4th, John Tate, John Stone ; mayor, Raph Joceline, draper, knight of the Bath, and also in the field.

1465. The 5th, Henry Waver, William Constantine ; mayor, Raph Verney, mercer. Henry Waver, one of the sheriffs, made knight of the Bath.

1466. The 6th, John Browne, Henry Brice ; mayor, John Yong, grocer, made knight in the field.

This year began the troubles of Sir Thomas Cooke, and other aldermen, as ye may read in my Summary.

1467. The 7th, Thomas Stalbroke, Humfrey Heyford ; mayor, Thomas Oldgrave, skinner.

1468. The 8th, Symon Smith, William Hariot ; mayor, William Taylor, grocer.

This mayor gave tenements to discharge Cordwainer street ward of fifteens.

* Fabian is the authority for this statement, who tells us, John Norman was "the first of all mayors who brake that ancient and old continued custom of riding to Westminster upon the morrow of St. Simon and St. Jude's day. He was rowed thither by water, for which the watermen made of him a roundel or song to his great praise, the which began,—

" 'Row the boat, Norman, row to thy leman.'"

1469. The 9th, Richard Gardener, Robert Drope ; mayor, Richard Lee, grocer.

This year the Tower of London being delivered to the mayor and his brethren, they delivered King Henry from thence.

1470. The 10th, Sir John Crosbie, John Ward ; mayor, Sir John Stockton, mercer.

Thomas the Bastard Fauconbridge, with a riotous company, set upon this city at Aldgate, Bishopsgate, the Bridge, &c., and twelve aldermen, with the recorder, were knighted in the field by Edward IV., to wit, John Stockton, mayor, Raph Verney, late mayor, John Yong, late mayor, William Tayler, late mayor, Richard Lee, late mayor, Matthew Philips, late mayor, George Ireland, William Stoker, William Hampton, since mayor, Thomas Stolbroke, John Crosbie, and Bartlemew James, since mayor, with Thomas Urswake, recorder.

1471. The 11th, John Allin, John Shelley ; mayor, William Edward, grocer.

The water-conduit at Aldermanburie, and the standard in Fleet street were finished.

1472. The 12th, John Browne, Thomas Bedlow ; mayor, Sir William Hampton, fishmonger.

This Sir William Hampton punished strumpets, and caused stocks to be set in every ward to punish vagabonds.

1473. The 13th, Sir William Sokar, Robert Belisdon ; mayor, John Tate, mercer.

This year the sheriffs of London were appointed each of them to have sixteen serjeants, every serjeant to have his yeoman, and six clerks, to wit, a secondary, a clerk of the papers, and four other clerks, besides the under-sheriff's clerks.

1474. The 14th, Edmond Shaw, Thomas Hill ; mayor, Robert Drope, draper.

This Robert Drope increased the water-conduit upon Cornhill, &c.

1475. The 15th, Hugh Brice, Robert Colwich ; mayor, Robert Basset, salter.

This Robert Basset corrected the bakers and other victuallers of this city.

1476. The 16th, Richard Rawson, William Horne ; mayor, Sir Raph Joceline, draper, knight of the Bath.

By the diligence of this mayor the walls of the city were repaired.

1477. The 17th, Henry Collet, John Stoker ; mayor, Humphrey Hayford, goldsmith.

1478. The 18th, Robert Harding, Robert Bifield ; mayor, Richard Gardener, mercer.

Robert Bifield, sheriff, was fined by the mayor, and paid fifty pounds toward the water-conduits.

1479. The 19th, Thomas Ilam, John Warde ; mayor, Sir Bartholomew James, draper, made knight in the field by Edward IV.

Thomas Ilam newly built the great conduit in West Cheape.

1480. The 20th, Thomas Daniel, William Bacon ; mayor, John Browne, mercer.

1481. The 21st, Robert Tate, William Wiking ; mayor, William Hariot, draper.

1482. The 22nd, William Whit, John Mathew ; mayor, Edmond Sha, goldsmith.

This Edmond Sha caused the postern called Cripplesgate to be newly built, &c.

Edward V. began his reign the 9th of April, in the year 1483.

Richard III. began his reign the 22nd of June, in the year 1483.

1483. The 1st sheriffs, Thomas Norland, William Martin ; mayor, Robert Bilisden, haberdasher.

1484. The 2nd, Richard Chester, Thomas Brittain, Raphe Austrie ; mayor, Thomas Hill, grocer, Sir William Stoaker, draper, John Ward, grocer.

Three sheriffs and three mayors this year by means of the sweating sickness, &c. Thomas Hill appointed by his testament the water-conduit in Grasse street to be built.

Henry VII. began his reign the 22nd of August, in the year 1485.

1485. The 1st sheriffs, John Tate, John Swan ; mayor, Hugh Brise, goldsmith.

This Hugh Brise was keeper of the king's mints at London.

1486. The 2nd, John Percivall, Hugh Clopton ; mayor, Henry Cellet, mercer.

The cross in Cheap was new built in beautiful manner.

1487. The 3rd, John Fenkell, William Remington ; mayor, Sir William Horne, salter.

This William Horne made knight in the field by Henry VII., gave to the repairing of highways betwixt London and Cambridge five hundred marks, and to the preachers at Paul's cross, &c.

1488. The 4th, W. Isaack, Raph Tilney ; mayor, Robert Tate, mercer.

1489. The 5th, William Caple, John Brocke ; mayor, W. White, draper.

1490. The 6th, Henry Cote, Robert Revell, Hugh Pemberton ; mayor, John Mathew, mercer.

1491. The 7th, Thomas Wood, William Browne ; mayor, Hugh Clopton, mercer.

Hugh Clopton built the great stone bridge at Stratford upon Haven in Warwickshire.

1492. The 8th, William Purchase, William Welbecke ; mayor, William Martin, skinner.

A riot made upon the Esterlings by the mercers' servants and other.

1493. The 9th, Robert Fabian, John Winger ; mayor, Sir Raph Astrie, fishmonger, made knight by Henry VII.

Robert Fabian, alderman, made "Fabian's Chronicle," a painful labour, to the honour of the city, and the whole realm.

1494. The 10th, Nicholas Alwine, John Warner ; mayor, Richard Chawry, salter.

1495. The 11th, Thomas Knesworth, Henry Somer ; mayor, Henry Colet, mercer.

1496. The 12th, Sir John Sha, Sir Richard Hadon ; mayor, Sir John Tate, the younger, mercer.

The king made this mayor, Robert Sheffield, recorder, and both the sheriffs, knights, for their good service against the rebels at Black Hith field.

1497. The 13th, Bartlemew Read, Thomas Windout ; mayor, W. Purchase, mercer.

All the gardens in the Morefield were destroyed, and made plain ground.

1498. Thomas Bradbury, Stephen Jeninges ; mayor, Sir John Percevall, made knight in the field by King Henry VII.

1499. The 15th, James Wilford, Thomas Brond ; mayor, Nicholas Alwin, mercer.

This Nicholas Alwin gave to three thousand poor people in London twelve pence the piece, and to three thousand in the town of Spalding, the like, &c.

1500. The 16th, John Hawes, William Steede ; mayor, W. Remington, fishmonger.

1501. The 17th, Lawrence Ailmer, Henry Hede ; mayor, Sir John Sha, goldsmith, made knight in the field by Henry VII.

This Sir John Sha caused his brethren the aldermen to ride from the Guildhall unto the water's side, where he took his barge to Westminster ; he was sworn by the king's council : he commonly in the afternoons kept a court alone, called before him many matters, and redressed them.

1502. The 18th, Henry Keble, Nicholas Nines ; mayor, Bartlemew Reade, goldsmith.

1503. The 19th, Christopher Hawes, Robert Wats, Thomas Granger ; mayor, Sir William Capell, draper, made knight by Henry VII.

This Sir William caused a cage in every ward to be set for punishing of vagabonds.

1504. The 20th, Roger Achaley, William Brown ; mayor, John Winger, grocer.

1505. The 21st, Richard Shore, Roger Grove ; mayor, Thomas Knesworth, fishmonger.

This Thomas Knesworth appointed the water-conduit at Bishopsgate to be built, &c.

1506. The 22nd, William Copenger, Thomas Johnson, William Fitzwilliams, merchant-tailor, after of council to Henry VIII. ; mayor, Sir Richard Haddon, mercer.

1507. The 23rd, William Butler, John Kirkby ; mayor, William Browne, mercer, for part, Lawrence Ailmer, draper.

1508. The 24th, Thomas Exmew, Richard Smith ; mayor, Stephen Jeninges, merchant-tailor.

This Stephen Jeninges built the greatest part of St. Andrewes church called Undershaft. He built a free-school at Ulfrunchampton in Staffordshire, &c.

Henry VIII. began his reign the 22nd of April, the year 1509.

1509. The 1st sheriffs, George Monoxe, John Doget ; mayor, Thomas Bradbury, mercer, for part, Sir William Caple, draper.

1510. The 2nd, John Milborne, John Rest ; mayor, Henry Keble, grocer.

This Henry Keble gave one thousand pounds toward the new building of his parish-church of Aldermary.

1511. The 3rd, Nicholas Shelton, Thomas Mirfine ; mayor, Roger Achiley, draper.

This Roger Achiley provided corn for service of this city in great plenty. He caused the same to be stowed up in the common garner called Leaden hall.

1512. The 4th, Robert Aldarnes, Robert Fenrother ; mayor, Sir William Copinger, fishmonger, for part, Richard Haddon, mercer, for the rest.

Sir W. Copinger gave half his goods to his wife, and the other half to the poor that had most need.

1513. The 5th, John Dawes, John Bridges, Roger Bafford ; mayor, W. Browne, mercer, and John Tate, mercer.

This John Tate new built the church of St. Anthones hospital in London.

1514. The 6th, James Yarford, John Monday ; mayor, George Monoux, draper.

1515. The 7th, Henry Warley, Richard Grey, W. Bayly ; mayor, Sir William Butler, grocer.

1516. The 8th, Thomas Seimer, John Thurstone ; mayor, John Rest, grocer.

1517. The 9th, Thomas Baldrie, Raph Simondes ; mayor, Sir Thomas Exmew, goldsmith.

Sir Thomas Exmew made the water-conduit in London wall by Mooregate, &c.

1518. The 10th, John Allen, James Spencer ; mayor, Thomas Mirfin, skinner.

1519. The 11th, John Wilkenson, Nicholas Partrich ; mayor, Sir James Yarford, mercer.

From this time the mayors of London, for the most part, have been knighted by courtesy of the kings, and not otherwise.

1520. The 12th, Sir John Skevington, John Kyme ; mayor, Sir John Bruge, draper.

1521. The 13th, John Breton, Thomas Pargetor ; mayor, Sir John Milborne, draper.

This Sir John Milborne founded fourteen alms houses by the Crossed Fryers church, &c.

1522. The 14th, John Rudstone, John Champneis ; mayor, Sir John Mundy, goldsmith.

1523. The 15th, Michael English, Nicholas Jenines ; mayor, Sir T. Baldry, mercer.

1524. The 16th, Raph Dodmer, William Roch ; mayor, Sir W. Bayly, draper.

1525. The 17th, John Caunton, Christopher Askew ; mayor, Sir John Allen, mercer.

1526. The 18th, Stephen Peacocke, Nicholas Lambert ; mayor, Sir Thomas Seamer, mercer.

1527. The 19th, John Hardy, William Holles ; mayor, Sir James Spencer, vintner.

1528. The 20th, Raph Warren, John Long ; mayor, Sir John Rudstone, draper.

1529. The 21st, Michael Dormer, Walter Champneis ; mayor, Sir Raph Dodmer, mercer.

This year it was decreed that no man should be mayor of London more than one year.

1530. The 22nd, William Dauntsey, Richard Champion ; mayor, Sir T. Pargitor, salter.

1531. The 23rd, Richard Gresham, Edward Altham ; mayor, Sir Nicholas Lambard, grocer.

1532. The 24th, Richard Reynoldes, Nicholas Pinchon, John Martin, John Prist ; mayor, Sir Stephen Peocke, haberdasher.

1533. The 25th, William Forman, Sir T. Kitson ; mayor, Sir Christopher Askew, draper.

1534. The 26th, Nicholas Levison, W. Denham ; mayor, Sir John Chamneis, skinner.

1535. The 27th, Humfrey Munmoth, John Cootes ; mayor, Sir John Allen, mercer. By the king's appointment he was of his council. A man of great wisdom, and also of great charity.

The forenamed sheriffs, Munmouth and Cootes, put away twelve serjeants and twelve yeomen, but were by a common council forced to take them again.

1536. The 28th, Robert Paget, William Boyer ; mayor, Sir Raph Waren, mercer.

1537. The 29th, Sir John Gresham, Thomas Lewen ; mayor, Sir Richard Gresham, mercer.

1538. The 30th, William Welkenson, Nicholas Gibson ; mayor, William Forman, haberdasher.

1539. The 31st, John Feiry, Thomas Huntlow ; mayor, Sir W. Holles, mercer.

1540. The 32nd, Sir William Laxton, Martin Bowes ; mayor, Sir William Roch, draper.

1541. The 33rd, Rowland Hill, Henry Suckley ; mayor, Sir Michael Dormer, mercer.

1542. The 34th, Henry Habberthorne, Henry Amcotes ; mayor, John Cootes, salter.

1543. The 35th, John Toleus, Richard Dobbes ; mayor, Sir W. Bowyer, draper, for part, Sir Ralph Waren, mercer.

1544. The 36th, John Wilford, Andrew Jude, mayor, Sir W. Laxton, grocer.

1545. The 37th, George Barnes, Ralph Alley ; mayor, Sir Martin Bowes, goldsmith.

1546. The 38th, Richard Jarveis, Thomas Curteis ; mayor, Sir Henry Hubbathorne, merchant-tailor.

Edward VI. began his reign the 28th of January, in the year 1546.

1547. The 1st sheriffs, Thomas White, Robert Charsey ; mayor, Sir John Gresham, mercer.

1548. The 2nd, William Locke, Sir John Ailife ; mayor, Sir Henry Amcotes, fishmonger.

1549. The 3rd, Richard Turke, John Yorke ; mayor, Rowland Hill, mercer.

1550. The 4th, Augustine Hind, John Lyon ; mayor, Sir Andrew Jude, skinner.

1551. The 5th, John Lamberd, John Cowper ; mayor, Sir Richard Dobbes, skinner.

1552. The 6th, William Gerard, John Maynard ; mayor, Sir George Barnes, haberdasher.

Queen Mary began her reign, the 6th of July, the year 1553.

1553. The 1st sheriffs, Thomas Ofley, William Huet ; mayor, Sir Thomas White, merchant-tailor.

This Thomas White founded St. John's college, in Oxford. He gave to the city of Bristow two thousand pounds.

1554. The 2nd, David Woodrofe, William Chester ; mayor, Sir John Lion, grocer.

1555. The 3rd, Thomas Leigh, John Machil ; mayor, Sir William Gerard, haberdasher.

1556. The 4th, William Harper, John White ; mayor, Sir Thomas Ofley, merchant-tailor.

1557. The 5th, Richard Malorie, James Aitham ; mayor, Sir Thomas Curteis, fishmonger.

1558. The 6th, John Halse, Richard Champion ; mayor, Sir Thomas Legh, mercer.

Queen Elizabeth began her reign, the 17th of November, in the year of Christ 1558.

1559. The 1st sheriffs, Thomas Lodge, Roger Martin ; mayor, Sir William Huet, clothworker.

1560. The 2nd, Christopher Draper, Thomas Row ; mayor, Sir William Chester, draper.

This year the merchant-tailors founded their notable free-school for poor men's children, &c.

1561. The 3rd, Alexander Avenon, Humphrey Baskerville ; mayor, Sir William Harper, merchant-tailor.

1562. The 4th, William Alin, Richard Chamberlaine ; mayor, Sir Thomas Lodge, grocer.

1563. The 5th, Edward Bankes, Rowland Heyward ; mayor, Sir John White, grocer.

1564. The 6th, Edward Jackeman, Lionel Duckett ; mayor, Sir Richard Malorie, mercer.

1565. The 7th, John Rivers, James Hawes ; mayor, Sir Richard Champion, draper.

1566. The 8th, Richard Lambert, Ambrose Nicholas, John Langley ; mayor, Sir Christopher Draper, ironmonger.

1567. The 9th, Thomas Ramsey, William Bond ; mayor, Sir Roger Martin, mercer.

1568. The 10th, John Oleph, Robert Harding, James Bacon ; mayor, Sir Thomas Row, merchant-tailor.

1569. The 11th, Henry Becher, William Dane ; mayor, Alexander Avenon, ironmonger.

1570. The 12th, Francis Bernam, William Box ; mayor, Sir Rowland Heyward, clothworker.

1571. The 13th, Henry Miles, John Braunch ; mayor, Sir William Alin, mercer.

1572. The 14th, Richard Pipe, Nicholas Woodrofe ; mayor, Sir Lionel Duckett, mercer.

1573. The 15th, James Harvy, Thomas Pullison ; mayor, Sir J. Rivers, grocer.

1574. The 16th, Thomas Blanke, Anthony Gamage ; mayor, James Hawes, clothworker.

1575. The 17th, Edward Osborne, Wolstane Dixie ; mayor, Ambrose Nicholas, salter.

1576. The 18th, William Kimpton, George Barne ; mayor, Sir John Langley, goldsmith.

1577. The 19th, Nicholas Backhouse, Francis Bowyer ; mayor, Sir Thomas Racksey, grocer.

1578. The 20th, George Bond, Thomas Starkie ; mayor, Sir Richard Pipe, draper.

1579. The 21st, Martin Calthrope, John Hart ; mayor, Sir Nicholas Woodrofe, haberdasher.

1580. The 22d, Ralph Woodcock, John Alate ; mayor, Sir John Branch, draper.

1581. The 23rd, Richard Martin, William Webbe ; mayor, Sir James Harvie, ironmonger.

1582. The 24th, William Roe, John Hayden, Cuthbert Buckle ; mayor, Sir Thomas Blanke, haberdasher.

1583. The 25th, William Masham, John Spencer ; mayor, Edward Osborne, clothworker.

1584. The 26th, Stephen Slany, Henry Billingsley ; mayor, Sir Thomas Pullison, draper.

1585. The 27th, Anthony Radcliffe, Henry Prannell ; mayor, Sir Wolstane Dixie, skinner.

1586. The 28th, Robert House, William Elkin ; mayor, Sir George Barne, haberdasher.

1587. The 29th, Thomas Skinner, John Katcher ; mayor, Sir George Bond, haberdasher.

1588. The 30th, Hugh Ofley, Richard Saltentall ; mayor, Sir Martin Calthorpe, draper, for part, and Richard Martin, goldsmith, for the rest of that year.

1589. The 31st, Richard Gurney, Stephen Some ; mayor, Sir John Hart, grocer.

1590. The 32nd, Nicholas Mosley, Robert Broke ; mayor, John Allot, fishmonger, for part, Sir Rowland Heyward, clothworker, for the rest.

1591. The 33rd, William Rider, Benet Barnham ; mayor, Sir William Webb, salter.

1592. The 43th, John Garrard, Robert Taylor ; mayor, Sir William Roe, ironmonger.

1593. The 35th, Paule Banning, Peter Hanton ;

mayor, Sir Cuthbert Buckle, vintner, for part, Sir Richard Martin, goldsmith, for the rest.

1594. The 36th, Robert Lee, Thomas Benet ; mayor, Sir John Spencer, clothworker.

1595. The 37th, Thomas Low, Leonard Holiday ; mayor, Sir Stephen Slany, skinner.

1596. The 38th, John Wattes, Richard Godard ; mayor, Thomas Skinner, clothworker, for part, Sir Henry Billingsley, haberdasher.

1597. The 39th, Henry Roe, John More ; mayor, Sir Richard Saltenstall, skinner.

1598. The 40th, Edward Holmeden, Robert Hampson ; mayor, Sir Stephen Some, grocer.

1599. The 41st, Humfrey Welde, grocer, Roger Clarke, salter ; mayor, Sir Nicholas Mosley, clothworker.

1600. The 42nd, Thomas Cambell, ironmonger, Thomas Smith, haberdasher, William Craven, merchant-tailor ; mayor, Sir William Rider, haberdasher.

1601. The 43rd, Henry Anderson, girdler ; William Glover, dyer ; mayor, Sir John Garrard, haberdasher.

1602. The 44th, James Pemberton, goldsmith, John Swinerton, merchant-tailor ; mayor, Robert Lee, merchant-tailor.

Thus much for the chief and principal governors of this famous city ; of whose public government, with the assistance of inferior officers, their charges for keeping of the peace, service of the prince, and honour of this city, much might have been said, and I had thought to have touched more at large ; but being informed that a learned gentleman (James Dalton, a citizen born), minded such a labour, and promised to perform it, I have forborne and left the same to his good leisure, but he being now lately deceased without finishing any such work (a common fault to promise more than to perform), and I hear not of any other that taketh it in hand, I have been divers times minded to add certain chapters to this book, but being (by the good pleasure of God) visited with sickness, such as my feet (which have borne me many a mile*) have of late years refused, once in four or five months, to convey me from my bed to my study, and therefore could not do as I would.

At length, remembering I had long since gathered notes to have chaptered, am now forced to deliver them unperfected, and desire the readers to pardon me, that want not will to pleasure them.

ALDERMEN AND SHERIFFS OF LONDON.

THERE be in this city, according to the number of wards, twenty-six aldermen ; whereof yearly, on the feast day of St. Michael the Archangel, one of them is elected to be mayor for the year following, to begin on the 28th of October : the other aldermen, his brethren, are to him assistants in councils, courts, &c.

* There is something very touching in this outbreak of natural feeling, and in the tone of pious resignation in which Stow speaks of those afflictions, on account of which he "could not do as he would." What he would and could do in the pursuit of his favourite studies he tells at the end of his Summary (ed. 1598), where he says, "It hath cost me many a weary mile's travel, many a hard-earned penny and pound, and many a cold winter night's study."

More, there is a recorder of London, a grave and learned lawyer, skilful in the customs of this city, also assistant to the lord mayor : he taketh place in councils and in courts before any man that hath not been mayor, and learnedly delivereth the sentences of the whole court.

The sheriffs of London, of old time chosen out of the commonalty, commoners, and oftentimes never came to be aldermen, as many aldermen were never sheriffs, and yet advanced to be mayor, but of late (by occasion) the sheriffs have been made aldermen before or presently after their election.

Nicholas Faringdon was never sheriff, yet four times mayor of this city, and so of other, which reproveth a bye word, such a one will be mayor, or he be sheriff, &c.

Then is there a chamberlain of London.

A common clerk, or town clerk.

A common sergeant.

OFFICERS BELONGING TO THE LORD MAYOR'S HOUSE.

Sword-bearer, }
Common hunt, } esquires, four.
Common crier, }
Water bailiff. }

Coroner of London.

Sergeant carvers, three.

Sergeants of the chamber, three.

Sergeant of the channel.

Yeoman of the channel.

Yeomen of the water side, four.

Under water-bailiff.

Yeomen of the chamber, two.

Meal weighers, three.

Yeomen of the wood wharfs, two.

The sword-bearer's man.

Common hunt's men, two. } gentlemen's men,

Common crier's man. } seven.

Water-bailiffs' men, two. }

The carver's man. }

Whereof nine of these have liveries of the lord mayor, viz., the sword-bearer and his man, the three carvers, and the four yeomen of the water side ; all the rest have their liveries from the chamber of London.

Thus far after my notes delivered by an officer of the lord mayor's house, but unperfected ; for I remember a crowner, an under-chamberlain, and four clerks of the mayor's court, and others.

THE SHERIFFS OF LONDON ; THEIR OFFICERS.

THE sheriffs of London, in the year 1471, were appointed each of them to have sixteen sergeants, every sergeant to have his yeoman, and six clerks ; to wit, a secondary, a clerk of the papers, and four other clerks, besides the under sheriffs' clerks, their stewards, butlers, porters, and other in household many.

OF THE MAYOR'S AND SHERIFFS' LIVERIES SOMEWHAT.

To follow precedent of former time, the clerks of companies were to inquire for them of their companies that would have the mayor's livery, their money as a benevolence given, which must be twenty shillings at the least put in a purse, with their names that gave it, and the wardens to de-

liver it to the mayor by the first of December ; for the which every man had then sent him four yards of broad cloth, rowed or striped athwart, with a different colour to make him a gown, and these were called ray gowns, which was then the livery of the mayor, and also of the sheriffs, but each differing from others in the colours.

Of older times I read, that the officers of this city wore gowns of party colours, as the right side of one colour and the left side of another ; as, for example, I read in books of accounts in the Guildhall, that in the 19th year of Henry VI. there was bought for an officer's gown two yards of cloth, coloured mustard villars (a colour now out of use), and two yards of cloth, coloured blue, price two shillings the yard, in all eight shillings. More, paid to John Pope, draper, for two gown cloths, eight yards of two colours, *eux ombo deux de rouge* (or red), *medle bune*, and *porre* (or purple) colour, price the yard two shillings *. These gowns were for Piers Rider and John Bukles, clerks of the chamber.

More, I read that in the year 1516, in the 7th of Henry VIII., it was agreed by a common council in the Guildhall that the sheriffs of London should (as they had been accustomed) give yearly rayed gowns to the recorder, chamberlain, common serjeant, and common clerk, the sword-bearer, common hunt, water-bailiff, common crier, like as to their own offices, &c.

1525. More, in the 16th of Henry VIII., Sir William Bayly, then being mayor, made a request, for that clothes of ray (as he alleged) were evil wrought, his officers might be permitted (contrary to custom) for that year to wear gowns of one colour ; to the which, in a common council, one answered and said, "Yea, it might be permitted," and no man said, "Nay," and so it passed. Thus much for party coloured and ray gowns have I read : but for benevolence to the mayor, I find that of later time that each man giving forty shillings towards his charges, received four yards of broad cloth to make him a gown, for Thomas White performed it in the 1st of Queen Mary ; but Sir Thomas Lodge gave instead of four yards of broad cloth, three yards of satin to make them doublets, and since that the three yards of satin is turned into a silver spoon, and so it holdeth.

The days of attendance that the fellowships do give to the mayor at his going to Paules were seven, as followeth :—

1. Alhallowen day.
2. Christmase day.
3. St. Stephen's day.
4. St. John's day.
5. New Year's day.
6. Twelfth day.
7. Candlemasse day.

The 23rd of Henry VIII., these companies had place at the mayor's feast in the Guildhall, in order as followeth ; I speak by precedent, for I was never feast-follower :—

1. Mercers, the wardens, and seventeen persons, five messes.
2. Grocers, the wardens, and sixteen persons, four messes.

3. Drapers, the wardens, and twelve persons, four messes.

4. Fishmongers, the wardens, and twelve persons, four messes.

5. Goldsmiths, the wardens, and ten persons, three messes.

6. Skinners, the wardens, and eight persons, three messes.

7. Merchant-tailors, the wardens, and nine persons, three messes.

8. Vintners, the wardens, and six persons, two messes.

9. Ironmongers, the wardens, and four persons, four messes and a half.

10. Merchant-haberdashers, the wardens, and fourteen persons, four messes and a half.

11. Salters, the wardens, and eight persons, two messes and a half.

12. Dyers, the wardens, and six persons, two messes.

13. Leathersellers, the wardens, and eight persons, three messes.

14. Pewterers, the wardens, and five persons, two messes.

15. Cutlers, the wardens and five persons, two messes.

16. Armourers, the wardens and three persons, one mess.

17. Waxchandlers, the wardens and six persons, two messes.

18. Tallow-chandlers, the wardens and three persons, two messes.

19. Shiremen, the wardens and five persons, two messes.

20. Fullers, the wardens and nine persons, two messes.

21. Sadlers, the wardens and four persons, two messes.

22. Brewers, the wardens and twelve persons, four messes.

23. Scriveners, the wardens and six persons, two messes.

24. Butchers, the wardens and seven persons, three messes.

25. Bakers, the wardens and four persons, two messes.

26. Poulterers, the wardens and one person, one mess.

27. Stationers, the wardens and two persons, one mess.

28. Inholders, the wardens and four persons, two messes.

29. Girdlers, the wardens and four persons, two messes.

30. Chirurgeons, the wardens and two persons, one mess.

31. Founders, the wardens and one person, one mess.

32. Barbers, the wardens and four persons, two messes.

No Clothing. Upholders, the wardens and two persons, one mess.

34. Broderers, the wardens and two persons, one mess.

35. Bowyers, the wardens and two persons, one mess.

36. Fletchers, the wardens and two persons, one mess.

No Clothing. Turners, the wardens and two persons, one mess.

* Strype prints this passage "*Medley brune and porre.*"

38. Cordwainers, the wardens and four persons, two messes.

39. Painters-stainers, the wardens and five persons, two messes.

40. Masons, the wardens and one person, one mess.

41. Plumbers, the wardens and two persons, one mess.

42. Carpenters, the wardens and four persons, two messes.

43. Pouch-makers, the wardens and two persons, one mess.

44. Joiners, the wardens and two persons, one mess.

45. Coopers, the wardens and one person, one mess.

No Clothing. Glaziers, the wardens and two persons, one mess.

No Clothing. Linendrapers, the wardens and two persons, one mess.

No Clothing. Woodmongers, the wardens and two persons, one mess.

49. Curriers, the wardens and two persons, one mess.

No Clothing. Foystors, the wardens and two persons, one mess.

No Clothing. Grey Tanners, the wardens and two persons, one mess.

52. Tilers, the wardens and one person, one mess.

53. Weavers, the wardens and one person, one mess.

54. Blacksmiths, the wardens, and one mess.

No Clothing. Lorimars, the wardens and two persons, one mess.

56. Spurriers, the wardens and two persons, one mess.

57. Wiresellers, the wardens and two persons, one mess.

No Clothing. Fruiterers, the wardens and two persons, one mess.

No Clothing. Farriers, the wardens and two persons, one mess.

60. Bladesmiths, the wardens and two persons, one mess.

These companies severally, at sundry times, purchased the king's favour and license by his letters patents, to associate themselves in brotherhoods, with master and wardens for their government: many also have procured corporations, with privileges, &c.; but I read not of license by them procured for liveries to be worn, but at their governor's discretion to appoint, as occasion asketh, some time in triumphant manner, some time more mourning like, and such liveries have they taken upon them, as well before, as since they were by license associated into brotherhoods, or corporations. For the first of these companies that I read of to be a guild, brotherhood, or fraternity, in this city, were the weavers, whose guild was confirmed by Henry II. The next fraternity, which was of St. John Baptist, time out of mind, called of tailors and linen-armourers of London; I find that King Edward I., in the 28th of his reign, confirmed that guild by the name of tailors and linen-armourers, and gave to the brethren there of authority yearly to choose unto them a governor, or master, with wardens, &c. The other companies have since

purchased license of societies, brotherhoods, or corporations, in the reigns of Edward III., Richard II., Henry IV., Henry V., Henry VI., and Edward IV., &c.

SOMEWHAT OF LIVERIES WORN BY CITIZENS OF LONDON, IN TIME OF TRIUMPHS AND OTHERWAYS.

1236. The 20th of Henry III., the mayor, aldermen, sheriffs, and citizens of London, rode out to meet the king and his new wife, Queen Elianor, daughter to Raymond Beringarius of Aragon, earl of Provence and Narbone. The citizens were clothed in long garments, embroidered about with gold, and silk in divers colours, their horses finely trapped, to the number of three hundred and sixty, every man bearing a golden or silver cup in his hand, the king's trumpets before them sounding, &c., as ye may read in my Annales.

1300. The 29th of Edward I., the said king took to wife Margaret, sister to Philip Le Beau, king of France; they were married at Canterbury. The queen was conveyed to London, against whom the citizens to the number of six hundred rode in one livery of red and white, with the cognizances of their mysteries embroidered upon their sleeves, they received her four miles out of London, and so conveyed her to Westminster.

1415. The 3rd of Henry V., the said king arriving at Dover, the mayor of London with the aldermen and crafts-men riding in red, with hoods red and white, met with the king on the Blacke hith, coming from Eltham with his prisoners out of France.

1432. The 10th of Henry VI., he being crowned in France, returning into England, came to Eltham towards London, and the mayor of London, John Welles, the aldermen, with the commonality, rode against him on horseback, the mayor in crimson velvet, a great velvet hat furred, a girdle of gold about his middle, and a bawdrike of gold about his neck trilling down behind him, his three hexemen, on three great coursers following him, in one suit of red, all spangled in silver, then the aldermen in gowns of scarlet, with sanguine hoods, and all the commonality of the city clothed in white gowns, and scarlet hoods, with divers cognizances embroidered on their sleeves, &c.

1485. The 1st of Henry VII., the mayor, aldermen, sheriffs, and commonality, all clothed in violet, (as in a mourning colour) met the king at Shorditch, and conveyed him to Powles church, where he offered his banners*.

Thus much for liveries of citizens in ancient times, both in triumphs and otherwise, may suffice, whereby may be observed, that the coverture of men's heads was then hoods, for neither cap nor hat is spoken of, except that John Welles mayor of London to wear a hat in time of triumph, but differing from the hats lately taken in use, and now

* Strype adds, "taken at the victory of Bosworth over Richard III."

A remnant of this custom, which exhibits a remarkable combination of the principles of religion with the observances of chivalry, still obtains. Many of the readers of this volume may remember the ceremony with which the "Eagles" won from Buonaparte during the war, were from time to time deposited at Whitehall, as trophies of the genius of Wellington, and the gallantry of the British army, and of thankfulness to the God of battles.

commonly worn for noblemen's liveries. I read that Thomas earl of Lancaster in the reign of Edward II. gave at Christmas in liveries, to such as served him, a hundred and fifty-nine broad cloaths, allowing to every garment furs to fur their hoods: more near our time, there yet remaineth the counterfeit and pictures of aldermen, and others that lived in the reigns of Henry VI. and Edward IV., namely aldermen Darby dwelling in Fenchurch street, over against the parish Church of St. Diones, left his picture, as of an alderman, in a gown of scarlet on his back, a hood on his head, &c., as is in that house (and elsewhere) to be seen: for a further monument of those late times, men may behold the glass windows of the mayor's court in the Guildhall above the stairs, the mayor is there pictured sitting in habit, party-coloured, and a hood on his head, his swordbearer before him with a hat or cap of maintenance: the common clerk, and other officers bare-headed, their hoods on their shoulders; and therefore I take it, that the use of square bonnets worn by noblemen, gentlemen, citizens, and others, took beginning in this realm by Henry VII. and in his time, and of further antiquity, I can see no counterfeit or other proof of use. Henry VIII. (towards his latter reign) wore a round flat cap of scarlet or of velvet, with a bruch or jewel, and a feather; divers gentlemen, courtiers, and others, did the like. The youthful citizens also took them to the new fashion of flat caps, knit of woollen yarn black, but so light, that they were obliged to tie them under their chins, for else the wind would be master over them. The use of these flat round caps so far increased (being of less price than the French bonnet) that in short time young aldermen took the wearing of them; Sir John White wore it in his mayoralty,

and was the first that left example to his followers; but now the Spanish felt, or the like counterfeit, is most commonly of all men both spiritual and temporal taken to use, so that the French bonnet or square cap, and also the round or flat cap, have for the most part given place to the Spanish felt; but yet in London amongst the graver sort, (I mean the liveries of companies) remaineth a memory of the hoods of old time worn by their predecessors: these hoods were worn, the roundlets upon their heads, the skirts to hang behind in their necks to keep them warm, the tippet to lie on their shoulder, or to wind about their necks, these hoods were of old time made in colours according to their gowns, which were of two colours, as red and blue, or red and purple, murrey, or as it pleased their masters and wardens to appoint to the companies; but now of late time, they have used their gowns to be all of one colour, and those of the saddest, but their hoods being made the one half of the same cloth their gowns be of, the other half remaineth red as of old time. And so I end, as wanting time to travel further in this work.

Now since that I have given you an outward view of this city, it shall not be impertinent to let you take an insight also of the same, such as a Londoner born discoursed about twenty years gone, for answer (as it seemeth,) to some objections that then were made against the growing greatness thereof. The author gave it me, and therefore, howsoever I conceal his name, (which itself pretendeth not) I think I may without his offence impart it to others, that they may take pleasure in the reading, as I doubt not but he did in the writing. Long may they (that list) envy, and long may we and our posterity enjoy the good estate of this city.

A DISCOURSE

OF THE

NAMES AND FIRST CAUSES OF THE INSTITUTION OF CITIES AND PEOPLED TOWNS;

AND OF THE COMMODITIES THAT DO GROW BY THE SAME; AND, NAMELY, OF THE
CITY OF LONDON.

WRITTEN BY WAY OF AN APOLOGY (OR DEFENCE) AGAINST THE OPINION OF SOME MEN, WHICH THINK
THAT THE GREATNESS OF THAT CITY STANDETH NOT WITH THE PROFIT AND SECURITY OF THIS REALM.

CITIES and well-peopled places be called *Oppida*, in Latin; either *ab ope danda*, or *ab opibus*, or *ab opponendo se hostibus*. They be named also *Civitates* a *cœuendo*, and *urbes*, either of the word *urbare*, because the first inclosure of them was described with the draught of a plough, or else *ab orbe*, for the round compass that they at the first had.

In the Greek a city is termed πόλις, either of the word πολὺς, *multus*, or of πολέινω πολέινειν*, *id est, habitare, alere, gubernare*.

In the Saxon (or old English) sometimes *Tun*, which we now call town, derived of the word *Tynan*, to inclose or tyne, as some yet speak. But forasmuch as that word was proper to every village and inclosed dwelling, therefore our ancestors called their walled towns *Burh* or *Byrg*, and we now *Bury* and *Borough*, of the Greek word πύργος (as I think), which signifieth a tower or a high building.

The walls of these towns had their name of *vallum*, because at the first they were but of that earth which was cast out of the trench, or ditch, wherewith they were environed. But afterward, being made of matter more fit for defence, they were named a *muniendo mœnia*. By the etymology of these names, it may appear that common weals, cities, and towns, were at the first invented, to the end that men might lead a civil life amongst themselves, and be saved harmless against their enemies; whereupon Plato saith, "*Civitates ab initio utilitatis causa constitutæ sunt*." Aristotle, 1. Politicorum, 2. saith, "*Civitas a natura projecta est: homo enim animal aptum est ad cœtus, et proinde civitatis origo ad vivendum, institutio ad bene vivendum refertur*." And Cicero, lib. primo de Inventione, in the beginning, saith, "*Fuit quoddam tempus cum in agris homines passim bestiarum more vagabantur, &c. quo quidem tempore, quidam (magnus, viz. vir et sapiens) dispersos homines in agris, et tectis silvestribus abditos, ratione quadam compulsi in unum locum, atque eos in unamquamq; rem induxit utilem et honestam. Urbibus vero constitutis fidem colere, et justitiam*

retinere discabant, et aliis parere sua voluntate consuecebant," &c. The same man discourseth notably to the same effect in his Oration *Pro Sestio*, a little after the midst thereof, showing that in the life of men dispersed, *vis*, beareth all the sway; but in the civil life, *ars* is better maintained, &c. This thing well saw King William the Conqueror, who in his laws, fol. 125, saith*, "*Burgi et civitates fundata, et edificata sunt, ad tuitionem gentium et populorum Regni, et idcirco observari debent cum omni libertate, integritate et ratione*." And his predecessors, King Ethelstane and King Canutus, in their laws, fol. 62 and 106, had commanded thus: "*Oppida instaurantur*," &c.

Seeing, therefore, that as Cicero, 2. *Officior.* saith, "*Proxime et secundum Deos, homines hominibus maxime utiles esse possunt*;" and that men are congregated into cities and commonwealths for honesty and utility's sake, these shortly be the commodities that do come by cities, commonalties, and corporations. First, men by this nearness of conversation are withdrawn from barbarous feritie and force to a certain mildness of manners, and to humanity and justice; whereby they are contented to give and take right, to and from their equals and inferiors, and to hear and obey their heads and superiors. Also the doctrine of God is more fitly delivered, and the discipline thereof more aptly to be executed, in peopled towns than abroad, by reason of the facility of common and often assembling; and consequently such inhabitants be better managed in order, and better instructed in wisdom: whereof it came to pass, that at the first, they that excelled others this way, were called *astuti*, of the Greek

* The following more correct reading of this passage is taken from the valuable collection of *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, edited for the Record Commission by Benjamin Thorpe, Esq., F.S.A.

"Et ideo Castellæ et burgi et civitates site sunt, et fundate et edificate, scilicet, ad tuitionem gentium et populorum regni et ad defensionem regni, et idcirco observari debent cum omni libertate et integritate et ratione." (Vol. I. p. 492-3. 8vo edition.)

* Sic in Stow; Strype corrects it into πολῆσις.

word *ἄστυ*, which signifieth a city, although the term be now declined to the worst part, and do betoken evil, even as *tyrannus*, *sophista*, and some such other originally good words are fallen; and hereof also good behaviour is yet called *urbanitas*, because it is rather found in cities than elsewhere. In some, by often hearing men be better persuaded in religion, and for that they live in the eyes of others, they be by example the more easily trained to justice, and by shamefastness restrained from injury.

And whereas commonwealths and kingdoms cannot have, next after God, any surer foundation than the love and good-will of one man towards another, that also is closely bred and maintained in cities, where men by mutual society and companying together, do grow to alliances, commonalties, and corporations.

The liberal sciences and learnings of all sorts, which be *lumina reipublice*, do flourish only in peopled towns; without the which a realm is in no better case than a man that lacketh both his eyes.

Manual arts, or handicrafts, as they have for the most part been invented in towns and cities, so they cannot any where else be either maintained or amended. The like is to be said of merchandize, under which name I comprehend all manner of buying, selling, bartering, exchanging, communicating of things that men need to and fro. Wealth and riches, which are truly called *subsidia belli, et ornamenta pacis*, are increased chiefly in towns and cities both to the prince and people.

The necessity of the poor and needy is in such places both sooner to be espied, and hath means to be more charitably relieved.

The places themselves be surer refuges in all extremities of foreign invasion, and the inhabitants be a ready hand and strength of men, with munition to oppress intestine sedition.

Moreover, forasmuch as the force of the wars of our time consisteth chiefly in shot, all other soldiers being either horsemen or footmen, armed on land, or mariners at the sea, it seemeth to me that citizens and townsmen be as fit to be employed in any of these services, that on horseback only excepted, as the inhabitants that be drawn out of the country.

Furthermore, even as these societies and assemblies of men in cities and great towns are a continual bridle against tyranny, which was the cause that Tarquin, Nero, Dionysius, and such others, have always sought to weaken them: so, being well tempered, they are a strong fort and bulwark, not only in the aristocracy, but also in the lawful kingdom or just royalty.

At once the propagation of religion, the execution of good policy, the exercise of charity, and the defence of the country, is best performed by towns and cities; and this civil life approacheth nearest to the shape of that mystical body whereof Christ is the head, and men be the members; whereupon both at the first, that man of God Moses, in the commonwealth of the Israelites, and the governors of all countries, in all ages since, have continually maintained the same; and to change it were nothing else but to metamorphose the world, and to make wild beasts of reasonable men. To stand longer upon this it were, *in re non dubia, uti oratione non necessaria*; and therefore I will come to London.

THE SINGULARITIES OF THE CITY OF LONDON.

WHATSOEVER is said of cities generally, maketh also for London specially: howbeit, these things are particularly for our purpose to be considered in it. The situation; the former estimation that it hath had; the service that it hath done; the present estate and government of it, and such benefits as do grow to the realm by the maintenance thereof.

This realm hath only three principal rivers, whereon a royal city may well be situated: Trent, in the north, Severn in the south-west, and Thames in the south-east; of the which Thames, both for the straight course in length reacheth furthest into the belly of the land, and for the breadth and stillness of the water is most navigable up and down the stream; by reason whereof London, standing almost in the middle of that course, is more commodiously served with provision of necessities than any town standing upon the other two rivers can be, and doth also more easily communicate to the rest of the realm the commodities of her own intercourse and traffic.

This river openeth indifferently upon France and Flanders, our mightiest neighbours, to whose doings we ought to have a bent eye and special regard; and this city standeth thereon in such convenient distance from the sea, as it is not only near enough for intelligence of the affairs of those princes, and for the resistance of their attempts, but also sufficiently removed from the fear of any sudden dangers that may be offered by them; whereas for the prince of this realm to dwell upon Trent were to turn his back or blind side to his most dangerous borderers; and for him to rest and dwell upon Severn were to be shut up in a cumbersome corner, which openeth but upon Ireland only, a place of much less importance.

Neither could London be pitched so commodiously upon any other part of the same river of Thames as where it now standeth; for if it were removed more to the west it should lose the benefit of the ebbing and flowing, and if it were seated more towards the east it should be nearer to danger of the enemy, and further both from the good air and from doing good to the inner parts of the realm; neither may I omit that none other place is so plentifully watered with springs as London is.

And whereas, amongst other things, corn and cattle, hay and fuel, be of great necessity; of the which cattle may be driven from afar, and corn may easily be transported. But hay and fuel, being of greater bulk and burthen, must be at hand: only London, by the benefit of this situation and river, may be sufficiently served therewith. In which respect an alderman of London reasonably (as me thought) affirmed, that although London received great nourishment by the residence of the prince, the repair of the parliament and courts of justice, yet it stood principally by the advantage of the situation upon the river; for when, as on a time, it was told him by a courtier that Queen Mary, in her displeasure against London, had appointed to remove with the parliament and term to Oxford, this plain man demanded whether she meant also to divert the river of Thames from London, or no? and when the gentleman had answered "No," "Then," quoth the alderman, "by God's grace, we shall do well enough at London, what-

soever become of the term and parliament." I myself being then a young scholar at Oxford, did see great preparation made towards that term and parliament, and do well remember that the common opinion and voice was, that they were not holden there, because provision of hay could not be made in all the country to serve for ten whole days together, and yet is that quarter plentifully stored with hay for the proportion of the shire itself.

For proof of the ancient estimation of London, I will not use the authority of the British history, nor of such as follow it, (although some hold it credible enough that London was first *Trinobantum civitas*, or *Troja nova*, that famous city in our histories, and then Ludstone, and by corruption London, as they report,) because they be not of sufficient force to draw the gainsayers. Neither will I stand much upon that honourable testimony which Gervas. Tilburiens. giveth to London in his book, *De Otis Imperialibus**, saying thus, concerning the blessing of God towards it:—"*In Urbe London. exceptione habet divulgatum id per omnes aequè gentes Lucani procerbum* :

"*Invida fatorum series summisque negatum
Stare diu.*"

"*Nam ea annis 354 ante Romam condita nunquam
amisit principatum, nec bello consumpta est.*"

But I will rather use the credit of one or two ancient foreign writers, and then descend to latter histories. Cornel. Tacitus, lib. 4. *Annal.*, saith, "*Londinum copia negociatorum, et comestru maxime celebris*," and Herodian, in the Life of Severus the emperor, saith, "*Londinum urbs magna et opulenta*," Beda, lib. *Ecclesiastic.* 10. chap. 29, sheweth that Pope Gregory appointed two archbishops' sees in England, the one at London, the other at York. King Ethelstane, in his laws, appointing how many mint-masters should be in each city, alloteth eight to London †, and not so many to any other city. The penner of those laws, that are said to be made by Edward the Confessor, and confirmed by William the Conqueror, saith, "*London est caput Regni, et Legum*." King Henry I., in the third chapter of his Laws, commandeth that no citizen of London should be amerced above one hundred shillings for any pecuniary pain ‡. The great charter of England, that Helena for which there was so long and so great war and contention, in the ninth chapter, saith, "*Civitas London. habeat omnes suas Libertates antiquas*," &c. About the time of King John London was reputed "*regni firmata Columna*," as Alexander Neckham writeth; and in the beginning of the reign of Richard II. it was called "*Camera regis*," as Thomas Walsingham reporteth. I pass over the recital of the Saxon charter of King Wil-

liam the Conqueror, the Latin charter of Henry I. and II., of Richard I., of John, and of Edward I., all which gave unto the citizens of London great privileges, and of Edward III., who reciting all the grants of his predecessors, not only confirmed but also increased the same, and of the latter kings, who have likewise added many things thereunto. Only I wish to be noted by them, that during all this time, all those wise and politic princes have thought it fit, not only to maintain London in such plight as they found it, but also to adorn, increase, and amplify it with singular tokens of their liberal favour and good liking. And whether there be not now the same or greater causes to draw the like, or better estimation and cherishing, let any man be judge, that will take the pains to compare the present estate of London, yet still growing to better, with the former condition of the same.

It were too much to recite particularly the martial services that this city hath done from time to time; neither do I think that they be all committed to writing; only for a taste, as it were, I will note these few following.

Almost sixty years before the Conquest a huge army of the Danes (whereof King Sweyne was the leader) besieged King Etheldred in London (than the which, as the story saith, then he had none other refuge), but they were manfully repulsed, and a great number of them slain.

After the death of this Sweyne, his son Canutus (afterward king of England) besieged London, both by land and water; but after much labour, finding it impregnable, he departed; and in the same year repairing his forces, he girded it with a new siege, in the which the citizens so defended themselves, and offended him, that in the end he went away with shame.

In the dissension that arose between King Edward the Confessor and his father-in-law, Earl Goodwin (which was the mightiest subject within this land that ever I have read of), the earl with a great army came to London, and was for all that by the countenance of the citizens resisted, till such time as the nobility made reconciliation between them. About seventy years after the Conquest, Maude, the empress, made war upon King Stephen for the right of the crown, and had taken his person prisoner; but, by the strength and assistance of the Londoners and Kentishmen, Maude was put to flight at Winchester, and her brother Robert, then earl of Gloucester, was taken in exchange, for whom King Stephen was delivered: I dispute not whose right was better, but I avouch the service, seeing Stephen was in possession.

The history of William Walworth, the mayor of London, is well known; by whose manhood and policy the person of King Richard II. was rescued, the city saved, Wat Tiler killed, and all his stragglers discomfited; in reward of which service, the mayor and other aldermen were knighted.

Jack Cade also having discomfited the king's army that was sent against him, came to London, and was there manfully and with long fight resisted, until that by the good policy of the citizens his company was dispersed.

Finally, in the 10th year of the reign of King Edward IV., and not many days before the death of Henry VI., Thomas Nevill, commonly called the bastard of Fauconbridge, armed a great com-

* Gervase of Tilbury was a nephew of Henry II. of England. His work, entitled *Otia Imperialia*, is addressed to the Emperor Otho IV., and contains his *Commentarius de regnis Imperatorum Romanorum*, his *Mundi Descriptio*, and his *Tractatus de Mirabilibus Mundi*.

† See Thorpe's *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, I. p. 206.

‡ This enactment is contained in the charter granted by Henry I., confirmatory of the Laws of Edward the Confessor. Vide *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, I. p. 503.

pany against the king, and being denied passage through London, he assaulted it on divers parts; but he was repulsed by the citizens, and chased as far as Stratford, with the loss of a great many.

Thus much of certain their principal and personal services in war only, for it were infinite to repeat the particular aids of men and money which London hath ministered; and I had rather to leave it to be conjectured at, by comparison to be made between it and other cities, whereof I will give you this one note for an example. In the 12th year of the reign of King Edward II., it was ordered by parliament that every city of the realm should make out soldiers against the Scots; at which time London was appointed to send two hundred men, and Canterbury, being then one of our best cities, forty, and no more: and this proportion of five to one is now in our age increased, at the least five to one, both in soldiers and subsidy. As for the other services that London hath done in times of peace, they are to be measured by consideration of the commodities, whereof I will speak anon. In the mean season, let the estate and government of this city be considered, to the end that it may appear that it standeth well with the policy of the realm.

Cæsar, in his Commentaries, is witness, that in his time the cities of Britain had large territories annexed unto them, and were several estates of themselves, governed by particular kings, or potentates, as in Italy and Germany yet be; and that Mandubratius was king of the Trinobants, whose chief city London is taken to have been. And I find not that this government was altered either by Cæsar or his successors, notwithstanding that the country became tributary unto them: but that it continued until at length the Britons themselves reduced all their peoples into one monarchy; howbeit, that lasted not any long season, for upon Vortiger their king came the Saxons our ancestors, and they drave the Britons into Wales, Cornwall, and Bretagne in France, and in process of war divided the country amongst themselves into an heptarchy, or seven kingdoms; of the which one was called the kingdom of the East Saxons, which having in manner the same limits that the bishopric of London now enjoyeth, contained Essex, Middlesex, and a part of Hertfordshire, and so included London. Again, it appeareth, that in course of time, and about eight hundred years after Christ, Egbert (then king of the West Saxons), *ut pisces sepe minutos magnus comest*, overcame the rest of the kings, and once more erected a monarchy; the which till the coming in of the Normans, and from thence even hitherto hath continued.

Now I doubt not (whatsoever London was in the time of Cæsar), but that under the heptarchy and monarchy it hath been a subject, and no free city, though happily endowed with some large privileges, for King William the Conqueror found a portreeve there, whose name was Godfrey (by which name he greeteth him in his Saxon Charter), and his office was none other than the charge of a bailiff or reeve, as by the self-same name continuing yet in Gravesend, and certain other places, may well appear: but the Frenchmen, using their own language, called him sometime a provost and sometime a bailiff: whatsoever his name and office were, he was *perpetuus magistratus*, given by the prince,

and not chosen by the citizens, as it seemeth; for what time King Richard I. needed money towards his expedition in the Holy Land, they first purchased of him the liberty to choose yearly from amongst themselves two bailiffs; and King John, his successor, at their like suit, changed their bailiffs into a mayor and two sheriffs. To these Henry III. added aldermen, at the first eligible yearly, but afterward by King Edward III. made perpetual magistrates and justices of the peace within their wards, in which plight of government it presently standeth. This, shortly as I could, is the historical and outward estate of London; now come I to the inward pith and substance.

The estate of this city is to be examined by the quantity and by the quality.

The quantity therefore consisteth in the number of the citizens, which is very great, and far exceedeth the proportion of Hippodamus, which appointed ten thousand, and of others which have set down other numbers, as meet stintes in their opinions to be well governed; but yet seeing both reason and experience have freed us from the law of any definite number, so that other things be observed, let that be admitted: neither is London, I fear me, so great as populous; for well saith one, "*Non idem est magna civitas et frequens, magna est enim quæ multos habet qui arma ferre possunt.*" whatsoever the number be, it breedeth no fear of sedition; forasmuch as the same consisteth not in the extremes, but in a very mediocrity of wealth and riches, as it shall better appear anon.

And if the causes of English rebellions be searched out, they shall be found in effect to be these twain, ambition and covetousness; of which the first reigneth in the minds of high and noble personages, or of such others as seek to be gracious and popular, and have robbed the hearts of the multitude; whereas in London, if any where in the world, *honus cere onus est*, and every man rather shunneth than seeketh the mayoralty, which is the best mark amongst them; neither hath there been any strong faction, nor any man more popular than the rest, forasmuch as the government is by a pattern, as it were, and always the same, how often soever they change their magistrate. Covetousness, that other sire of sedition, possesseth the miserable and needy sort, and such as be naughty packs, unthrifths, which although it cannot be chosen, but that in a frequent city as London is, there shall be found many, yet bear they not any great sway, seeing the multitude and most part there is of a competent wealth, and earnestly bent to honest labour. I confess that London is a mighty arm and instrument to bring any great desire to effect, if it may be known to a man's devotion; whereof also there want not examples in the English history. But forasmuch as the same is, by the like reason, serviceable and meet to impeach any disloyal attempt, let it rather be well governed than evil liked therefore; for it shall appear anon, that as London hath adhered to some rebellions, so hath it resisted many, and was never the author of any one. The quality of this city consisteth either in the law and government thereof, or in the degrees and condition of the citizens, or in their strength and riches.

It is besides the purpose to dispute, whether the estate of the government here be a democracy or

aristocracy; for whatever it be, being considered in itself, certain it is, that in respect of the whole realm, London is but a citizen and no city, a subject and no free estate, an obedienciary and no place endowed with any distinct or absolute power; for it is governed by the same law that the rest of the realm is, both in causes criminal and civil, a few customs only excepted, which also are to be adjudged or forejudged by the common law. And in the assembly of the estates of our realm (which we call parliament) they are but a member of the commonalty, and send two burgesses for their city, as every poor borough doth, and two knights for their county, as every other shire doth; and are as straitly bound by such laws as any part of the realm is, for if contribution in subsidy of money to the prince be decreed, the Londoners have none exemption; no, not so much as to assess themselves, for the prince doth appoint the commissioners.

If soldiers must be mustered, Londoners have no law to keep themselves at home; if provision for the prince's household be to be made, their goods are not privileged. In sum, therefore, the government of London differeth not in substance, but in ceremony, from the rest of the realm, as, namely, in the names and choice of their officers, and in their guilds and fraternities, established for the maintenance of handicrafts and labourers, and for equity and good order to be kept in buying and selling. And yet in these also are they to be controlled by the general law; for by the statutes, 28 Edward III. chap. 10, and 1 Henry IV. chap. 15, the points of their misgovernment are inquirable by the inhabitants of the foreign shires adjoining, and punishable by such justices as the prince shall thereunto depute: to conclude, therefore, the estate of London, for government, is so agreeable a symphony with the rest, that there is no fear of dangerous discord to ensue thereby.

The multitude (or whole body) of this populous city is two ways to be considered, generally and specially: generally, they be natural subjects, a part of the commons of this realm, and are by birth for the most part a mixture of all countries of the same; by blood gentlemen, yeomen, and of the basest sort, without distinction, and by profession busy bees, and travellers for their living in the hive of this commonwealth; but specially considered, they consist of these three parts,—merchants, handicraftsmen, and labourers.

Merchandise is also divided into these three sorts,—navigation, by the which merchandizes are brought, and carried in and out over the seas; invention, by the which commodities are gathered into the city, and dispersed from thence into the country by land and negotiation, which I may call the keeping of a retailing or standing shop. In common speech, they of the first sort be called merchants, and both the other retailers.

Handicraftsmen be those which do exercise such arts as require both labour and cunning, as goldsmiths, tailors, and haberdashers, skinner, &c.

Labourers and hirelings I call those *quorum opera non artes emuntur*, as Tullie saith; of which sort be porters, carmen, watermen, &c.

Again, these three sorts may be considered, either in respect of their wealth or number: in wealth, merchants and some of the chief retailers

have the first place; the most part of retailers and all artificers the second or mean place; and hirelings the lowest room: but in number they of the middle place be first, and do far exceed both the rest; hirelings be next, and merchants be the last. Now, out of this, that the estate of London, in the persons of the citizens, is so friendly interlaced, and knit in league with the rest of the realm, not only at their beginning by birth and blood, as I have showed, but also very commonly at their ending by life and conversation, for that merchants and rich men (being satisfied with gain) do for the most part marry their children into the country, and convey themselves, after Cicero's counsel, "*Veluti ex portu in agros et possessiones*:" I do infer that there is not only no danger towards the common quiet thereby, but also great occasion and cause of good love and amity. Out of this, that they be generally bent to travel, and do fly poverty, "*Per mare, per saxa, per ignes*," as the poet saith: I draw hope that they shall escape the note of many vices which idle people do fall into. And out of this, that they be a great multitude, and that yet the greatest part of them be neither too rich nor too poor, but do live in the mediocrity, I conclude with Aristotle, that the prince needeth not to fear sedition by them, for thus saith he: "*Magnæ urbes magis sunt a seditione liberæ, quod in eis dominetur mediocritas; nam in parvis nihil medium est, sunt enim omnes vel pauperes vel opulenti*." I am now to come to the strength and power of this city, which consisteth partly in the number of the citizens themselves, wherof I have spoken before, partly in their riches, and in their warlike furniture; for as touching the strength of the place itself, that is apparent to the eye, and therefore is not to be treated of.

The wealth and warlike furniture of London is either public or private, and no doubt the common treasure cannot be much there, seeing that the revenue which they have hardly sufficeth to maintain their bridge and conduits, and to pay their officers and servants. Their toll doth not any more than pay their fee farm, that they pay to the prince. Their issues for default of appearances be never levied, and the profits of their courts of justice do go to particular men's hands. Arguments hereof be these two: one, that they can do nothing of extraordinary charge without a general contribution; another, that they have suffered such as have borne the chief office amongst them, and were become bankrupt, to depart the city without relief, which I think they neither would nor could have done, if the common treasure had sufficed to cover their shame; hereof therefore we need not be afraid. The public armour and munition of this city remaineth in the halls of the companies, as it doth throughout the whole realm, for a great part in the parish churches; neither is that kept together, but only for obedience to the law, which commandeth it, and therefore if that threaten danger to the estate, it may by another law be taken from them, and committed to a more safe armoury.

The private riches of London resteth chiefly in the hands of the merchants and retailers, for artificers have not much to spare, and labourers have need that it were given unto them. Now how necessary and serviceable the estate of merchandise is to this realm, it may partly appear by the prac-

tice of that peaceable, politic, and rich prince, King Henry VII., of whom Polidore (writing his life) sayeth thus : "*Mercatores ille sæpenumero pecunia multa data gratuite jurebat, ut mercatura ars una omnium cunctis æque mortalibus tum commoda, tum necessaria, in suo regno copiosior esset.*" But chiefly by the inestimable commodities that grow thereby : for who knoweth not that we have extreme need of many things, whereof foreign countries have great store, and that we may spare many things whereof they have need : or who is ignorant of this, that we have no mines of silver or gold within our realm, so that the increase of our coin and bullion cometh from elsewhere ; and yet nevertheless we be both fed, clad, and otherwise served with foreign commodities and delights, as plentiful as with our domestical ; which thing cometh to pass by the mean of merchandise only, which importeth necessities from other countries, and exporteth the superfluities of our own.

For seeing we have no way to increase our treasure by mines of gold or silver at home, and can have nothing without money or ware from other countries abroad, it followeth necessarily, that if we follow the counsel of that good old husband, Marcus Cato, saying, "*Oporet patrem familias vendicem esse, non emacem,*" and do carry more commodities in value over the seas than we bring hither from thence, that then the realm shall receive that overplus in money ; but if we bring from beyond the seas merchandise of more value than that which we do send over may countervail, then the realm payeth for that overplus in ready money, and consequently is a loser by that ill husbandry ; and therefore in this part great and heedful regard must be had that symmetry and due proportion be kept, lest otherwise either the realm be defrauded of her treasure, or the subjects corrupted in vanity, by excessive importation of superfluous and needless merchandise, or else that we feel penury, even in our greatest plenty and store, by immoderate exportation of our own needful commodities.

Other the benefits that merchandise bringeth shall hereafter appear in the general recital of the commodities that come by London ; and therefore it resteth that I speak a word of retailers, and finally show that much good groweth by them both. The chief part of retailing is but a handmaid to merchandise, dispersing by piecemeal that which the merchant bringeth in gross ; of which trade be mercers, vintners, haberdashers, ironmongers, milliners, and all such as sell wares growing or made beyond the seas ; and therefore so long as merchandise itself shall be profitable, and such proportion kept as neither we lose our treasure thereby, nor be cloyed with unnecessary foreign wares, this kind of retailing is to be retained also.

Now that merchants and retailers of London be very rich and great, it is so far from any harm, that it is a thing both praiseworthy and profitable ; for "*Mercatura* (saith Cicero), *si tenuis est, sordida putanda est ; si magna est et copiosa, non est vituperanda.*" And truly merchants and retailers do not altogether *intus canere*, and profit themselves only, for the prince and realm both are enriched by their riches : the realm winneth treasure, if their trade be so moderated by authority that it break not proportion, and they besides bear a good

fleece, which the prince may shear when he seeth good.

But here, before I conclude this part, I have shortly to answer the accusation of those men, which charge London with the loss and decay of many (or most) of the ancient cities, corporate towns, and markets within this realm, by drawing from them to herself alone, say they, both all trade of traffic by sea, and the retailing of wares and exercise of manual arts also. Touching navigation, which I must confess is apparently decayed in many port towns, and flourisheth only or chiefly at London, I impute that partly to the fall of the Staple, the which being long since a great trade, and bestowed sometimes at one town and sometimes at another within the realm, did much enrich the place where it was, and being now not only diminished in force, but also translated over the seas, cannot but bring some decay with it, partly to the impairing of havens, which in many places have impoverished those towns, whose estate doth ebb and flow with them, and partly to the dissolution of religious houses, by whose wealth and haunt many of those places were chiefly fed and nourished. I mean not to rehearse particular examples of every sort, for the thing itself speaketh, and I haste to an end.

As for retailers, therefore, and handicraftsmen, it is no marvel if they abandon country towns, and resort to London ; for not only the court, which is now a-days much greater and more gallant than in former times, and which was wont to be contented to remain with a small company, sometimes at an abbey or priory, sometimes at a bishop's house, and sometimes at some mean manor of the king's own, is now for the most part either abiding at London, or else so near unto it, that the provision of things most fit for it may easily be fetched from thence ; but also by occasion thereof, the gentlemen of all shires do fly and flock to this city ; the younger sort of them to see and show vanity, and the elder to save the cost and charge of hospitality and house-keeping.

For hereby it cometh to pass, that the gentlemen being either for a good portion of the year out of the country, or playing the farmers, graziers, brewers, or such like, more than gentlemen were wont to do within the country, retailers and artificers, at the least of such things as pertain to the back or belly, do leave the country towns, where there is no vent, and do fly to London, where they be sure to find ready and quick market. And yet I wish, that even as many towns in the low countries of King Philip do stand, some by one handy art, and some by another ; so also that it might be provided here that the making of some things might (by discreet dispensation) be allotted to some special towns, to the end, that although the daintiness of men cannot be restrained, which will needs seek those things at London, yet other places also might be relieved, at the least by the workmanship of them.

Thus much then of the estate of London, in the government thereof, in the condition of the citizens, and in their power and riches. Now follow the enumeration of such benefits as redound to the prince and this realm by this city : in which doing I profess not to rehearse all, but only to recite and run over the chief and principal of them.

Besides the commodities of the furtherance of religion and justice, the propagation of learning, the maintenance of arts, the increase of riches, and the defence of countries (all which are before showed to grow generally by cities, and be common to London with them), London bringeth singularly these good things following.

By advantage of the situation it disperseth foreign wares (as the stomach doth meat) to all the members most commodiously.

By the benefit of the river of Thames, and great trade of merchandise, it is the chief maker of mariners, and nurse of our navy; and ships (as men know) be the wooden walls for defence of our realm.

It maintaineth in flourishing estate the countries of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Kent, and Sussex, which as they lie in the face of our most puissant neighbour, so ought they above others to be conserved in the greatest strength and riches; and these, as it is well known, stand not so much by the benefit of their own soil, as by the neighbourhood and nearness which they have to London.

It relieveth plentifully, and with good policy, not only her own poor people, a thing which scarcely any other town or shire doth, but also the poor that from each quarter of the realm do flock unto it, and it imparteth liberally to the necessity of the universities besides. It is an ornament to the realm by the beauty thereof, and a terror to other countries, by reason of the great wealth and frequency. It spreadeth the honour of our country far abroad by her long navigations, and maketh our power feared, even of barbarous princes. It only is stored with rich merchants, which sort only is tolerable; for beggarly merchants do bite too near, and will do more harm than good to the realm.

It only of any place in this realm is able to furnish the sudden necessity with a strong army. It availleth the prince in tronaage, poundage, and other her customs, much more than all the rest of the realm.

It yieldeth a greater subsidy than any one part of the realm; I mean not for the proportion of the value of the goods only, but also for the faithful service there used, in making the assess, for no where else be men taxed so near to their just value as in London; yea, many are found there, that for their countenance and credit sake, refuse not to be rated above their ability, which thing never happeneth abroad in the country. I omit that in ancient time the inhabitants of London and other cities were accustomed to be taxed after the tenth of their goods, when the country was assessed at the fifteenth, and rated at the eighth; when the country was set at the twelfth, for that were to awake a sleeping dog; and I should be thought "*dicenda, tacenda, locutus*," as the poet said.

It only doth and is able to make the prince a ready present or loan of money.

It only is found fit and able to entertain strangers honourably, and to receive the prince of the realm worthily.

Almighty God (*qui nisi custodiat civitatem, frustra vigilat custos*) grant, that her majesty evermore rightly esteem and rule this city; and he give grace, that the citizens may answer duty, as well towards God and her majesty, as towards this whole realm and country. Amen.

AN APPENDIX, CONTAINING THE EXAMINATION OF SUCH CAUSES AS HAVE HERETOFORE MOVED THE PRINCES EITHER TO FINE AND RANSOM THE CITIZENS OF LONDON, OR TO SEIZE THE LIBERTIES OF THE CITY ITSELF.

THESE all may be reduced to these few heads; for either the citizens have adhered, in aid or arms, to such as have warred upon the prince, or they have made tumult, and broken the common peace at home; or they have misbehaved themselves in point of government and justice; or finally, and to speak the plain truth, the princes have taken hold of small matters, and coined good sums of money out of them.

To the first head I will refer whatsoever they have done, either in those wars that happened between King Stephen and Maude the empress, being competitors of the crown, or between King John and his nobles, assisting Lewis, the French king's son, when he invaded the realm; for it is apparent by all histories that the Londoners were not the movers of these wars, but were only used as instruments to maintain them. The like is to be said of all the offences that King Henry III., whose whole reign was a continual warfare, conceived against this city, concerning the bearing of armour against him; for the first part of his reign was spent in the continuation of those wars that his father had begun with Lewis; and the rest of his life he bestowed in that contention, which was commonly called the Barons' wars: in which tragedy London, as it could not be otherwise, had now and then a part, and had many a snub at the king's hand for it: but in the end, when he had triumphed over Simon Montfort at Evesham, London felt it most tragical; for then he both seized their liberties and sucked themselves dry; and yet Edictum Kenilworth, made shortly after, hath an honourable testimony for London, saying, "*Te London laudamus*," &c. As for the other offences that he took against the Londoners, they pertain to the other parts of my division.

Next after this, against whom the Londoners did put on arms, followeth King Edward II., who in the end was deprived of his kingdom, not by their means, but by a general defection both of his own wife and son, and almost of the whole nobility and realm besides. In which trouble, that furious assault and slaughter committed by them upon the bishop of Excester, then treasurer of the realm, is to be imputed partly to the sway of the time where-with they were carried, and partly to a private displeasure which they had to the bishop.

Finally cometh to hand King Richard II.; for these three only, in all the catalogue of our kings, have been heavy lords to London, who also had much contention with his nobility, and was in the end deposed. But whatsoever countenance and aid the city of London brought to the wars and up-roars of that time, it is notoriously true that London never led the dance, but ever followed the pipe of the nobility. To close up this first part, therefore, I affirm, that in all the troublesome actions during the reign of these three kings, as also in all that heaving in and hurling out that afterward happened between King Henry VI. and King Edward IV., the city of London was many times a friend

and fautor, but never the first motive or author of any intestine war or sedition.

In the second room I place a couple of tumultuous affrays that chanced in the days of King Richard I.; the one upon the day of his coronation against the Jews, which, contrary to the king's own proclamation, would needs enter the church to see him sacred, and were therefore cruelly handled by the common people. The other was caused by William with the long beard, who after that he had inflamed the poor people against the richer sort, and was called to answer for his fault, took Bow church for sanctuary, and kept it, castle-like, till he was fired out.

Here is place also for the stoning to death of a gentleman, servant to the half-brother of King Henry III., which had before provoked the citizens to fury by wounding divers of them without any cause, 1257; for the riotous fray between the servants of the goldsmiths and the tailors, 1268; for the hurly burly and bloodshed between the Londoners and the men of Westminster, moved by the young men upon an occasion of a wrestling on St. James' day, 1221; and made worse by one Constantine, an ancient citizen, for the brawl and business that arose about a baker's loaf at Salisbury place, 1391; for the which, and some other misdeemeanours, King Richard II. was so incensed by evil counsel against the Londoners, that he determined to destroy them and raze their city: and for the fight that was between the citizens and sanctuary men of St. Martin's, 1454, under King Henry VI.: and finally, for the misrule on evil May-day, 1519, and for such other like, if there have been any.

To the third head may be referred the seizure of

their liberties, for a false judgment given against a poor widow, called Margaret Viel, 1246; the two several seizures in one year, 1258, for false packing in collections of money and other enormities; and finally the seizure made by King Edward I. for taking of bribes of the bakers, 1285. But all this security in seizing and resuming of the liberties, which was in old time the only ordinary punishment, was at length mitigated by King Edward III. and King Henry IV., in their statutes before remembered.

In the last place stand those offences, which I repute rather taken than given, and do fall within the measure of the adage, "*Ut canem cedas, cito invenias baculum*:" for King John, in the 10th of his reign, deposed the bailiffs of London, because they had bought up the wheat in the market, so that there was not to serve his purveyors. King Henry III., his son, compelled the Londoners to pay him five thousand pounds, because they had lent to Lewis, the French king, the like sum, of a good mind to dispatch him out of their city and the realm, at such time as the protector and the whole nobility fell to composition with him for his departure. And the same king fined them at three thousand marks for the escape of a prisoner out of Newgate, of whom they took no charge; for he was a clerk, prisoner to the bishop of London, under the custody of his own servants; and as for the place, it was only borrowed of the Londoners to serve that turn. Hitherto of these things to this end, that whatsoever misdeemeanour shall be objected out of history against London, the same may herein appear, both in its true place and proper colour.

THE AUTHOR TO THE READER.

BECAUSE amongst others mine authors, I have oftentimes alleged Fitz-Stephens as one more choice than other, namely, for the ancient estate of this city, more than four hundred years since: and also the said author being rare, I have in this place thought good by impression to impart the same to my loving friends, the learned antiquaries, as the author wrote it in the Latin tongue; and first to note in effect what Master Bale. in commendation of the said author, writeth:

"William Stephanides, or Fitzstephen, a monk of Canterbury, born of worshipful parents in the city of London, well brought up at the first under good masters, did more and more increase in honest conditions and learning; for ever in his young years there appeared in him a certain light of a gentleman-like disposition, which promised many

good things, afterward by him performed. Such time as other spent in brawls and idle talk, he employed in wholesome exercises for the honour of his country, following therein the example of Plato, and was very studious both in humanity and divinity."

The city of London, his birth-place, the most noble of all other cities of this land, and the prince's seat, situated in the south part of this island, he loved above all the other, so that at length he wrote most elegantly in Latin of the site and rights of the same. Leland, in divers of his books, commendeth him for an excellent writer. He lived in the reign of King Stephen, wrote in the reign of Henry II., and deceased in the year of Christ 1191, in the reign of Richard I.

STEPHANIDES*.

DESCRIPTIO NOBILISSIMÆ CIVITATIS LONDONIÆ.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE MOST NOBLE CITY OF LONDON.

De situ ejusdem.

INTER nobiles urbes (a) orbis, quas fama celebrat, civitas Londoniæ (b), regni Anglorum sedes, una est, quæ famam sui latius diffundit, opes et merces longius transmittit, caput altius extollit. Felix est aeris salubritate, Christiana religione, firmitate munitionum, natura situs, honore civium, pudicitia matronali; ludis etiam quam (c) jucunda, et nobilium (d) fœcunda virorum: quæ singula semotim libet inspicere.

De clementia aeris.

Ibi siquidem

"Emollit animos (e) hominum clementia cœli,"

non ut sint in venerem putres, sed ne feri sint et bestiales, potius benigni et liberales.

De religione.

Est ibi in ecclesia beati Pauli episcopalis sedes; quondam fuit metropolitana, et adhuc futura creditur, si remeaverint cives in insulam: nisi forte beati Thomæ martyris titulus archiepiscopalis, et præsentia corporalis, dignitatem illam Cantuariæ, ubi nunc est, conservet perpetuam. Sed cum utramque urbium harum (f) sanctus Thomas illustraverit, Londoniam ortu, Cantuariam occasu; ipsius sancti intuitu, cum justitiæ accessu, habet altera adversus alteram, quod amplius alleget. Sunt etiam, quod ad Christianæ fidei cultum pertinet, tum in Londonia, tum in suburbano (g), tredecim majores ecclesiæ conventuum, præter minores parochianas (h) centum viginti sex.

De firmitate urbis.

Habet ab oriente arcem Palatinam, maximam et fortissimam, ejus et area et muri a fundamento profundissimo exurgunt; cemento cum sanguine animalium temperato. Ab occidente duo castella munitissima; muro urbis alto et magno, duplatis

Of the situation of the same.

AMONGST the noble and celebrated cities of the world, that of London, the capital of the kingdom of England, is one of the most renowned, possessing above all others abundant wealth, extensive commerce, great grandeur and magnificence. It is happy in the salubrity of its climate, in the profession of the Christian religion, in the strength of its fortresses, the nature of its situation, the honour of its citizens, and the chastity of its matrons; in its sports too it is most pleasant, and in the production of illustrious men most fortunate. All which things I wish separately to consider.

Of the mildness of the climate.

There then

"Men's minds are soft'ned by a temp'rate clime,"

not so however that they are addicted to licentiousness, but so that they are not savage and brutal, but rather kind and generous.

Of the religion.

There is in St. Paul's church an episcopal see: it was formerly metropolitan, and, it is thought, will be so again, should the citizens return to the island: unless perhaps the archiepiscopal title of St. Thomas, and his bodily presence there, should always retain that dignity at Canterbury, where it now is. But as St. Thomas has ennobled both these cities, London by his birth, and Canterbury by his death, each of them, with respect to the saint, has much to allege against the other, and with justice too. As regards divine worship, there are also in London and in the suburbs thirteen larger conventual churches, besides one hundred and thirty-six lesser parochial ones.

Of the strength of the city.

On the east stands the Palatine tower, a fortress of great size and strength, the court and walls of which are erected upon a very deep foundation, the mortar used in the building being tempered with the blood of beasts. On the west are two

* The text of the present edition of Fitzstephen has been carefully collated with that of the former ones by Hearne and Strype, and also with the MS. (No. 398) in the Lansdown collection, British Museum, where it forms the introductory portion of Fitzstephen's Life of Thomas à Becket. The reading of Stow's edition, which forms the basis of this, has been adhered to throughout, except in a few passages, where the text was so depraved as to render emendation absolutely necessary.

(a) Orbis urbes, Lansdown MS.

(b) Lundonia, Lansdown MS.: this spelling is adhered to throughout the MS.

(c) Etiam est jocunda, Lansdown MS.: quam jocunda, Hearne, Strype.

(d) Nobilium est fœcunda, Lansdown MS., Hearne, Strype.

(f) Harum urbium, Lansdown MS.

(e) Animas, Strype.

(h) Parochianas, Lansdown MS.

(g) Suburbio, Lansdown MS.

heptapylæ portis, intercontinuante, turrto ab Aquilone per interapedines. Similiterque ab Anstro Londonia murata et turrta fuit; sed fluvius maximus piscosus Thamensis (j), mari infuso refuioque, qui illac allabitur, moenia illa tractu temporis alluit (k), labefactavit, dejecit. Item sursum ab Occidente palatium regium eminet super fluvium eundem, redificium incomparabile, cum antemurali et propugnaculis, duobus millibus ab urbe, suburbano (l) frequenti continuante.

De hortis.

Undique extra domos suburbanorum horti civium (m) arboribus consiti, spatiosi et speciosi, contigui habentur.

De pascuis et sationalibus.

Item a Borea sunt agri pascui (n) et pratorum grata planities, aquis fluvialibus interfluis, ad quas molinorum (o) versatiles rotæ citantur cum murmure jocoso. Proxime patet foresta ingens (p), salus nemorosi, ferarum latebræ, cervorum, damarum, aprorum, et taurorum (q) sylvestrium. Agri urbis sationales non sunt jejunæ glareæ, sed pingues Asiæ campi, qui faciant lætas segetes, et suorum cultorum replant horrea

—“Cerealis jugere (r) culmi.”

De fontibus.

Sunt et (s) circa Londoniam ab Aquilone suburbanii fontes præcipui aqua dulci, salubri, perspicua, et

—“Per claros rivo trepidante lapillos:”

inter quos fons Sacer, fons Clericorum, fons Sancti Clementis nominatiores habentur, et adeuntur celebriori (t) accessu, et majori (u) frequentia scholarum (v), et urbanæ juventutis in serotinis æstivis ad auram exuntis. Urbs sane bona, cum (w) bonum habeat dominum.

De honore civium.

Urbs ista viris est honorata, armis decorata, multo habitatore populosa, ut, tempore bellicæ cladis sub rege (x) Stephano, bello apti ex ea exeuntes ostentatui (y) haberentur viginti millia arma-

castles strongly fortified; the wall of the city is high and thick, with seven double gates, having on the north side towers placed at proper intervals. London formerly had walls and towers in like manner on the south, but that most excellent river the Thames, which abounds with fish, and in which the tide ebbs and flows, runs on that side, and has in a long space of time washed down, undermined, and subverted the walls in that part. On the west also, higher up on the bank of the river, the royal palace rears its head, an incomparable structure, furnished with a breastwork and bastions, situated in a populous suburb, at a distance of two miles from the city.

Of the gardens.

Adjoining to the houses on all sides lie the gardens of those citizens that dwell in the suburbs, which are well furnished with trees, spacious and beautiful.

Of the pasture and tillage lands.

On the north side too are fields for pasture, and a delightful plain of meadow land, interspersed with flowing streams, on which stand mills, whose clack is very pleasing to the ear. Close by lies an immense forest, in which are densely wooded thickets, the coverts of game, stags, fallow-deer, boars, and wild bulls. The tillage lands of the city are not barren gravelly soils, but like the fertile plains of Asia, which produce abundant crops, and fill the barns of their cultivators with

“Ceres' plenteous sheaf.”

Of the springs.

There are also round London, on the northern side, in the suburbs, excellent springs; the water of which is sweet, clear, and salubrious,

“Mid glistening pebbles gliding playfully:”

amongst which, Holywell, Clerkenwell, and St. Clement's well, are of most note, and most frequently visited, as well by the scholars from the schools, as by the youth of the city when they go out to take the air in the summer evenings. The city is delightful indeed, when it has a good governor.

Of the honour of the citizens.

This city is ennobled by her men, graced by her arms, and peopled by a multitude of inhabitants; so that in the wars under King Stephen there went out to a muster, of armed horsemen, esteemed fit

(j) Thamesis, Lansdown MS.

(k) Abluit, Lansdown MS. Hearne and Strype agree with Stow in reading alluit; abluit appears to be the more correct reading.

(l) Suburbio, Lansdown MS.

(m) Suburbanorum civium horti, Strype.

(n) Pascuæ, Lansdown MS.

(o) Hearne says that both molinum and molendinum occur in old MSS.: Strype has molinarum.

(p) Ingens foresta, Lansdown MS.

(q) Ursorum, Lansdown MS.

(r) Mergete, Lansdown MS.

(s) Sunt etiam, Lansdown MS.

(t) Celebriori, Lansdown MS., Hearne.

(u) Majore, Lansdown MS.

(v) Scholarium, Lansdown MS., Strype.

(w) St. Lansdown MS.

(x) Jubente Stephano, Lansdown MS.

(y) Ostentatui, ostentul haberentur, Lansdown MS.; ostentati haberentur, Strype. Perhaps we should read, ostentatui haberentur, et viginti millia, &c.

* Both Stow and Strype have *faciunt* in this passage, although they concur in reading *replant* in the succeeding portion of the sentence: the Lansdown MS. and Hearne give *faciant*, which is no doubt the correct reading. Fitzstephen in this description appears to have had in view the verses,

“Quid faciat lætas segetes!” *Virgil. Georg. l. i. v. 1*

—“aut Cerealis mergite culmi:

Proventuque oneret sulcos, atque horrea vincat.” *Virgil. Georg. l. ii. v. 517-18.*

torum equitum, sexaginta (*y*) millia peditum estimarentur. Cives Londoniæ ubicunque locorum præ omnibus aliis civibus ornato morum, vestium et mensæ, locutione (*z*), spectabiles et noti habentur (*a*).

De matronis.

Urbis matronæ ipsæ Sabine* sunt.

De scholis.

In Londonia tres principales ecclesiæ scholas celebres habent de privilegio et antiqua dignitate: plerunque tamen favore (*b*) personæ alicujus, vel aliquorum doctorum, qui secundum philosophiam noti et præclari habentur (*c*), et aliæ ibi sunt scholæ de gratia et permissione. Diebus festis ad ecclesias festivas magistri conventus celebrantur (*d*). Disputant (*e*) scholares, quidam demonstrative, dialectice alii; alii (*f*) recitant enthymemata; hi (*g*) melius perfectis utuntur syllogismis. Quidam ad ostentationem exercentur disputatione, quæ est inter collectantes; alii ad veritatem, ea quæ est perfectionis (*h*) gratia. Sophistæ simulatores agmine et inundatione verborum beati judicantur. Alii paralogizantur (*i*). Oratores aliqui quandoque orationibus rhetoricis aliquid dicunt apposite (*j*) ad persuadendum, curantes artis præcepta servare, et ex contingentibus nihil omittere. Pueri diversarum scholarum versibus inter se conrixantur (*k*); et (*l*) de principiis artis grammaticæ, regulis (*m*) præteritorum vel futurorum (*n*) contendunt. Sunt alii, qui epigrammatibus (*o*), rhythmis et metris utuntur veteri illa triviali dicacitate, licentia Fescennina socios, suppressis nominibus, liberius lacerant, lædorias jaculantur et scommata, salibus Socraticis sociorum vel forte majorum (*p*) vitia tangunt, vel (*q*) mordacius dente rodunt Theonino (*r*). Auditores,

— "multum ridere (*s*) parati
Ingeminant tremulos naso crispante cachinnos†."

for war, twenty thousand, and of infantry sixty thousand. The citizens of London are respected and noted above all other citizens for the elegance of their manners, dress, table, and discourse.

Of the matrons.

The matrons of the city are perfect Sabines.

Of the schools.

The three principal churches possess, by privilege and ancient dignity, celebrated schools; yet often, by the favour of some person of note, or of some learned men eminently distinguished for their philosophy, other schools are permitted upon sufferance. On festival days the masters assemble their pupils at those churches where the feast of the patron saint is solemnized; and there the scholars dispute, some in the demonstrative way, and others logically; some again recite enthymemes, while others use the more perfect syllogism. Some, to show their abilities, engage in such disputation as is practised among persons contending for victory alone; others dispute upon a truth, which is the grace of perfection. The sophisters, who argue upon feigned topics, are deemed clever according to their fluency of speech and command of language. Others endeavour to impose by false conclusions. Sometimes certain orators in their rhetorical harangues employ all the powers of persuasion, taking care to observe the precepts of the art, and to omit nothing apposite to the subject. The boys of the different schools wrangle with each other in verse, and contend about the principles of grammar or the rules of the perfect and future tenses. There are some who in epigrams, rhymes, and verses, use that trivial raillery so much practised amongst the ancients, freely attacking their companions with Fescennine licence, but suppressing the names, discharging their scoffs and sarcasms against them, touching with Socratic wit the failings of their schoolfellows, or perhaps of greater personages, or biting them more keenly with a Theonine tooth. The audience,

— "well disposed to laugh,
With curling nose double the quivering peals."

(*y*) The Lansdown MS. has et before sexaginta; the conjunction appears to have been inserted since the MS. was copied.

(*z*) Mensæ lautione, Lansdown MS.

(*a*) The Lansdown MS. adds the following passage: Habitatores aliarum urbium cives, hujus barones dicuntur: eis est finis omnis controversiæ sacramentum.

(*b*) Favore personali alicujus notorum secundum philosophiam, plures ibi scholæ admittuntur, Lansdown MS.

(*c*) Habeantur, Hearne.

(*d*) Celebrant, Lansdown MS., Hearne. Strype reads, magistri cum discipulis suis conventus gratia exercitationis celebrant.

(*e*) Disputant ibidem scholares, Strype.

(*f*) Hii rotant entimemata, Lansdown MS.

(*g*) Hii perfectis melius, Lansdown MS.

(*h*) Perspectionis gratia, Lansdown MS. It also omits ea before quæ.

(*i*) Paralogizant, Lansdown MS.

(*j*) Apposite is wanting in the Lansdown MS., Strype, and Hearne.

(*k*) Inter se versibus corrixantur, Lansdown MS.

(*l*) Aut de principiis, Lansdown MS., Strype.

(*m*) Vel regulis, Lansdown MS.

(*n*) Supinorum, Lansdown MS.

(*o*) Qui in epigrammatibus, Lansdown MS.

(*p*) Vitia majorum, Lansdown MS.

(*q*) Ne mordacius dente rodant, Lansdown MS., Hearne, Strype.

(*r*) Strype reads procaciori instead of Theonino, and adds audacioribus convitiis; the Lansdown MS. adds audacibus dithirambis.

(*s*) Videre, Strype. This reading probably originated in a mistake of the transcriber.

* The Sabine women were celebrated amongst the Romans for their chastity and good housewifery. Horace has,

"Quod si pudica mulier in partem juvenis

Domum, atque dulces liberos;

Sabina qualis, —"

Epod. li. v. 39–41.

and Juvenal,

— "intactior omni

Crinibus diffusis bellum dirimente Sabina."

Sat. vi. v. 162-3.

† "Ingeminat tremulos naso crispante cachinnos." *Persius. Sat. iii. v. 87.*

De dispositione urbis.

Singulorum officiorum exercitores, singularum rerum venditores, singularum operarum suarum locatores, quotidiano (t) mane per se sunt locis distincti omnes, ut officii. Præterea est in Londonia, supra ripam fluminis, inter vina in navibus et cellis vinariis venalia, publica coquina: ibi cotidie (u) pro tempore est invenire cibaria, fercula assa (v), frixa, elixa, pisces, pisciculos, carnes grossiores pauperibus, delicatiores divitibus venationum, avium, avicularum. Si subito veniant ad aliquem civium amici fatigati ex itinere, nec libeat jejunis (w) expectare, ut novi cibi emanant, coquantur (x),

"Dant (y) famuli manibus limphas—panesque •;"

interim ad ripam curritur, ibi præsto sunt omnia desiderabilia. Quantalibet militum, vel peregrinorum, infinitas intrat (z) urbem, qualibet diei vel noctis hora, vel ab urbe exitura, ne vel hi (a) nimium jejunt, vel alii impransis exeant, illuc si placeat (b) divertunt, et se pro modo suo singuli reficiunt: qui se curare volunt mollior, acciperem (c) vel Afram† avem vel attagen Ionicum non querant (d), appositis quæ ibi inveniuntur delicis. Hæc equidem publica coquina est, et civitati (e) plurimum expediens, et ad civilitatem (f) pertinens: hinc est quod legitur in Gorgia Platonis, Juxta medicinam esse coquorum officium, simulantium (g) et adulationem quartæ particulæ civilitatis. Est ibi extra unam portarum, statim in suburbio, quidam (h) planus campus‡ re et nomine. Omni sexta feria, nisi sit major festivitas præcepte solemnitate, est ibi (i) celebre spectaculum nobilium equorum venalium. Spectatori vel empturi veniunt qui in urbe adsunt (j), comites, barones, milites, cives plurimi. Juvat videre gradarios succussatura nitente (k) suaviter ambulantes, pedibus lateraliter simul erectis, quasi a subalternis, et demissis; hinc equos, qui armigeris magis conveniunt, durius incedentes, sed expedite tamen, qui, quasi a contradictoriis (l), pedes simul elevant et deponunt, hinc nobiles pullos juniores (m), qui, nondum fræno bene (n) assueti,

"Altius incedunt, et mollia crura reponunt §;"

Of the manner in which the affairs of the city are disposed.

The artizans of the several crafts, the vendors of the various commodities, and the labourers of every kind, have each their separate station, which they take every morning. There is also in London, on the bank of the river, amongst the wine-shops which are kept in ships and cellars, a public eating-house: there every day, according to the season, may be found viands of all kinds, roast, fried, and boiled, fish large and small, coarser meat for the poor, and more delicate for the rich, such as venison, fowls, and small birds. If friends, wearied with their journey, should unexpectedly come to a citizen's house, and, being hungry, should not like to wait till fresh meat be bought and cooked:

"The canisters with bread are heap'd on high;

The attendants water for their hands supply:—DRYDEN.

meanwhile some run to the river side, and there every thing that they could wish for is instantly procured. However great the number of soldiers or strangers that enters or leaves the city at any hour of the day or night, they may turn in there if they please, and refresh themselves according to their inclination; so that the former have no occasion to fast too long, or the latter to leave the city without dining. Those who wish to indulge themselves would not desire a sturgeon, or the bird of Africa, or the godwit of Ionia, when the delicacies that are to be found there are set before them. This indeed is the public cookery, and is very convenient to the city, and a distinguishing mark of civilization. Hence we read in Plato's Gorgias, "Juxta medicinam esse coquorum officium, simulantium et adulationem quartæ particulæ civilitatis." There is, without one of the gates, immediately in the suburb, a certain smooth field in name and in reality. There every Friday, unless it be one of the more solemn festivals, is a noted show of well-bred horses exposed for sale. The earls, barons, and knights, who are at the time resident in the city, as well as most of the citizens, flock thither either to look on or buy. It is pleasant to see the nags, with their sleek and

(t) Cotidiano, Lansdown MS.

(v) Assa, pista, frixa, Lansdown MS.

(x) Et coquantur, Lansdown MS.

(y) Dent, Lansdown MS., Strype, Hearne. The Lansdown MS. has panesque canistris.

(z) Intrans, Lansdown MS. Intrarit, Hearne.

(b) Placet, Lansdown MS.

(d) Querunt, Lansdown MS. Non opus ut qui querant, Strype.

(f) Civitatem, Stow, Hearne, Strype; civilitatem has been adopted on the authority of the Lansdown MS.

(g) Simulachrum, Lansdown MS., Strype, Hearne.

(i) Ibidem, Lansdown MS.

(k) Intente et suaviter, Lansdown MS. Strype gives, cute succo statura, pilo continente, as the reading of his MS.

(l) Contradictoriis, Lansdown MS.

(m) Minores, Lansdown MS. The substitution of *min* for *iuni*, and vice versâ, might easily have occurred in transcribing.

(n) The Lansdown MS. omits bene.

• Dant famuli manibus lymphas, Cereremque canistris Expediunt.

Æneid. i. v. 701-2.

† Stow has *atiam avem*, with which reading Hearne agrees; Strype gives *ne Africam avem*, and the Lansdown MS. *Afram avem*. *Afram avem* is no doubt the true reading, the passage being apparently an allusion to the verses,

"Non Afra avis descendat in ventrem meum,

Non attagen Ionicus

Jucundior."—

Hor. Epod. ii. v. 53—55.

§ Continuo pecoris generosi pullus in arvis

Altius ingreditur, et mollia crura reponit:

— Illi ardua cervix,
Argutumque caput, brevis alvus, obesæque terga;

— Si qua sonum procul arma dedere,
Stare loco nescit, micat auribus, et tremit artus. *Virgil. Georg. iii. v. 75—84.*

hinc summarios membris validis et vegetis ; hinc dextrarios preciosos, elegantis formæ, stature honestæ, micantes auribus, cervicibus arduis, elunibus obes. In horum incessu spectant emptores primo passum suaviorem, postea motum citiorem, qui est quasi a contrariis pedibus, anterioribus simul solo amotis et admotis, et posterioribus similiter. Cum talium sonipedum cursus imminet, et aliorum forte qui similiter sunt in genere suo ad vecturam validi, ad cursuram vegeti ; clamor attollitur, vulgares equos in partem ire præcipitur. Sessores alipedum pueri tres (*n*) simul, aliquando bini ex conducto et bini (*o*) certamini se preparant, docti equis imperitare, indomitorum lupatis temperant frænis ora : hoc maxime præcavent (*p*), ne alter alteri concursum (*q*) præcipiat. Equi similiter pro modo suo ad certamen (*r*) cursus illius attollunt ; tremunt artus, moræ impatientes stare loco nesciunt ; facto signo membra extendunt, cursum rapiunt, agilitate perviaci feruntur. Certant sessores laudis amore, spe (*s*) victoriæ, equis admissis subdere calcaria, et nec minus urgere eos virgis et ciere clamoribus. Putares omnia in motu esse, secundum Heraclitum, et falsam omnino Zenonis sententiam, dicentis, quoniam non contingit (*t*) moveri, neque stadium pertransire. Parte alia stant seorsim (*u*) rusticorum peculia, agrorum instrumenta, sues longis lateribus, vaccæ distentis uberibus,

"Corpora magna boum, lanigerumque pecus."

Stant ibi aptæ aratris, trahis et bigis equæ ; quarundam ventres foetibus tument (*v*) ; alias editi foetus obeunt pulli lasciviores, sequela inseparabilis. Ad hanc urbem (*w*) ex omni natione quæ sub cælo est, navalia gaudent institoribus habere commercia.

"Aurum mittit Arabs, species et thura Sabæus,
Arma Scythes (*x*), oleum palmarum divite sylva
Pingue solum Babylon, Nilus lapides preciosos,
Norwegi, Russi (*y*), varium gristum, sabelinas,
Seres purpureas vestes, Galli sua vina."

Urbe Roma secundum chronicorum (*z*) fidem satis antiquior est : ab eisdem quippe patribus Trojanis, hæc prius a Bruto condita est, quam illa "a Remo et Romulo. Unde et adhuc antiquis eisdem utuntur (*a*) legibus communibus institutis. Hæc similiter illi regionibus est distincta (*b*) ; habet annuos pro consulibus vicecomites ; habet senatoriam dignitatem et magistratus minores ; eluviones (*c*) et aqueductus in vicis ; ad genera causarum deliberativæ, demonstrativæ, judicialis (*d*) loca sua, fora singula ; habet sua diebus statutis comitia (*e*). Non putò urbem esse in qua sint probabiliores consuetudines, in ecclesiis visitandis, ordinatis Dei honorandis, festis feriandis, eleemosinis dandis, in hospitibus suscipiendis, in desponsationibus firmandis, matrimoniis contrahendis, nuptiis celebrandis, conviviis orrandis, convivis hilarandis, etiam in

shining coats, smoothly ambling along, raising and setting down alternately, as it were, their feet on either side : in one part are horses better adapted to esquires ; these, whose pace is rougher but yet expeditious, lift up and set down, as it were, the two opposite fore and hind feet together ; in another the young blood colts, not yet accustomed to the bridle,

"Which upright walk on pasterns firm and straight,
Their motions easy, prancing in their gait."

DRYDEN.

in a third are the horses for burden, strong and stout-limbed ; and in a fourth, the more valuable chargers, of an elegant shape and noble height, with nimbly moving ears, erect necks, and plump haunches. In the movements of these the purchasers observe first their easy pace, and then their gallop, which is when the fore-feet are raised from the ground and set down together, and the hind ones in like manner, alternately. When a race is to be run by such horses as these, and perhaps by others, which in like manner, according to their breed, are strong for carriage, and vigorous for the course, the people raise a shout, and order the common horses to be withdrawn to another part of the field. The jockeys, who are boys expert in the management of horses, which they regulate by means of curb-bridles, sometimes by threes, and sometimes by twos, according as the match is made, prepare themselves for the contest. Their chief aim is to prevent a competitor getting before them. The horses too, after their manner, are eager for the race ; their limbs tremble, and, impatient of delay, they cannot stand still ; upon the signal being given, they stretch out their limbs, hurry over the course, and are borne along with unremitting speed. The riders, inspired with the love of praise and the hope of victory, clap spurs to their flying horses, lashing them with their whips, and inciting them by their shouts. You would think with Heraclitus, that all things were in motion, and that Zeno's opinion was altogether erroneous, when he said, that there was no such thing as motion, and that it was impossible to reach the goal. In another quarter, apart from the rest, stand the goods of the peasants, implements of husbandry, swine with their long sides, cows with distended udders,

"Oxen of bulk immense, and woolly flocks."

There, too, stand the mares fitted for the plough, the dray, and the cart, of which some are big with foal, others have their frolicsome colts running close by their sides. To this city, from every nation under heaven, merchants bring their commodities by sea,

(n) Quadraginta, Lansdown MS.

(p) Præcaverit, Strype.

(r) The Lansdown MS. inserts se before ad certamen ; Strype before attollunt.

(s) Et spe victoriæ, Lansdown MS.

(u) Seorsum, Lansdown MS., Hearne.

(w) Ad urbem hanc, Lansdown MS.

(y) Russi, Lansdown MS., Hearne.

(z) Utitur, Strype.

(b) Hæc etiam regionibus similiter est illi distincta, Lansdown MS. ; illis regionibus, Strype.

(c) Eluvies, Lansdown MS.

(e) Commercium, Lansdown MS.

* Stow omits *illa* ; the pronoun has been inserted on the authority of the Lansdown MS., Strype, and Hearne.

(o) Et bini is wanting in Strype

(q) Cursum, Lansdown MS., Strype.

(t) Continget, Strype.

(v) Ventres protumens, Lansdown MS.

(x) Scithes, Lansdown MS. Seltes, Hearne.

(z) Cronicarum, Lansdown MS.

(d) Judiciales, Strype.

exequiis curandis et cadaveribus humandis. Solæ pestes Londini sunt immoderata stultorum potatio (*f*) et frequens incendium. Ad hæc omnes fere Episcopi, Abbates (*g*), et magnates Angliæ quasi cives et municipes sunt urbis Londoniæ: sui (*h*) ibi habentes ædificia præclara, ubi se recipiunt, ubi divites impensas faciunt, ad consilia (*i*), ad conventus celebres in urbem (*j*) evocati a Domino rege, vel metropolitano suo, seu propriis tracti negotiis.

De Ludis.

Amplius et ad ludos urbis veniamus; quoniam non expedit utilem tantum et seriam urbem esse (*k*), nisi dulcis etiam sit et jucunda (*l*). Unde et in sigillis summorum pontificum, usque ad tempora Leonis Papæ (*m*), ex altera (*n*) parte Bullæ, sculpto (*o*) per impressionem piscatore Petro, et supra eum clave, quasi manu Dei de cælis ei porrecta, et circa eum versu,

"Tu pro me navem liquisti, suscipe clavem."

Ex altera parte impressa erat urbs, et scriptura ista, AUREA (*p*) ROMA. Item ad laudem Cæsaris Augusti et Romæ dictum est,

"Nocte pluit tota, redeunt spectacula mane,
Divisum Imperium cum Jove Cæsar habes *."

Londonia, pro spectaculis theatralibus, pro ludis scenicis, ludos habet sanctiores, representationes miraculorum, quæ sancti confessores operati sunt, seu representationes passionum, quibus claruit constantia martyrum. Præterea, quotannis die, quæ

"Arabia's gold, Sabæa's spice and incense,
Scythia's keen weapons, and the oil of palms
From Babylon's rich soil, Nile's precious gems,
Norway's warm peltries, Russia's costly sables,
Sera's rich vestures, and the wines of Gaul,
Hither are sent."

According to the evidence of chroniclers London is more ancient than Rome: for, as both derive their origin from the same Trojan ancestors, this was founded by Brutus before that by Romulus and Remus. Hence it is that, even to this day, both cities use the same ancient laws and ordinances. This, like Rome, is divided into wards; it has annual sheriffs instead of consuls; it has an order of senators and inferior magistrates, and also sewers and aqueducts in its streets; each class of suits, whether of the deliberative, demonstrative, or judicial kind, has its appropriate place and proper court; on stated days it has its assemblies. I think that there is no city in which more approved customs are observed—in attending churches, honouring God's ordinances, keeping festivals, giving alms, receiving strangers, confirming espousals, contracting marriages, celebrating weddings, preparing entertainments, welcoming guests, and also in the arrangement of the funeral ceremonies and the burial of the dead. The only inconveniences of London are, the immoderate drinking of foolish persons, and the frequent fires. Moreover, almost all the bishops, abbots, and great men of England, are, in a manner, citizens and freemen of London; as they have magnificent houses there, to which they resort, spending large sums of money, whenever they are summoned thither to councils and assemblies by the king or their metropolitan, or are compelled to go there by their own business.

Of the Sports.

Let us now proceed to the sports of the city; since it is expedient that a city be not only an object of utility and importance, but also a source of pleasure and diversion. Hence even in the seals of the chief pontiffs, up to the time of Pope Leo, there was engraved on one side of the Bull the figure of St. Peter as a fisherman, and above him a key stretched out to him, as it were, from heaven by the hand of God, and around him this verse—

"For me thou left'st thy ship, receive the key."

On the obverse side was represented a city, with this inscription, GOLDEN ROME. It was also said in praise of Augustus Cæsar and the city of Rome,

"All night it rains, the shows return with day,
Cæsar, thou bear'st with Jove alternate sway."

London, instead of theatrical shows and scenic entertainments, has dramatic performances of a more sacred kind, either representations of the

(*f*) Immodica, Lansdown MS.; Putatio, Strype's MS.

(*h*) Sua, Lansdown MS., Hearne.

(*j*) The Lansdown MS. omits in urbem.

(*l*) Jucunda, Lansdown MS.

(*n*) Alia, Lansdown MS.

(*p*) Aurea, Lansdown MS., Hearne's MS. The epithet Aurea is applied to Rome on the authority of Ovid and Martial.

"Simplicitas rudis ante fuit, nunc Aurea Roma est." Ovid. Art. Am. l. iii. v. 13.

* All the MSS. agree in reading habes: Donatus in his Life of Virgil gives habet.

(*g*) Abbates, Lansdown MS., Hearne, Strype.

(*i*) Concilia, Lansdown MS.

(*k*) Tantum utilem urbem esse et seriam, Lansdown MS.

(*m*) Ultimi Leonis Papæ, Lansdown MS.

(*o*) Scripto, Lansdown MS.

dicitur Carnivale (*q*), ut a puerorum ludis (*r*) incipiamus (omnes enim pueri fuimus), scholarum singuli (*s*) pueri suos apportant magistro suo gallos gallinaceos pugnatores (*t*), et totum illud antemeridianum datur ludo puerorum vacantium spectare in scholis suorum pugnas gallorum. Post prandium exit (*u*) in campos omnis iuventus urbis ad lusum (*v*) pilee celebrem. Singulorum studiorum scholares suam habent pilam; singulorum officiorum urbis exerceiores suam singuli pilam (*x*) in manibus. Majores natu, patres et divites urbis, in equis spectatum veniunt certamina juniorum, et modo suo inveniuntur (*x*) cum juvenibus, et excitari videtur in eis motus calor naturalis contemplatione tanti motus et participatione gaudiorum adolescentie liberioris. Singulis diebus dominicis in Quadragesima, post prandia (*y*), exit in campos (*z*) juvenum recens examen in equis bellicosus—

“ — in equis certamine primis * ; ”

quorum quisque

“ Aptus et in gyros (*a*) currere doctus equus †.”

Erumpunt a portis catervatim filii civium laici instructi lanceis et scutis militaribus; juniores hastilibus, ferro dempto (*b*), præfureatis, simulachra belli cient et agonisticam exercent militarem. Adveniunt et plurimi aulici rege in vicino posito, et de familiis consulum (*c*) et baronum ephebi nondum cingulo donati, militie gratia concertandi. Accendit singulos spes victoriæ. Equi feri adhiñiunt, tremunt artus, frænos mandunt, impatientes moræ stare loco nesciunt. Cum tandem

“ — sonipedum rapit ungula cursum,”

sessores adolescentes, divisim agminibus, hi (*d*) præcedentibus instant, nec assequuntur (*e*), hi socios (*f*) deiciunt et prætervolant. In feriis (*g*) paschalibus ludunt quasi prælia navalia: in arbore siquidem mediannam scuto fortiter innexo, navicula remo (*h*) et raptu fluminis cita, in prora (*i*) stantem habet juvenem scutum illud (*j*) lancea percussurum, qui, si scuto illi lanceam illidem frangat eam et immotus persistat (*k*), habet propositum, voti compos est: si vero lancea integra fortiter percusserit, in profluentem amnem (*l*) deicitur; navis motu suo acta præterit. Sunt tamen hinc inde secus scutum (*m*) due naves stationariæ, et in eis juvenes plurimi, ut eripiant percussorem flumine absorptum (*n*), cum primo emersus comparet;

“ — vel summa rursus cum bullit in unda ‡.”

miracles which holy confessors have wrought, or of the passions and sufferings in which the constancy of martyrs was signally displayed. Moreover, to begin with the sports of the boys (for we have all been boys), annually on the day which is called Shrovetide, the boys of the respective schools bring each a fighting cock to their master, and the whole of that forenoon is spent by the boys in seeing their cocks fight in the school-room. After dinner, all the young men of the city go out into the fields to play at the well-known game of foot-ball. The scholars belonging to the several schools have each their ball; and the city tradesmen, according to their respective crafts, have theirs. The more aged men, the fathers of the players, and the wealthy citizens, come on horseback to see the contests of the young men, with whom, after their manner, they participate, their natural heat seeming to be aroused by the sight of so much agility, and by their participation in the amusements of unrestrained youth. Every Sunday in Lent, after dinner, a company of young men enter the fields, mounted on warlike horses—

“ On coursers always foremost in the race;”

of which

“ Each steed's well-train'd to gallop in a ring.”

The lay-sons of the citizens rush out of the gates in crowds, equipped with lances and shields, the younger sort with pikes from which the iron head has been taken off, and there they get up sham fights, and exercise themselves in military combat. When the king happens to be near the city, most of the courtiers attend, and the young men who form the households of the earls and barons, and have not yet attained the honour of knighthood, resort thither for the purpose of trying their skill. The hope of victory animates every one. The spirited horses neigh, their limbs tremble, they champ their bits, and, impatient of delay, cannot endure standing still. When at length

“ The charger's hoof seizes upon the course,”

the young riders having been divided into companies, some pursue those that go before without being able to overtake them, whilst others throw their companions out of their course, and gallop beyond them. In the Easter holidays they play at a game resembling a naval engagement. A target is firmly fastened to the trunk of a tree which is fixed in the middle of the river, and in the prow of

(*q*) Carnilevaria, Lansdown MS.; Carnilevari, Hearne; Carnivalia, Strype.

(*r*) A ludis puerorum Londoniæ, Lansdown MS.

(*t*) Pugnares, Lansdown MS.

(*v*) Ludum, Lansdown MS.

(*w*) The Lansdown MS. has suam fere singuli, omitting pilam in manibus; Strype's MS. has polam, and Hearne's MS. pelam, instead of pilam.

(*z*) Juvenantur, Lansdown MS.

(*a*) Campum, Strype.

(*b*) Gyros est currere, Lansdown MS.; Strype reads, quique sit aptus in gyros currere doctus equo.

(*c*) The Lansdown MS. omits ferro dempto, and inserts campestria prælia ludunt after cient: Strype reads militiam instead of militarem.

(*d*) Episcoporum, consulum et baronum, Lansdown MS.

(*e*) Hi, Lansdown MS., Strype; his Hearne's MS.

(*f*) Hi socios consecuntur, deiciunt, prætervolant, Lansdown MS.; deiciunt, Hearne.

(*g*) Multo remo, Lansdown MS., Strype; malo remo, Hearne.

(*h*) Illum, Strype.

(*i*) Fluvium deicitur, Lansdown MS.; amnem deicitur, Hearne; Strype reads et per fluentem amnem deicitur.

(*m*) Strype omits scutum.

* — Equum certamine primum.

† — — In gyros ire coactus equus.”

‡ — — Et alto

Demersus, summa rursus non bullit in unda.” *Pers. Sat.* iii. vv. 33, 4.

(*e*) assectantur, Lansdown MS.

(*g*) Feris, Strype.

(*i*) Celsa in puppi stantem, Lansdown MS.

(*z*) Absortum, Lansdown MS., Hearne's MS.

Hor. Ep. ad Pis. v. 84.

Ovid. Art. Amat. l. iii. v. 384.

Supra pontem et in solariis supra fluvium, sunt quia talia spectent (o),

" — multum ridere parati."

In festis tota æstate juvenes ludentes exercentur in saliendo (p), in arcu, in lucta, jactu lapidum, amenatatis * missilibus ultra metam expediendis, parris duellionum. Puellarum Cytherea (q) ducit choros, et pede libero pulsatur tellus, usque "imminente luna +." In hyeme singulis fere festis ante prandium, vel apri spumantes pugnant pro capitibus et verres fulmineis (r) accincti dentibus addendi succidiae, vel pingues tauri cornupetæ (s) seu ursi immanes cum objectis depugnant canibus. Cum est congelata palus illa magna, quæ moenia urbis aquilonia (t) alluit; exeunt lulum super glaciem densæ juvenum turmæ. Hi ex cursu motu captato (u) citatiore, distantia pedum posita (v), magnum spatium, latere altero prætenso (w), perlabuntur: alii quasi magnos lapides molares de glaciæ sedes sibi faciunt; sessorum unum trahunt plurimi præcurrentes, manibus se tenentes: in tanta citatione motus (x) aliquando pedibus lapsi (y) cadunt omnes proni. Sunt alii super glaciem ludere doctiores; singuli pedibus suis aptantes, et sub talaribus suis alligantes ossa, tibias scilicet animalium, et palos, ferro acuto superposito (z), tenentes (a) in manibus, quos (b) aliquando glaciæ allidunt (c), tanta rapacitate feruntur, quanta avis volans, vel pilum balistæ. Interdum autem per magna (d) procul distantia ex conducto duo aliqui ita ab oppositis veniunt; concurrunt (e), palos erigunt, se invicem percutiunt: vel alter vel ambo cadunt, non sine læsione corporali: cum post easdem etiam vi motus feruntur ab invicem procul; et qua parte glaciæ caput tangit (f), totum radit, totum decorticat. Plerumque tibia cadentis, vel brachium, si super illud ceciderit, confringitur. Sed ætas avida gloriæ juvenus, cupida victoriæ, ut in veris præliis fortius se habeant (g), ita in simulatis exercentur (h). Plurimi civium delectantur, ludentes in avibus cœli, nisis, accipitribus, et hujusmodi (i), et in canibus militantibus in silvis. Habentque (j) cives suum jus venandi in Middlesexia (k), Hertfordscira (l), et tota Chiltira, et in Cantia usque ad aquam Craie (m). Londonienses, tunc Trinovantes dicti, Caium Julium Cæsarem, qui nullas nisi sanguine fuo vias habere gaudebat (n), repulerunt. Unde Lucanus,

" Territa quæsitis ostendit terga Britannis."

a boat driven along by oars and the current stands a young man who is to strike the target with his lance; if, in hitting it, he break his lance, and keep his position unmoved, he gains his point, and attains his desire: but if his lance be not slivered by the blow, he is tumbled into the river, and his boat passes by, driven along by its own motion. Two boats, however, are placed there, one on each side of the target, and in them a number of young men to take up the striker, when he first emerges from the stream, or when

" A second time he rises from the wave."

On the bridge, and in balconies on the banks of the river, stand the spectators,

" — well disposed to laugh."

During the holidays in summer the young men exercise themselves in the sports of leaping, archery, wrestling, stone-throwing, slinging javelins beyond a mark, and also fighting with bucklers. Cytherea leads the dances of the maidens, who merrily trip along the ground beneath the uprisen moon. Almost on every holiday in winter, before dinner, foaming boars, and huge-tusked hogs, intended for bacon, fight for their lives, or fat bulls or immense boars are baited with dogs. When that great marsh which washes the walls of the city on the north side is frozen over, the young men go out in crowds to divert themselves upon the ice. Some, having increased their velocity by a run, placing their feet apart, and turning their bodies sideways, slide a great way: others make a seat of large pieces of ice like mill-stones, and a great number of them running before, and holding each other by the hand, draw one of their companions who is seated on the ice: if at any time they slip in moving so swiftly, all fall down headlong together. Others are more expert in their sports upon the ice; for fitting to, and binding under their feet the shinbones of some animal, and taking in their hands poles shod with iron, which at times they strike against the ice, they are carried along with as great rapidity as a bird flying, or a bolt discharged from a cross-bow. Sometimes two of the skaters having placed themselves a great distance apart by mutual agreement, come together from opposite sides; they meet, raise their poles, and strike each other; either one or both of them fall, not without some bodily hurt: even after their fall

(o) Spectant, Lansdown MS.

(q) Cithara, Lansdown MS.

(r) Cornipetæ, Lansdown MS.

(u) Hi ex cursu motu aptato citatiore, Lansdown MS.

(w) Prætenso is wanting in the Lansdown MS.

(y) Lapsis, Lansdown MS.

(a) Tenent, Lansdown MS.

(c) Illidunt, Lansdown MS., Strype, Hearne.

(d) Interdum a magna, Lansdown MS.; autem magna, Strype, Hearne.

(e) Currunt, Strype

(g) Habeat, Lansdown MS., Strype.

(i) The Lansdown MS. omits nisis, accipitribus, et hujusmodi.

(k) Middlesexia, Lansdown MS.; Midelsæxia, Hearne.

(m) Craie, Lansdown MS.; Craie, Strype; Graie, Stow, Hearne.

* The *hasta amenatatis* were spears bound round the middle with a thong of leather, in which the hand was enfolded so as to balance the weapon. — Vide *Æneid* ix. v. 665.

† Jam Cytherea choros ducit Venus, imminente luna.

Hor. l. i. Ode v. ver. 5.

" — nunc pede libero —

Pulsanda tellus; —

Hor. l. i. Ode xxxvii. ver. 1, 2.

According to the present reading (sed imminente luna), with which all the MSS. agree, the dancing was not begun until the moon had risen: the correct reading perhaps was imminēt luna, and the present reading might have originated in the transcriber overlooking the *m* thus indicated.

(p) Exercentur in arcu, cursu, saltu, lucta, &c., Lansdown MS.

(r) Prominentibus, Strype.

(t) Aquilonia, Strype.

(u) Composita, Lansdown MS.

(x) Citatione lubrici motus, Lansdown MS.

(z) Supposito, Lansdown MS., Strype, Hearne.

(b) Quisquam, Lansdown MS.

(f) Excipit, Lansdown MS.

(h) Exercentur, Lansdown MS., Strype.

(j) Habent cives, Lansdown MS.

(l) Hertfordsira, Lansdown MS., Hearne.

(n) Gaudebat habere vias, Lansdown MS.

Civitas Lundonia peperit aliquos (o), qui regna plurima et Romanum sibi subdiderunt imperium; et plurimos alios, quos mundi dominos virtus evexit ad Deos*, ut fuerat in Apollinis oraculo Bruto promissum:

"Brute, sub occasu solis, trans Gallica regna,
Insula in Oceano est undique clausa mari;
Hanc pete: namque tibi sedes erit illa perennis,
Hæc (p) fiet natis altera Troja tuis:
Hic de stirpe tua reges nascentur, et ipsis
Totius terræ subditus orbis erit."

In (q) temporibus Christianis nobilem illum edidit Imperatorem Constantinum (r), qui urbem Romam et imperialia insignia omnia Deo donavit et beato Petro et Silvestro Papæ (s), cui et Stratoris (t) exhibuit officium, et se non amplius imperatorem, sed sanctæ ecclesiæ Romanæ defensorem gavisus est vocari: et ne pax domini Papæ occasione præsentis ejus secularis strepitus tumultu concutere-
tur, ipse ab urbe domino Papæ collata discessit (u), et sibi civitatem Bizantium ædificavit. Lundonia et modernis temporibus reges illustres magnificosque peperit, Imperatricem Matildem, Henricum regem tertium, et beatum Thomam Archiepiscopum (x), Christi martyrem gloriosum, quali non candidiorem tulit (w), nec quo fuerit (x) devinctior alter † omnibus bonis totius orbis Latini.

they are carried along to a great distance from each other by the velocity of the motion; and whatever part of their heads comes in contact with the ice is laid bare to the very skull. Very frequently the leg or arm of the falling party, if he chance to light upon either of them, is broken. But youth is an age eager for glory and desirous of victory, and so young men engage in counterfeit battles, that they may conduct themselves more valiantly in real ones. Most of the citizens amuse themselves in sporting with merlins, hawks, and other birds of a like kind, and also with dogs that hunt in the woods. The citizens have the right of hunting in Middlesex, Hertfordshire, all the Chilterns, and Keht, as far as the river Cray. The Londoners, then called Trinovantes, repulsed Caius Julius Cæsar, a man who delighted to mark his path with blood. Whence Lucan says,

"Britain he sought, but turn'd his back dismay'd."

The city of London has produced some men, who have subdued many kingdoms, and even the Roman empire; and very many others, whose virtue has exalted them to the skies, as was promised to Brutus by the oracle of Apollo:

"Brutus, there lies beyond the Gallic bounds
An island which the western sea surrounds:

To reach this happy shore thy sails employ:
There fate decrees to raise a second Troy,
And found an empire in thy royal line
Which time shall ne'er destroy, nor bounds confine."

Since the planting of the Christian religion there, London has given birth to the noble emperor Constantine, who gave the city of Rome and all the insignia of the empire to God and St. Peter, and Pope Sylvester, whose stirrup he held, and chose rather to be called defender of the holy Roman church, than emperor: and that the peace of our lord the Pope might not, by reason of his presence, be disturbed by the tumults consequent on secular business, he withdrew from the city which he had bestowed upon our lord the Pope, and built for himself the city of Byzantium. London also in modern times has produced illustrious and august princes, the empress Matilda, King Henry the Third, and St. Thomas, the archbishop and glorious martyr of Christ, than whom no man was more guileless or more devoted to all good men throughout the whole Roman world.

(o) Aliquot, Lansdown MS.

(p) Hic, Lansdown MS.

(q) Et, Lansdown MS.

(r) Constantinum Helenæ reginæ filium, Lansdown MS.

(s) Papæ Romano, Lansdown MS.

(t) Statoris, Lansdown MS.

(u) Omnino discessit, Lansdown MS., Strype.

(v) The Lansdown MS. omits archiepiscopum.

(w) Ipsa tulit, Lansdown MS., Strype.

(x) Nec qui fuerat devinctior alter in omnibus hominibus, &c. Lansdown MS.

— palmarum nobilis

Terrarum dominos evehit ad Deos. Hor. l. i. Ode 1. v. 5, 6.

† — animæ, quales neque candiores

Terra tulit; neque quicquam sit devinctior alter. Hor. lib. i. Sat. 5. v. 41, 42.

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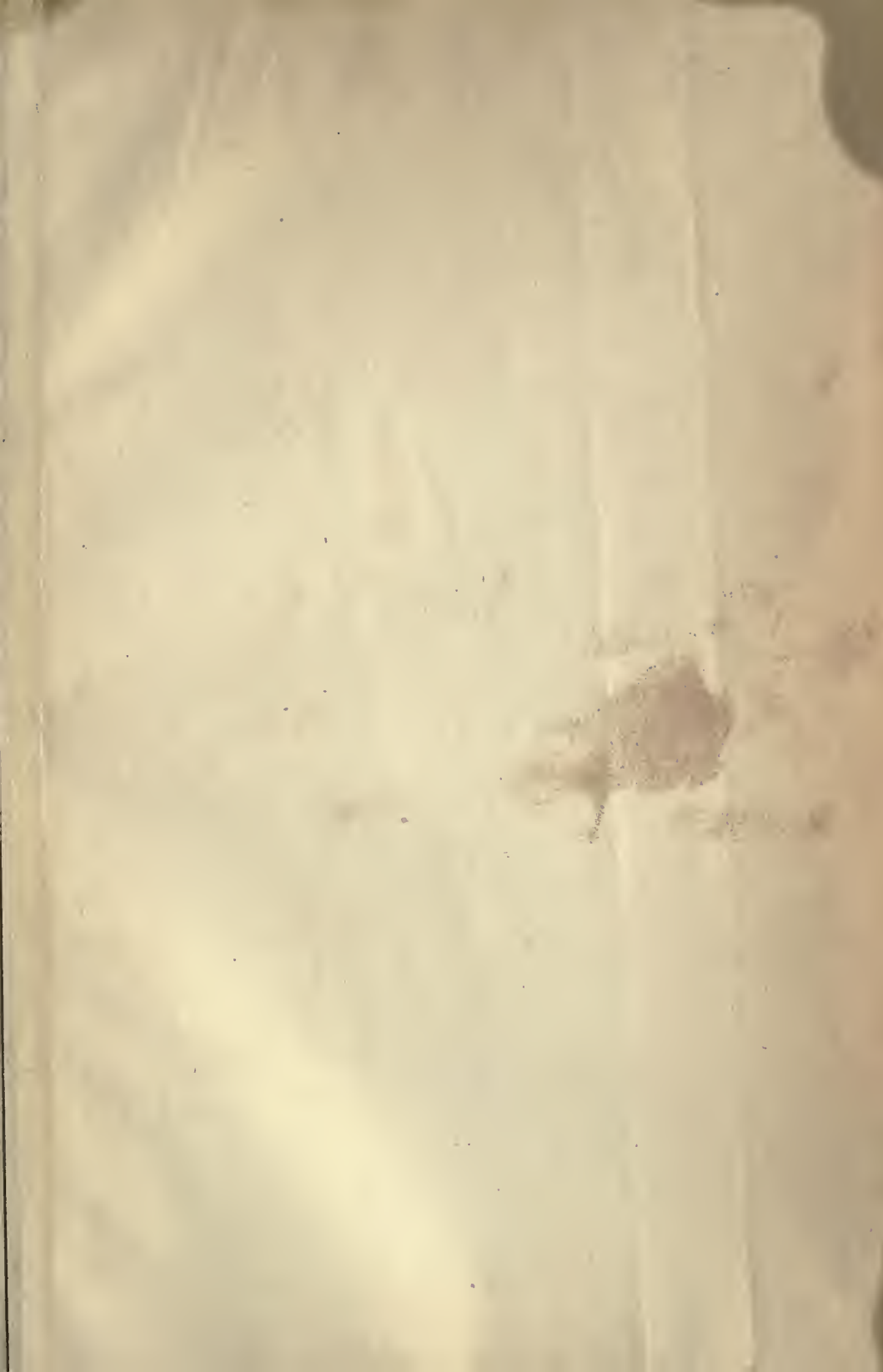
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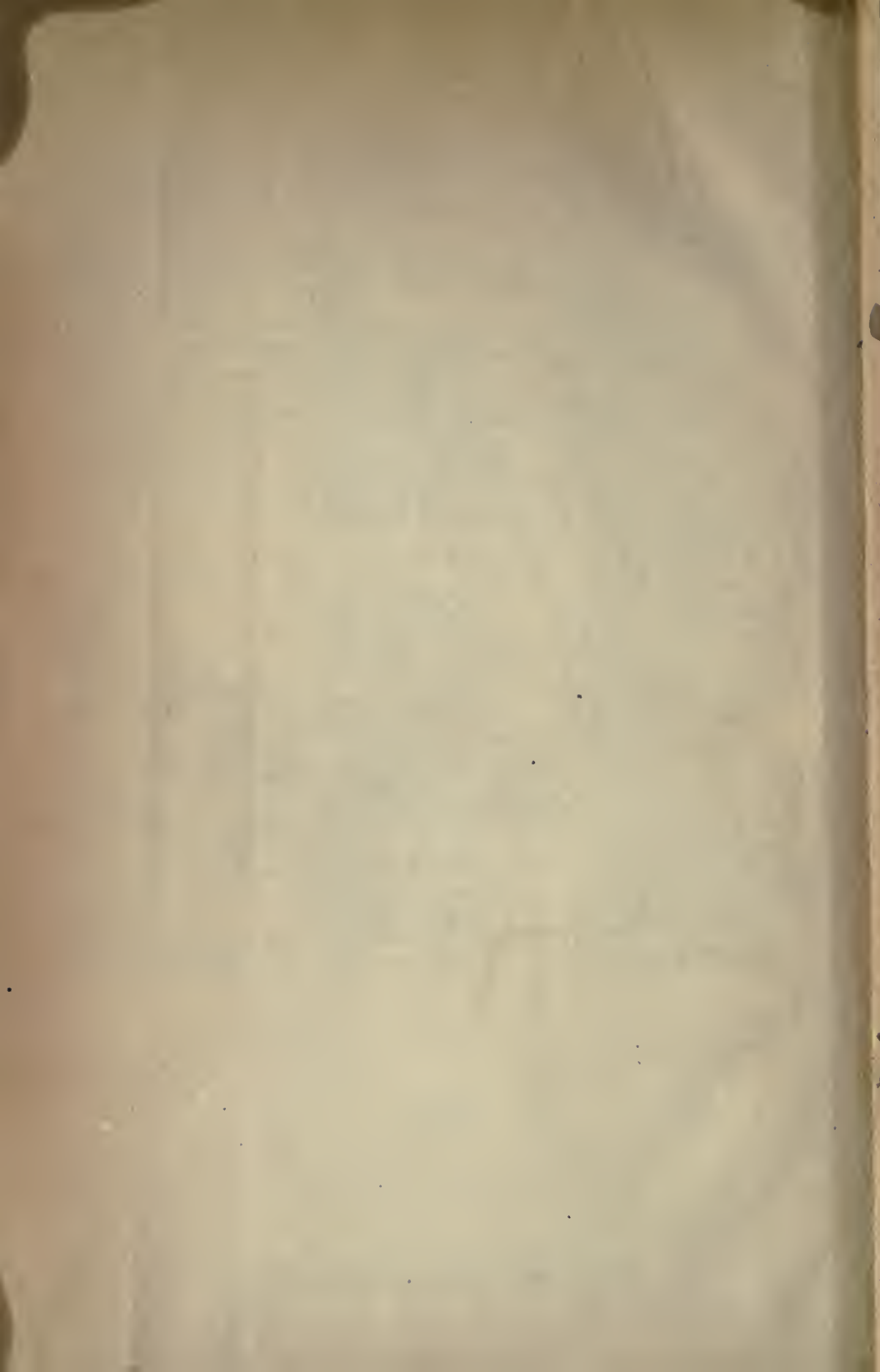
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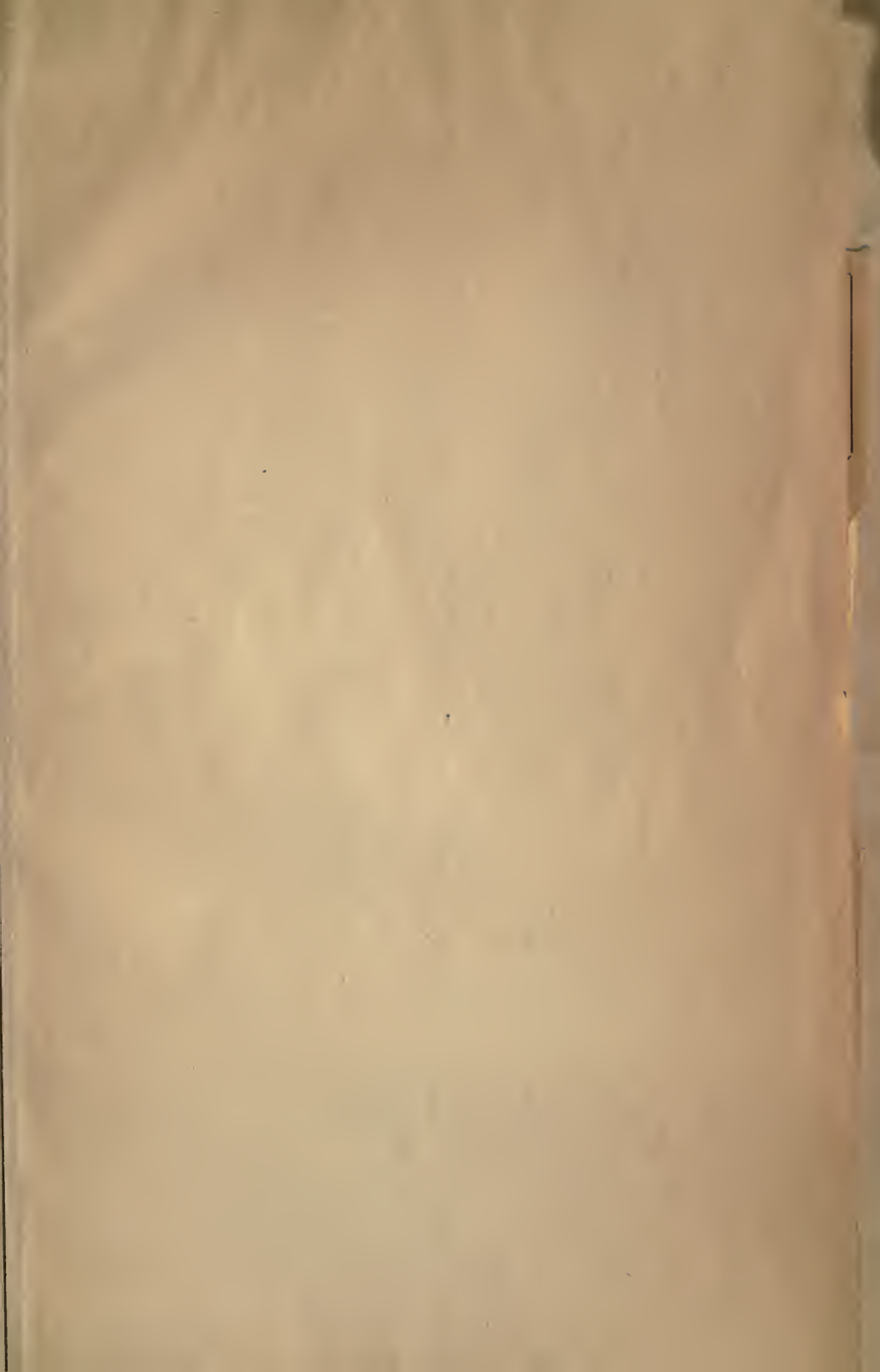
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